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George Smith
THE

OLD AND NEW
TESTAMENTS

CONNECTED IN THE HISTORY OF
THE
JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM THE

Declensions of the Kingdoms of ISRAEL and JUDAH

TO THE

Time of Christ.

BY HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D.

DEAN OF NORWICH.



TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

CONTAINING SOME LETTERS WHICH HE WROTE IN DEFENCE AND ILLUSTRATION OF CERTAIN PARTS OF HIS CONNEXIONS.

ILLUSTRATED WITH EIGHT NEW MAPS AND PLATES.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS
CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK VI.

HE who succeeded Ezra in the government of Judah and Jerusalem, was Nehemiah,^a a very religious and most excellent person; one that was nothing behind his predecessor, saving his learning and great knowledge in the law of God. He came to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and, by a commission from him, suppressed that of Ezra, and succeeded him in the government of Judah and Jerusalem.^b And he had in that commission, by an express clause therein inserted, full authority given him to repair the walls and set up the gates of Jerusalem, and to fortify it again in the same manner as it was before it was dismantled and destroyed by the Babylonians. He was a Jew, whose ancestors had formerly been citizens of Jerusalem; for there, he saith, was the place of his fathers' sepulchres.^c But as to the tribe or family which he was of, no more is said, but only that his father's name was Hachaliah; who seemeth to have been of those Jews, who, having gotten good settlements in the land of their captivity, chose rather to abide in them, than return into their own country, when leave was granted for it. It is most likely, that he was an inhabitant of the city of Shushan; and that it was his dwelling there that gave his son an opportunity of gaining an advancement in the king's palace: for he was one of the cup-bearers of king Artaxerxes,^d which was a place of great honour and advantage in the Persian court, because of the privilege it gave him of being daily in the king's presence, and the opportunity which he had thereby of gain-

^a Neh. ii.

^b Neh. ii. 1; v. 14.

^c Neh. ii. 3.

Vide Brissoniū de Regno Prefixe, lib. 1, sec. 93.

ing his favour, for the obtaining of any petition which he should make to him; and that especially since the times of his attendance always were, when the king was making his heart merry with the wine which he served up unto him; for this is the best opportunity with all men, for the obtaining any boon that shall be desired of them, because they are always then in the best humour of complying. And it was at such a time that he asked the government of Judea, and obtained it.^e And by the like advantages of his place, no doubt, it was, that he gained those immense riches which enabled him for so many years, out of his own private purse only, to live in his government with that splendour and expense, as will be hereafter related, without burdening the people at all for it.^f And no doubt it was by the favour of queen Esther, as being of the same nation and people with her, that he obtained so honourable and advantageous a preferment in that court. However, neither the honour and advantage of this place, nor the long settlement of his family out of his country, could make him forget his love for it, or lay aside that zeal which he had for the religion of his forefathers, who had formerly dwelt in it. For though he had been born and bred in a strange land, yet he had a great love for Sion, and an heart thoroughly set for the advancing of the prosperity of it, and was in all things a very religious observer of the law of his God. And therefore when some came from Jerusalem, and told him of the ill state of that city, how the walls of it were still in many places broken down, and the gates of it in the same demolished state as when burned with fire by the Babylonians, and that, by reason hereof, the remnant of the captivity that dwelt there lay open, not only to the incursions and insults of their enemies, but also to the reproach and contempt of their neighbours, as a weak and despicable people;^g and that they were in both these respects in great affliction and grief of heart; the good man, being suitably moved with this representation, applied himself to fasting and prayer unto the Lord his God, and earnestly supplicated to him for his people of Israel, and the place which he had chosen for his worship among them. And, having thus implored the divine mercy against this evil, he resolved next to make his application to the king for the redressing of it, trusting in God for the inclining of his heart thereto; and therefore when his turn came next to wait in his office, the king observing his countenance to be sad, which at other times used not so to be, and asking the cause thereof, he took this opportunity to lay before him the distressed state

^e Neh. ii. 1.^f Neh. v. 14—19.^g Neh. i.

of his country; and, owning this to be a cause of great grief and sadness unto him, he prayed the king to send him thither to remedy it;^b and by the favour of queen Esther, he had his petition granted unto him: for it being particularly remarked in the sacred text,ⁱ that the queen was sitting by the king, when Nehemiah obtained this grant, it sufficiently intimates that her favour was assisting to him herein. And accordingly a royal decree was issued out for the rebuilding of the walls and gates of Jerusalem, and Nehemiah was sent thither with it, as governor of the province of Judea, to put it in execution. And, to do him the more honour, the king sent a guard of horse with him, under the command of some of the captains of his army, to conduct him in safety to his government. And he wrote letters to all the governors on this side the river Euphrates, to further him in the work on which he was sent; and also gave his order to Asaph, the keeper of his forests in those parts, to allow him as much timber out of them as should be needed for the finishing of it. However, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Samaritans, and other neighbouring nations round, did all they could to hinder him from proceeding therein. And to this they were excited, not only by the ancient and bitter enmity which those people bore to the whole Jewish nation, because of the different manners and different religions which they were of, but most especially at this time, because of their lands: for during the time that the Jews were in captivity, these nations, having seized their lands, were forced to restore them on their return.^k For which reason they did all they could to oppose their resettlement; hoping, that if they could be kept low, they might find an opportunity, some time or other, of resuming again the prey they had lost. But Nehemiah was not at all discouraged hereat; for having, on his arrival at Jerusalem, made known to the people the commission with which he was sent, he took a view of the ruins of the old walls, and immediately set about the repairing of them;^l dividing the people into several companies, and assigning to each of them the quarter where they were to work; but reserving to himself the reviewal and direction of the whole; in which he laboured so effectually, that all was accomplished by the end of the month Elul,^m within the compass of fifty-two days, notwithstanding all manner of opposition that was made against him, both from within and from without. For, from within, several false prophets, and other treacherous persons, endeavoured to

h Neh. ii.

k Josephus Antiq. lib. 11, c. 4.

m Neh. vi.

i Neh. ii. 6.

l Neh. iii; iv.

create him obstructions ; and, from without, Sanballat the Horonite, Tobias the Ammonite, Geshem the Arabian, and several others, gave him all the disturbance they were able, not only by underhand dealings, and treacherous tricks and contrivances, but also by open force : so that while part of the people laboured in carrying on the building, the other part stood to their arms to defend them against the assaults of such as had designs against them. And all had their arms at hand, even while they worked, to be ready, at a signal given, to draw together to any part where the enemy should be discovered to be coming upon them. And by this means they secured themselves against all the attempts and designs of their enemies, till the work was brought to a conclusion. And when they had thus far finished the walls and set up the gates, a public dedication of them was celebrated with great solemnity by the priests and Levites, and all the people.ⁿ

The burden which the people underwent in the carrying on of this work, and the incessant labour which they were forced to undergo to bring it to so speedy a conclusion, being very great, and such as made many of them faint and groan under it, and express a despair of being able to perfect it ;* to revive their drooping spirits, and make them the more easy and ready to proceed in that which was farther to be done, care was taken to relieve them from a much greater burden, the oppression of usurers, which they then in great misery lay under, and had much greater reason to complain of.^p For the rich, taking advantage of the necessities of the meaner sort, had exacted heavy usury of them, making them pay the *centesima* for all moneys lent them,^q that is, one *per cent.* for every month, which amounted to twelve *per cent.* for the whole year ; so that they were forced to mortgage their lands, and sell their children into servitude, to have wherewith to buy bread for the support of themselves and their families ; which being a manifest breach of the law of God given them by Moses (for that forbids all the race of Israel to take usury of any of their brethren),^r Nehemiah, on his hearing hereof, resolved forthwith to remove so great an iniquity : in order whereto he called a general assembly of the people ; where, having set forth unto them the nature of the offence, how great a breach it was of the divine law, and how heavy an oppression upon their brethren, and how much it might provoke the wrath of God against them, he caused it to be enacted, by the general suffrage of that whole assembly, that all should return to their brethren whatsoever

ⁿ Neh. xii.

^o Neh. iv. 10.

^p Neh. v.

^q Neh. v. 11. Vide Salmasium de Fœnore Trapezitico.

^r Exod. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 36, 37. Deut. xxiii. 19.

had been exacted of them upon usury, and also release all the lands, vineyards, oliveyards, and houses, which had been taken of them on mortgage upon the account hereof.

And thus far Nehemiah having executed the main end for which he obtained the favour of the king to be sent to Jerusalem, he appointed Hanani and Hananiah to be governors of the city, and returned again unto him into Persia. For a time had been set him for his return again to court, when he first obtained to be sent from thence on this commission ;^s which, as expressed in the text, plainly imports a short time, and not that of twelve years (after which he again went unto the king),^t as some do interpret it. And his having appointed governors of the city as soon as the walls were built, evidently implies, that he then went from thence, and was absent for some time: for, had he still continued at Jerusalem, he would not have needed any deputies to govern the place. And, furthermore, the building of the walls of Jerusalem being all for which he prayed his first commission, when this was performed, he seems to have needed a new authority before he could go on to other proceedings which were necessary for the well settling of the affairs of that country. But, on his coming to the king, and having given him an account how all things stood in the province, and what farther was needful to be done for the well regulating of it, he soon obtained to be sent back again to take care hereof; and the shortness of his absence seems to have been the cause that there is no notice taken of it in the text, though the particulars I have mentioned seem sufficiently to imply it.

Nehemiah being returned from the Persian court with a new commission, forthwith set himself to carry on the reformation of the church and the state of the Jews which Ezra had begun, and took along with him the advice and direction of that learned and holy scribe in all that he attempted herein. The first thing that he did, was to provide for the security of the city, which he had now fortified, by settling rules for the opening and shutting of the gates, and keeping watch and ward on the towers and walls.

An. 444.
Artax. 21.

But finding Jerusalem to be but thinly inhabited, and that, to make this burden more easy, there needed more inhabitants to bear their share with them in it, he projected the thorough repeopling of the place." In order whereto, he prevailed first with the rulers and great men of the nation to agree to build them houses there, and dwell in them; and then others, following their example, offered themselves

^s Neh. ii. 6.

^t Neh. xiii. 6.

^u Neh. vii. 3, 4.

voluntarily to do the same.^x And of the rest of the people every tenth man was taken by lot, and obliged to come to Jerusalem, and there build them houses, and settle themselves and families in them. And now the city was fortified, and all that had their dwelling in it were there well secured by walls and gates against the insults of their enemies, and the incursions of thieves and robbers, who before molested them, all willingly complied herewith; by which means the houses, as well as the walls and gates, being again rebuilt, and fully replenished with inhabitants, it soon after this recovered its ancient lustre, and became again a city of great note in those parts. So that Herodotus, who travelled through Judea a little after this time, doth, in the description which he gives us of it,^y compare it to Sardis, the metropolis of all the lesser Asia,^z as hath been before observed; which manifestly proves, that, by the restoring and building of the street and ditch of Jerusalem, mentioned in the prophecy of Daniel, could not be meant this rebuilding of the walls and void places of that city; for what was predicted by that passage was not to be done but in seven weeks of years, that is, forty-nine years. It must be acknowledged, that Herodotus is said by Eusebius^a to have publicly read his history at Athens in the last year of the 83d Olympiad, (that is, four hundred and forty-five years before Christ,) and by others,^b to have gone the next year after, (which is this very year, four hundred and forty-four, of which we now treat,) with a colony of Athenians and other Greeks into Italy, to inhabit Thurium,^c a city then newly built near the place where formerly Sibaris stood; and therefore it may be from hence urged against what I have here said, that Herodotus must, before this time, have ended his travels, which he undertook for the making of this history, since this his history was finished, and publicly read at Athens the year before. To this I reply, that though he had read the first draught of this history at the time when Eusebius saith, yet he had not completed it till at least thirty-three years after: for therein he makes mention of the Peloponnesian war, and of things done in it in the second,^d and also in the nineteenth^e year of that war; which last was the thirty-third year after that, wherein he is said by Eusebius to have publicly read that history at Athens; and therefore it could not have been fully completed by him till after that year. The truth of the matter appears plain-

^x Neh. xi.

^z See above, under the year 610.

^b Dionysius Halicarnassensis in Vita

Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 656.

^d Herodot. lib. 7.

^y Herodot. lib. 3, initio libri.

^a In Chronico, sub Olympiade 83.

Lysie Oratoris. Plinius, lib. xii. c. 4.

^c Diod. Sic. lib. xii. p. 76, 77, 78.

^e Herodot. lib. 9.

ly to have been thus. In the year four hundred and forty-five before Christ, which was the last year of the 83d Olympiad, he did read his first draught of this history at Athens, being then thirty-nine years old, but employed all his life after farther to polish and complete it, and did not put his last hand to it till after the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, which was the thirty-third after his first reading it at Athens. The next year after his having read it there, he went thence with the colony to Thurium, that is, in the first year of the 84th Olympiad. which was the three hundred and tenth of the building of Rome according to the Varronian account,^f and twelve years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.^g And, on his settling in that place, he revised what he had publicly read at Athens, from whence it is that he is said by Pliny there to have made this history. And after his having continued some time at Thurium, he travelled from thence into the East, for the farther completing of this history, and also for the gaining of materials for another, which he was then composing of Assyria and Babylon: but this last was never published,^h though he refers to it in his other history now extant; the reason, it is supposed, was, that he lived not to finish it, though, by the above-mentioned account, it appears he outlived the seventy-second year of his age, and by other particulars in his history,ⁱ it seems most likely that he lived much longer. And, I doubt not, it was in those travels which he undertook from Thurium, that he went through Judea, and there saw Jerusalem, which he calls Cadytis; for that the city which he describes under that name, could be none other than Jerusalem, I have already shown.

Nehemiah, finding it necessary to have the genealogies of the people well examined into, and clearly stated, betook himself in the next place to inquire into that matter.^k And this he did, not only for the sake of their civil rights, that all knowing of what tribe and family they were, they might thereby be directed where to take their possessions; but especially for the sake of the sanctuary, that none might be admitted to officiate there, either as Levites which were not of the tribe of Levi, or as priests which were not of the family of Aaron. And therefore, for the true settling of the matter, search was made for the old registers; and having among them found a register of the genealogies of those who came up at first from Babylon with Zerubbabel and

^f Plinius, lib. 12, c. 4.

^g Dionysius Halicarnassensis in Vita Lysiae Oratoris.

^h Herodot. lib. 1.

ⁱ Vide Userii Annales sub anno J. P. 4306.

^k Neh. vii.

Jeshua, he settled this matter according to it, adding such as afterward came up, and expunging others whose families were extinguished; and this hath caused the difference that is between the accounts which we have of these genealogies in Ezra and Nehemiah; for, in the second chapter of Ezra, we have the old register made by Zerubbabel, and in the seventh of Nehemiah, from the sixth verse to the end of the chapter, a copy of it as settled by Nehemiah, with the alterations I have mentioned.

Ezra, having completed his edition of the law of God, and written it out fairly and correctly in the Chaldean character,¹ did this year, on the feast of trumpets, publicly read it to the people at Jerusalem. This feast was celebrated on the first of Tisri,^m the seventh month of the Jews' ecclesiastical year, and the first of their civil year. Their coming out of Egypt having been in the month of Nisan,ⁿ from that time the beginning of the year, in all ecclesiastical matters, was reckoned among them from the beginning of that month (which happened about the time of the vernal equinox;) but, in all civil matters, as in contracts, bargains, and such like, they still continued to go by the old form, and began their year from the first of Tisri^o (which happened about the time of the autumnal equinox,) as all other nations of the East then did (as hath been afore observed,) and all instruments and writings, relating to contracts, bargains, or other civil matters among them, were dated according to this year; and all their jubilees^p and sabbatical years^q began with it: and, therefore, it being reckoned their new-year's day, they celebrated it with a festival. And this festival being solemnized by the sounding of trumpets, from the morning of that day to the end of it, thereby to proclaim and give notice to all of the beginning of the new-year, it hath from hence been called *the feast of trumpets*. For the celebrating of this feast the people being assembled from all parts of the land at Jerusalem, and understanding that Ezra had finished his revisal of the law, and written out a correct copy of it, they called upon him to have it read unto them.^r Whereon a scaffold, or large pulpit, being erected in the largest street of the city, where most might stand to hear, Ezra ascended into it, with thirteen others of the principal elders of the people; and, having placed six of them on his right-hand, and seven on his left, he stood up in the midst of them, and, having blessed the Lord, the great God, he began

¹ Neh. viii.^m Numb. xxix. 1. Levit. xxiii. 24.ⁿ Exod. xii. 2.^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1, c. 4. Talmud in Rosh Hashbanah.^p Levit. xxv. 9.^q Levit. xxv. 8, 9. Maimonides de Anno Sabbatico.^r Neh. viii.

to read the law out of the Hebrew text. And as he did read it in this language, thirteen others of the Levites, whom he had instructed and appointed for this purpose, rendered it period by period into Chaldee, which was then the vulgar language of the people, and therein gave them the meaning of every particular part, and made them understand the same. And thus the holy scribe, with these his assistants, continued from morning till noon, to read and explain unto the people the law of God, in such manner as might best make them to know and understand it. But it being a festival day, when the time of dining approached, Nehemiah, and Ezra, and the rest that were assisting to them in thus instructing the people, dismissed them for that time to their dinner, to eat and drink, and rejoice before the Lord the remaining part of the day, because it was consecrated to be thus kept holy unto him. But the next morning they assembled again in the same place, and Ezra and his assistants went on farther to read and explain to them the law of God, in the same manner as they had done the day before; and when they came to the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, wherein is written the law of the feast of tabernacles, and had from thence explained unto them the obligation which was upon them to observe this festival, and shown them, that the fifteenth day of that month was the day appointed for the beginning of it, this excited an eager desire in all the people of fulfilling the law of God in this particular. And therefore proclamation was forthwith made through all Judah to give notice of the festival, and to warn all to be present at Jerusalem on the said fifteenth day of that month, for the observing of it. And accordingly they came thither at the time prescribed, and, as they had been instructed from the law of God, prepared booths made of the branches of trees, and kept the festival in them through the whole seven days of its continuance, in such solemn manner as had not been observed before from the days of Joshua to that time. Ezra taking the advantage of having the people in so great a number thus assembled together, and so well disposed towards the law of God, and the observance of it, went on with his assistants farther to read and explain it unto them, in the same manner as had been done in the two former days; and this they did, day by day, from the first day to the last day of the festival, till they had gone through the whole law. By which the people, perceiving in how many things they had transgressed the commands of God, through the ignorance in which they had been kept of them (for till now the law had never been read to them since their return from Babylon,) expressed great trouble of heart hereat, being much grieved for their sins, and exceedingly terrified with

the fear of God's wrath for the punishment of them. Nehemiah and Ezra, finding them in so good a temper, applied themselves to make the best improvement that could be made of it, for the honour of God, and the interest of religion; and therefore forthwith proclaimed a fast to be held the next day save one after the festival was ended,^s that is, on the twenty-fourth day of the same month: to which having called all the people, while the sense of these things was fresh and warm on their minds, they excited them to make a public and solemn confession before God of all their sins, and also to enter into a solemn vow and covenant with God to avoid them for the future, and strictly hold themselves fast to the observance of God's laws. The observances which they chiefly obliged themselves to in this covenant were; 1st. Not to make intermarriages with the Gentiles, either by giving their daughters to them, or by taking any of their daughters to themselves; 2dly. To observe the sabbaths and sabbatical years; 3dly. To pay their annual tribute to the temple, for the repairing of it, and the finding of all necessities for the carrying on of the public service in it; and, 4thly. To pay the tithes and first-fruits to the priests and Levites. Which particulars, thus especially named in this covenant, show unto us what were the laws of God which hitherto they had been most neglectful of since their return from their captivity.

And it being their ignorance of the law of God that had led them into these transgressions against it, and this ignorance having been occasioned by their not having it read unto them; for the preventing hereof for the future, they, from this time, got the learnedest of the Levites, and other scribes that were best skilled in the law of God, to read it unto them in every city: which at first they did no doubt in the same manner as Ezra had done, that is, by gathering the people together to them in some wide street, or other open place of their city, which was of fittest capacity to receive them. But the inconvenience of this being soon felt, especially in the winter and stormy seasons of the year, for the remedy hereof, they erected them houses or tabernacles, wherein to meet for this purpose; and this was the original of synagogues among them. That they had no synagogues before the Babylonish captivity, is plain, not only from the silence which is of them in all the Scriptures of the Old Testament, but also from several passages therein, which evidently prove there could be none in those days. For, as it is a common saying among the Jews,^t that, where there is

^s Nehemiah ix.

^t Midrash Esther 123. 1. Tanchuma 54, 2

no book of the law, there can be no synagogue; so the reason of the thing proves it: for the main service of the synagogue being the reading of the law unto the people, where there was no book of the law to be read, there certainly would be no synagogue. But how rare the book of the law was through all Judah before the Babylonish captivity, many texts of Scripture tell us. When Jehoshaphat sent teachers through all Judah to instruct the people in the law of God, they carried a book of the law with them," which they needed not to have done, if there had been any copies of the law in those cities to which they went; which certainly there would have been, had there then been any synagogues in them; it being the same absurdity to suppose a Jewish synagogue without a copy of the law, as it would with us to suppose a parish church without a Bible. And, therefore, as this proves the want of the law through all Judah in those times, so doth it also the want of synagogues in them. And when Hilkiah found the law in the temple,^x neither he nor king Josiah needed have been so surprised at it, had books of the law been common in those times. Their behaviour on that occasion sufficiently proves, they had never seen it before, which could not be, had there then been any other copies of it to be found among the people. And if there were no copies of the law at that time among them, there could then be most certainly no synagogues for them to resort to, for the hearing of it read unto them. From hence it plainly follows, there could be no synagogues among the Jews till after the Babylonish captivity. And it is most probable, that Ezra's reading to them the law, and the necessity which thereon they perceived there was of having it oftener read among them, for their instruction in it gave them the occasion of erecting them after the captivity, in the manner as I have related; and most learned men are of this opinion;^y and some of the Jews themselves say as much.^z Concerning these synagogues, I think it proper here to inform the reader, 1st. In what places they were to be erected; 2dly. What was the service to be performed in them; 3dly. What were the times of their assembling for this service; and 4thly. Who were their ministers to perform it.

I. As to the first, their rule was, that a synagogue was to be erected in every place where there were ten *Batelnim*,^a

ⁿ 2 Chron. xvii. 9.

^x 2 Kings xxii.

^y Spencer de Legibus Heb. lib. i. c. 4, sec. 10. Vitringa de Synagoga Veteri, lib. 1, part 1, c. 9—12. Relandus in Antiq. Sacr. part 1, c. 10.

^z Maimonides in Tephillah.

^a Megillah, c. 1, sec. 3. Maimonides in Tephillah. Lightfoot in his Harmony, sec. 17, and in his Talmudical Exercitations upon Matt. iv. 23.

that is, ten persons of full age, and free condition, always at leisure to attend the service of it; for less than ten such, according to them, did not make a congregation, and, without such a congregation present, no part of the synagogue service could be performed; and therefore, wherever they could always be secure of such a congregation, that is, of ten such persons to be present at the service in all the stated times in which it was to be performed, there they were to build a synagogue. For where ten such persons might always be had at leisure to attend the synagogue in all their religious assemblies, this they reckoned a great city, and here they would have a synagogue to be built; but not otherwise: for I take the rule above mentioned to be restrictive in the negative sense, as well as obligatory in the affirmative, and to show where a synagogue ought not to be built, as well as where it ought, that is, that no synagogue ought to be built in any place, where there were not such a number of inhabitants, as might give a reasonable presumption, that there would be always ten persons at leisure to be present in every synagogue assembly, and that as well on the week days as on the sabbaths, because, without such a number, they could not go on with the synagogue service. At first these synagogues were few, but afterward they became multiplied to a great number, in the same manner as parish churches with us, which they much resemble. So that in our Saviour's time there was no town in Judea, but what had one or more of them. The Jews tell us, that about that time, Tiberias alone,^b which was a city of Galilee, had twelve of them, and Jerusalem^c four hundred and eighty; but herein they are supposed to have spoken hyperbolically, and to have expressed an uncertain large number by a certain. If this were to be understood strictly and literally, what is said^d by some of these ten Batelnim, that they were the stationary men of the synagogue, hired to be always present to make a congregation, must be understood of many of them: for were their number so multiplied, they could not otherwise in every one of them be always sure of a congregation, especially on the working days of the week, two of which were always solemn synagogue days, as well as the sabbaths. It is Lightfoot's opinion, that these ten Batelnim, were the elders and ministers that governed and managed the synagogue service; but this is said without a sufficient foundation to support it.

II. The service to be performed in these synagogue as-

^b Berachoth, f. 8.

^c See Lightfoot's *Chorographical Century*, c. 36

^d Buxtorfii *Lexicon Rabbinicum*, p. 292.

semblies, were prayers, reading the Scriptures, and preaching and expounding upon them.

1st. For their prayers, they have liturgies, in which are all the prescribed forms of their synagogue worship. These at first were very few ; but since they are increased into a very large bulk, which makes their synagogue service very long and tedious ; and the rubric, by which they regulate it, is very perplexed and intricate, and encumbered with many rites and ceremonious observances ; in all which, they equal, if not exceed, both the superstition and also the length of the popish service. The most solemn part of their prayers are those which they call *Shemoneh Eshreh*,^e i. e. *The eighteen prayers*. These, they say, were composed and instituted by Ezra and the great synagogue : and to them Rabbi Gamaliel, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, added the nineteenth, against the Christians, who are therein meant under the names of apostates and heretics. It is certain these prayers are very ancient ; for mention is made of them in the Mishnah as old settled forms ;^f and no doubt is to be made, but that they were used in our Saviour's time, and at least most of them,^g if not all the eighteen ; and consequently that he joined in them with the rest of the Jews, whenever he went into their synagogues, as he always did every sabbath-day.^h And from hence two things may be inferred for the consideration of our Dissenters : 1st. That our Saviour disliked not set forms of prayer in public worship ; and, 2dly. That he was contented to join with the public in the meanest forms rather than separate from it. For these eighteen prayers, in comparison of those now used in our church, are very jejune and empty forms ; and that the reader may see they are so, I shall here add a translation of them in the same order as they are in the Jewish liturgies, adding the nineteenth prayer to them ; which, according to the said order, is the twelfth in number as here recited.

1. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the great God, powerful and tremendous, the high God : bountifully dispensing benefits ; the Creator and Possessor of the universe, who rememberest the good deeds of our fathers, and in thy love sendest a Redeemer to those who are

^e Of these see Maimonides in Tephillah.

^f In Berachoth, c. 4, sec. 3.

^g It must be acknowledged, that some of these prayers seem to have been composed after the destruction of Jerusalem, and to have reference to it, especially the tenth, the eleventh, the fourteenth and the seventeenth ; though it is possible some of these might refer to the calamities of the ancient times.

^h Luke iv. 16.

descended from them, for thy name's sake, O King, our Helper, our Saviour, and our Shield. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the shield of Abraham.

2. Thou, O Lord, art powerful for ever. Thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save : thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the earth, and sustainest with thy beneficence all that live therein ; and of thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou helpest up those that fall ; thou curest the sick ; thou loosest them that are bound, and makest good thy word of truth to those that sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to thee, O thou Lord of might ? And who is like unto thee, O our king, who killest and makest alive, and makest salvation to spring up as the herb out of the field ? Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead again to life.

3. Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy saints do praise thee every day. *Selah.* For a great King and an holy art thou, O God. Blessed art thou, O Lord God most holy.

4. Thou of thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teachest them understanding ; give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who graciously givest knowledge unto men.

5. Bring us back, O our Father, to the observance of thy law, and make us to adhere to thy precepts ; and do thou, O our King, draw us near to thy worship, and convert us unto thee by perfect repentance in thy presence. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance.

6. Be thou merciful unto us, O our Father ; for we have sinned ; pardon us, O our King ; for we have transgressed against thee. For thou art God, good and ready to pardon. Blessed art thou, O Lord most gracious, who multipliest thy mercies in the forgiveness of sins.

7. Look, we beseech thee, upon our afflictions. Be thou on our side in all our contentions, and plead thou our cause in all litigations ; and make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption, for thy name's sake. For thou art our God, our King, and a strong Redeemer. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.

8. Heal us, O Lord our God, and we shall be healed. Save us, and we shall be saved ; for thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a God who healest, and art merciful. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who curest the diseases of thy people Israel.

9. Bless us, O Lord our God, in every work of our hands, and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us upon the face of all our land; and satiate the world with thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the earth that is habitable. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who givest thy blessing to the years.

10. Convocate us together by the sound of the great trumpet, to the enjoyment of our liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the captivity from the four quarters of the earth into our own land. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel.

11. Restore unto us our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning, and remove far from us affliction and trouble, and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice. Blessed art thou, O Lord our King, who lovest righteousness and justice.

12. Let there be no hope to them who apostatize from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever they be, all perish as in a moment.ⁱ And let the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted out and broken in our days.^k Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud.

13. Upon the pious and the just, and upon the proselytes of justice,^l and upon the remnant of thy people of the house of Israel, let thy mercies be moved, O Lord our God; and give a good reward unto all who faithfully put their trust in thy name, and grant us our portion with them, and for ever let us not be ashamed; for we put our trust in thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the support and confidence of the just.

14. Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem thy city, as thou hast promised, build it with a building to last for ever; and do this speedily, even in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem.

15. Make the offspring of David thy servant speedily to grow up and flourish, and let our horn be exalted in thy sal-

ⁱ This is the prayer which was added by Rabbi Gamaliel against the Christians, or, as others say, by Rabbi Samuel the little, who was one of his scholars.

^k The Roman empire.

^l The proselytes of justice were such as received the whole Jewish law, and conformed in all things to their religion. Other proselytes there were, who conformed only to the seven precepts of the sons of Noah; and these were called the proselytes of the gate, because they worshipped only in the outer court of the temple, and were admitted no farther than the gate leading into the inner courts.

vation : for we hope for thy salvation every day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish.

16. Hear our voice, O Lord our God, most merciful Father, pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our prayers with mercy and favour, and send us not away empty from thy presence, O our King ; for thou hearest with mercy the prayer of thy people Israel. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer.

17. Be thou well pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and have regard unto their prayers : restore thy worship to the inner part of thy house, and make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers ; and let the worship of Israel thy people be continually well-pleasing unto thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy divine presence to Zion.

18. We will give thanks unto thee with praise ; for thou art the Lord our God, the God of our Fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our Rock, and the Rock of our life, the Shield of our salvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life which is always in thy hands, and because of our souls, which are ever depending upon thee, and because of thy signs, which are every day with us, and because of thy wonders and marvellous lovingkindnesses, which are morning and evening and night continually before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not consumed ; thou art merciful, for thy lovingkindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in thee. And for all these mercies be thy name, O King, blessed, and exalted, and lifted up on high for ever and ever : and let all that live give thanks unto thee. *Selah.* And let them in truth and sincerity praise thy name, O God of our salvation, and our help. *Selah.* Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is good, and whom it is fitting always to give thanks unto thee.

19. Give peace, beneficence, and benediction, grace, benignity, and mercy unto us, and to Israel thy people. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us together, as one man, with the light of thy countenance. For in the light of thy countenance hast thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the law of life, and love, and benignity, and righteousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it seem good in thine eyes to bless thy people Israel with thy peace at all times, and in every moment. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace. *Amen.*

Since our Saviour spared not freely to tell the Jews of all the curruptions which they had in his time run into, and on all

occasions reproached them therewith, had it been contrary to the will of God to use set forms of prayer in his public service, or had it been displeasing to him to be addressed to in such mean forms, when much better might have been made ; we may be sure he would have told them of both, and joined with them in neither. But he having never found fault with them for using set forms, but, on the contrary, taught his own disciples a set form to pray by ; nor at any time expressed a dislike of the forms then in use, because of the meanness and emptiness of them, but always joined with them in their synagogues in the forms above recited, this may satisfy our Dissenters, if any thing can satisfy men so perversely bent after their own ways, that neither our using set forms of prayers in our public worship, nor the using of such which they think not sufficiently edifying, can be objections sufficient to justify them in their refusal to join with us in them ; for they have the example of Christ in both these thus directly against them. The truth is, whether there be a form or no form, or whether the form be elegantly or meanly composed, nothing of this availeth to the recommending of our prayers unto God. It is the true and sincere devotion of the heart only that can make them acceptable unto him ; for it is this only that gives life and vigour, and true acceptance, to all our religious addresses unto him. Without this how elegantly and moving soever the prayer may be composed, and with how much seeming fervour and zeal soever it may be poured out, all is as dead matter and of no validity in the presence of our God. But if we bring this with us to his worship, any form of prayer, provided it be of sound words, may be sufficient to make us and our worship acceptable unto him, and obtain mercy, peace, and pardon, from him. For it is not the fineness of speech, or the elegance of expression, but the sincerity of the mind, and the true devotion of the heart only that God regards in all our prayers which we offer up unto him. It is true, a new jingle of words, and a fervent delivery of them by the minister in prayer, may have some effect upon the auditors, and often raise, in such of them as are affected this way, a devotion which otherwise they would not have. But this being wholly artificial, which all drops again, as soon as the engine is removed that raised it, it is none of that true habitual devotion, which can alone render us acceptable unto our God in any of our addresses unto him. This we ought to bring with us, whenever we come into the house of God to worship before him ; and with this, in any form which is of sound words, we may pray acceptably unto him, and none can ever do so without it. But whether any form of such sound words can be well preserved

in those extemporary effusions of prayer which some delight in, whether this doth not often lead them into indecent, and sometimes into blasphemous expressions, to the great dishonour of God, and the damage of religion, it behooves those who are for this way seriously to consider.

But, to return from whence I have digressed ; these nineteen prayers were enjoined to be said by all that were of age, of what sex or condition soever. either in public or in private, three times every day, that is, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night.^m And they were of that esteem, and are so still, among them, that they allow the name of prayer to be proper to the saying of these nineteen prayers only ; looking on it by way of eminence to be much more so than the saying of all the rest. And therefore they are, on every synagogue day, offered up in the most solemn manner, in all their public assemblies. But these prayers are, in their offices, no other than as the Lord's prayer in ours, that is, they are the fundamental and principal part: for besides them they have many other prayers, some going before, others interspersed between them, and others following after, which all together make their synagogue service very long. Our Saviour found fault with their prayers for being too long in his time.ⁿ Many additions in their liturgies have made them much more so since.

2. The second part of their synagogue service is the reading of the Scriptures, which is of three sorts ; 1st. The Kiriath Shema ; 2d. The reading of the law ; and, 3d. The reading of the prophets. Of the two latter I have already spoken ; and therefore I shall now treat only of the first.—It consists in the reading of three portions of Scripture.^o The first is from the beginning of the fourth verse of the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy, to the end of the ninth verse ; the second, from the beginning of the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of Deuteronomy, to the end of the twenty-first verse ; and the third, from the beginning of the thirty-seventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Numbers, to the end of the chapter. And because the first of these portions in the Hebrew Bible begins with the word Shema, that is, *hear*, they call all these three together the Shema, and the reading of them Kiriath Shema, that is, *The reading of the Shema*. This reading of the Shema is accompanied with several prayers and benedictions, both before and after it, and is, next the saying of the nineteen prayers, the most

^m Maimonides in Tephillah.

ⁿ Matt. xxiii. 14. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 47.

^o Maimonides in Kiriath Shema. Vitringa de Synagoga Vetere, lib. 3. part 2, c. 15.

solemn part of their religious service; and is, in the same manner as that, to be performed according to their ritual every day, (that is, either publicly in their synagogue assemblies, or else privately out of them, on those days when there are no such assemblies, or when they cannot be present at them,) only with this difference, that, whereas the nineteen prayers are to be said thrice every day, and by every person of age, without any exception, the reading or repeating of the Shema is only to be twice a day, that is, morning and evening, and the males only which are of free condition, are obliged to it, all women and servants being excused from the duty. They think they are bound to the repeating of this Shema every morning and evening, because of the words of the law, (Deut. vi. 7,) "And thou shalt talk of them when thou liest down, and when thou risest up:" and also because of the like words, (Deut. xi. 19.) The reading or repeating of this Shema in the manner as is here related, they think, is of great moment for the preserving of religion among them: as most certainly it must be, because thereby they do twice every day make confession of the unity of God, and of the duties which they owe unto him.

3. The third part of the synagogue service, is the expounding of the Scriptures, and preaching to the people from them. The first was performed at the time of the reading of them, and the other after the reading both of the law and the prophets was over. It is plain Christ taught the Jews in their synagogues both these ways. When he came to Nazareth, his own city, he was called out, as a member of that synagogue, to read the Haphterah, that is, the section or lesson out of the prophets which was to be read that day.^p And when he stood up and read it, he sat down and expounded it, as was the usage of the Jews in both these cases. For, out of reverence to the law and the prophets, they stood up when they did read any portion out of either, and, in regard to themselves as teachers, they sat when they expounded. But in all other synagogues, of which he was not a member, when he entered into them (as he always did every sabbath-day wherever he was,) ^q he taught the people in sermons, after the reading of the law and the prophets was over. And so St. Paul taught the Jews in their synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia; ^r for there it is expressly said, in the sacred text, that his preaching was after the reading of the law and the prophets was ended.

III. The times of their synagogue service were three days a week, besides their holidays, whether fasts or festivals; ^s

^p Luke iv. 16, 17, &c.

^r Acts xiii. 15.

^q Luke vi. 16.

^s Maimonides in Tephillah.

and thrice on every one of those days, that is, in the morning, and in the afternoon, and at night. Their ordinary synagogue days in every week were Monday, Thursday, and Saturday. Saturday was their sabbath, the day set apart among them for religious exercises by divine appointment, and the other two by the appointment of the elders, that so three days might not pass without the public reading of the law among them. The reason which they gave for this is taken from their mystical interpretation of the law. For whereas we find it said (Exod. xv. 22,) that the Israelites were in great distress on their travelling three days in the wilderness without water, by water they tell us is there mystically meant the law; and therefore say, that for this reason, they ought not to be three days together without the hearing of it: and consequently, for the avoiding hereof, they have ordained, that it be publicly read in their synagogues thrice every week. And their manner of doing it is as followeth. The whole law, or five books of Moses, being divided into as many sections or lessons, as there are weeks in the year (as hath been before shown,) on Monday they began with that which was proper for that week, and read it half way through, and on Thursday proceeded to read the remainder; and on Saturday, which was their solemn sabbath, they did read all over again, from the beginning to the end of the said lesson or section; and this both morning and evening. On the week days they did read it only in the morning, but on the sabbath they did read it in the evening, as well as in the morning, for the sake of labourers and artificers, who could not leave their work to attend the synagogues on the week days, that so all might hear twice every week the whole section or lesson of that week read unto them. And when the reading of the prophets was added to that of the law, they observed the same order in it. As the synagogue service was to be on three days every week for the sake of their hearing the law; so it was to be thrice on those days for the sake of their prayers. For it was a constant rule among them, that all were to pray unto God three times every day, that is, in the morning at the time of the morning sacrifice, and in the evening at the time of the evening sacrifice, and at the beginning of the night, because till then the evening sacrifice was still left burning upon the altar. It is certain, that it was anciently among God's people the steady practice of good and religious persons, to offer up their prayers to God thrice every day. This we find David, and this we find Daniel did. For the former says, (Psalm lx. 17,) "Evening, morning, and at noon, will I pray." And the latter tells us, that, notwithstanding the king's decree to the contrary, "He

kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks unto his God, as he did aforetime.” By which it is plainly implied, that he did not only at that time thus pray, but that it was always his constant custom so to do. They having had no synagogues till after the Babylonish captivity, till then they had not any set forms for their prayers; neither had they any solemn assemblies for their praying to God at all, except at the temple only. That was always the house of prayer; so Isaiah,^t and so from him our Saviour calls it;^u and to this use Solomon consecrated it; and there the times of prayer were fixed to the times of the morning and evening sacrifice: and the ordinary time of the former was at nine in the morning, and of the latter at three in the afternoon; but on extraordinary days, as sabbaths, festivals, and fasts, there being additional sacrifices, additions were also made to the times of offering them, and both the morning and the evening service did then begin sooner than on other days. As soon as they did begin, the stationary men were present in the court of Israel, to offer up their prayers for the whole congregation of Israel;^x and other devout persons, who voluntarily attended, were without in the court, called *The court of the women*, praying for themselves. But neither of these had any public forms to pray by, nor any public ministers to officiate to them herein, but all prayed in private by themselves, and all according to their own private conceptions.^y And therefore our Saviour, in the parable of the publican and Pharisee, making them to go up both together into the temple to pray, introduceth them there as each making his own prayer for himself.^z For there all thus prayed, and so continued to do all the while the public sacrifices were offering up both morning and evening. And the offering of incense on the golden altar in the holy place, at every morning and evening service in the temple, was instituted on purpose to offer up unto God the prayers of the people, who were then without, praying unto him.^a And hence it was, that St. Luke tells us, that, while Zacharias went into the temple to burn incense, “The whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense.”^b And for the same reason is it, that David prayed, “Let my prayers be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.”^c And according to this usage is to be explained what we find in

t Isaiah lvi. 7.

u Matt. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.

x See Lightfoot's Temple Service.

y If there were any stated forms for this worship, they were only as helps for those who prayed at the temple, which every one offered up for himself without a public minister.

z Luke xviii. 10—13.

a See Lightfoot's Temple Service, c. 9.

b Luke i. 9, 10.

c Psalm cxli. 2.

the Revelation viii. 3, 4; for there it is said, "That an angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God, out of the angel's hand." For the angel here mentioned, is the angel of the covenant, Christ our Lord, who intercedes for us with our God, and, as our Mediator, constantly offers up our prayers unto him. And the manner of his doing this is here set forth by the manner of the typical representation of it in the temple: for as there, at every morning and evening sacrifice, the priest, in virtue of that sacrifice, entering into the holy place, and presenting himself at the golden altar, which stood directly before the mercy-seat (the throne of God's visible presence among them, during the tabernacle and the first temple,) did burn incense thereon, while the people were at their prayers without; thereby, as intercessor to God for them, to offer up their prayers to him for his gracious acceptance, and to make them ascend up before him, from out of his hands, as a sweet-smelling savour in his presence; so Christ, our true priest, and most powerful intercessor, by virtue of that one sacrifice of himself once offered for all, being entered into the holy place, the heaven above, is there continually present before the throne of mercy, to be a constant intercessor for us unto our God; and while we are here in the outer court of his church in this world, offering up our prayers unto our God, he there presents them unto him for us, and through his hands they are accepted as a sweet-smelling savour in his presence. And it being well understood among the Jews, that the offering up of the daily sacrifices, and the burning of incense upon the altar of incense at the time of those sacrifices, was for the rendering of God propitious unto them, and making their prayers to be acceptable in his presence, they were very careful to make the times of these offerings and the times of their prayers, both at the temple and every where else, to be exactly the same. And therefore, as soon as synagogues were erected among them, the hours of public devotions in them, on their synagogue days, were, as to morning and evening prayers, the same hours in which the morning and evening sacrifices were offered up at the temple. And the same hours were also observed in their private prayers, wherever performed. Most good and devout persons that were at Jerusalem, chose on those times to go up into the temple, and there offer up their prayers unto God. And thus Peter and John are said to go up into the

temple at the hour of prayer,^d being the ninth hour of the day, which was at three in the afternoon, the time of the offering up of the evening sacrifice; for the Jews reckoned the hours of the day from six in the morning. Those who were in other places, or being at Jerusalem, had not leisure to go up to the temple, did then their devotions elsewhere, all thinking themselves obliged daily to say their prayers at those times. If it were a synagogue day, they went into the synagogue, and there prayed with the congregation; and, if it were not a synagogue day, they then prayed in private by themselves; and, if they had leisure to go to the synagogue, they chose that for the place to do it in, thinking such a holy place the properest for such an holy exercise, though performed there in their private persons only; but if they had not leisure to go to such an holy place, then they prayed wherever they were at the hour of prayer, though it were in the street or market-place. And for this it was that our Saviour found fault with them, when he told them, that *they loved to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets,*^e thereby affecting more to be seen of men, than to be accepted of by God. But many of them had upper rooms in their houses, which were as chapels particularly set apart and consecrated for this purpose. In such an one Cornelius was praying at the ninth hour of the day,^f that is, at the time of the evening sacrifice, when the angel appeared unto him: and such an one Peter went up into to pray about the sixth hour of the day,^g when he had the vision of the great sheet, that is, half an hour past twelve, or thereabout; for then the evening sacrifice did begin on great and solemn days; and such an one it seems hereby that was: and in such an upper room were the holy apostles assembled together in prayer, when the Holy Ghost descended upon them.^h

IV. As to the ministration of the synagogue service, it was not confined to the sacerdotal order. They were consecrated only to the service of the temple, which was quite of another nature, as consisting only in the offering up of sacrifices and oblations. At the time indeed, of the morning and evening sacrifices, the Levites and other singers sung psalms of praise unto God before the altar, and, in the conclusion, the priests blessed the people; which may seem to bear some resemblance to what was done in the synagogue. But in all other particulars the public synagogue service was wholly different from the public service of the temple.ⁱ Of what

^d Acts iii. 1.

^e Matt. vi. 5.

^f Acts x. 3, 30.

^g Acts x. 9.

^h Acts i. 13. See Mr. Mede, book 2, tract 1.

ⁱ Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam Judaicam, & Vitringam de Synagoga Vetere.

parts it consisted I have already explained : and any one that by learning was qualified for it, of what tribe soever he were, was admitted to the administration. But, that order might be preserved, there were in every synagogue some fixed ministers to take care of the religious duties to be performed in it ; and these were by imposition of hands, solemnly admitted thereto. The first were the elders of the synagogue, who governed all the affairs of it, and directed all the duties of religion therein to be performed. These are in the Scriptures of the New Testament,^k called *Ἀρχιτυναγωγοί*, that is, *rulers of the synagogue*. How many of these were in every synagogue is nowhere said. But this is certain, they were more than one ; for they are mentioned in Scripture^l in the plural number in respect of the same synagogue ; and, at Corinth, Crispus and Sosthenes are both said to be chief rulers of the synagogue,^m though it is not likely that there was more than one synagogue in that city. Next to them (or perchance one of them,) was the minister of the synagogue, that officiated in offering up the public prayers to God for the whole congregation, who, because he was the mouth of the congregation delegated from them as their representative, messenger, or angel, to speak to God in prayer for them, was therefore, in the Hebrew language, called *Sheliah Zibbor*, that is, *the angel of the church*. And hence it is, that the bishops of the seven churches of Asia are, in the Revelation, by a name borrowed from the synagogue, called the angels of those churches. For, as the *Sheliah Zibbor* in the Jewish synagogue was the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God ; so also was the bishop the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God in the church of Christ. The bishop indeed did not always officiate in his ministry, because in every church there were presbyters under him, who often discharged this duty in his stead. Neither did the *Sheliah Zibbor* always discharge his duty in the synagogue in his own proper person. He was the ordinary minister appointed to this office ; but often others were extraordinarily called out for the discharging of it, provided they were by age, gravity, skill, and piety of conversation, qualified for it. And whosoever was thus appointed to this ministry was the *Sheliah Zibbor*, that is, *the angel of the congregation*, for that time : for the proper signification of the word used in the Hebrew language for an angel is a messenger. And therefore, as a messenger from God to the people is an angel of God, so a messenger from the people to God is an angel of the people. In the latter sense only was the name

^k Mark v. 35—37. Luke viii. 41 ; xiii. 14. Acts xiii. 15.

^l Mark v. 22. Acts xiii. 15.

^m Acts xviii. 8, 17.

of angel given to the minister of the synagogue : but it belongs to the minister of the Christian church in both senses ; for he is not only a messenger of the people to God, in the offering up of the prayers of the congregation to him, but he is also a messenger of God to them, in bringing from him the messages of life, peace, and everlasting salvation unto them. Next to the Sheliah Zibbor were the deacons, or inferior ministers of the synagogue, in Hebrew called Chazanim, that is, *overseers*, who were also fixed ministers, and, under the rulers of the synagogue, had the charge and oversight of all things in it, kept the sacred books of the law and the prophets, and other holy Scriptures, as also the books of their public liturgies, and all other utensils belonging to the synagogue, and brought them forth whenever they were to be used in the public service. And particularly they stood by and overlooked them that did read the lessons out of the law and the prophets, and corrected them and set them right when they did read amiss, and took the book of them again when they had done. And thus it is said of our Saviour,ⁿ when he was called out to read the lesson out of the prophets in the synagogue of Nazareth, of which he was a member, that after he had done he gave the book again to the minister, that is, the Chazan or deacon of the synagogue. For there was anciently no fixed synagogue minister for the reading of the lessons ; but the rulers of the synagogue, when the time of the reading of those lessons came, called out any member of the congregation for this service that was able to perform it. And it was usually done in this order. A priest was called out first, and next a Levite, if any of these orders were present in the congregation, and after that any other Israelite, till they made up in all the number of seven. And hence it was anciently, that every section of the law was divided into seven lesser sections, for the sake of these seven readers. And, in some Hebrew Bibles, these lesser sections are marked in the margin : the first with the word *Cohen*, i. e. *the priest* ; the second with the word *Levi*, i. e. *the Levite* ; the third with the word *Shelishi*, i. e. *the third* ; and so the rest with Hebrew words signifying the numbers following to the seventh ; thereby to show what part was to be read by the priest, what by the Levite, and what by each of the other five, who might be any Israelites of the congregation that were able to read the Hebrew text, of what tribe soever they were. The next fixed officer of the synagogue, after the Chazanim, was the interpreter. His business was to interpret into Chaldee the lessons, as they were read in the Hebrew, to the congregation ; for which, learning and skill in

ⁿ Luke vi. 20.

both languages being requisite, when they found a man fit for the office, they retained him by a salary, and admitted him as a standing minister of the synagogue. When the blessing was to be given, if there were a priest present in the congregation he always did the office; but if there were no priest then present, the Sheliah Zibbor, who did read the prayers, gave the blessing also in a form made proper for him. Thus far I have thought it might be helpful to the reader for his better understanding of the Scriptures, to have laid before him a short scheme of the synagogue worship of the Jews, as it was among them in ancient times. That which they at present retain is in many particulars different from it. He that would be more fully informed of this matter may read *Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica*, *Vitringa de Synagoga Vetere*, and, above all, Maimonides, especially in his tracts, Tephillah, Chagigah, and Kiriath Shema.

Those who think synagogues to have been before the Babylonish captivity, allege for it what is said in Psalm lxxiv. 8, "they have burned up all the synagogues of God in the land." But in the original the words are *Col moadhe El*, that is, "all the assemblies of God;" by which, I acknowledge, must be understood the places where the people did assemble to worship God. But this doth not infer, that those places were synagogues; and there are none of the ancient versions, excepting that of Aquila, that so render this passage. The chief place where the Israelites assembled for the worship of God was the temple at Jerusalem, and, before that was built, the tabernacle; and the open court before the altar was that part in both of them where the people assembled to offer up their prayers unto God. But those that lived at a distance from the tabernacle, while that was in being, and afterward from the temple, when that was built, not being able at all times to resort thither, they built courts like those in which they prayed at the tabernacle and at the temple, therein to offer up their prayers unto God, which in after-times we find called by the name of *Proseuchæ*. Some of the Latin poets^p make mention of them by this name; and into one of them our Saviour is said to have gone to pray, and to have continued therein a whole night;^q and in another of them St. Paul taught the people of Philippi.^r They differed from synagogues in several particulars; for, 1st. In synagogues the prayers were offered up in public forms in common for

p Juvenal. Sat. 3.

q Luke vi. 12. For what our English there renders, *And continued all night in prayer to God*, is, in the original, *καὶ ἡ διανυκτερεύων ἐν τῇ Προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, i. e. *And he continued all night in a proseuche of God*.

r Acts xvi. For in that chapter, ver. 13 & 16, what we render in our English version by the word *prayer*, is in the original a *proseuche*, or place of prayer.

the whole congregation; but in the proseuche they prayed, as in the temple, every one apart for himself; and so our Saviour prayed in the proseuche which he went into.^s 2dly. The synagogues were covered houses; but the proseuchæ were open courts, built, saith Epiphanius,^t in the manner of forums, which were open enclosures, where anciently at Rome, and in other cities under democratical governments, the people used to assemble for the transacting of the business and affairs of the public; and such a proseuche, Epiphanius tells us,^u the Samaritans had in his time near Sechem. 3dly. Synagogues were all built within the cities to which they did belong; but the proseuchæ without, and mostly in high places, and that in which our Saviour prayed was on a mountain,^x which makes it probable that these proseuchæ were the same which in the Old Testament are called *high places*; for these high places are not always condemned in Scripture, but then only when they were made use of for idolatrous worship or in a schismatical way, by erecting altars in them, in opposition to that which was in the place that God had chosen; otherwise they were made use of by prophets and good men, as several instances hereof in Scripture do fully prove.^y And I am confirmed in this opinion, in that the proseuchæ had groves in or about them, in the same manner as the high places had. And no doubt the sanctuary of the Lord in which Joshua did set up his pillar under the oak or oaken grove in Sechem,^z was such a proseuche; and it is plain from the text that it had a grove of oaks in it.² And the proseuchæ which Philo makes mention of in Alexandria^a had such groves in or about them; and that at Rome^b in Egeria's grove was of the same sort. And perchance, where the Psalmist makes mention of green olive-trees in the house of God,^c such a proseuche is there meant. And also such an one anciently was in Mispah,^d as the author of the first book of the Maccabees tells us. And all these were Moadhe El, and might be understood by that phrase in the Psalmist. It must be acknowledged, that, although some proseuchæ were still in being in our Saviour's time, yet by that time synagogues being made use of for the same purpose as the proseuchæ were formerly, synagogues were then also called by the same name with the proseuchæ: and so Josephus and Philo seem to use the word, though it seems from the latter, that some of the synagogues of the Jews in Alexandria were

s Luke vi. 12.

t In Tract. de Messalianis Hæreticis.

u Ibid. x Luke vi. 12. y 1 Sam. ix. 12; x. 5, &c. z Josh. xxiv. 26.

a For he complains that the Alexandrians, in a tumult which they there made against the Jews, did cut down the trees of their proseuchæ. In Legatione ad Caium Cæsarem.

b Juv. Sat. 3.

c Psalm lii. 8.

d 1 Maccab. iii. 46.

built after the same manner as the ancient *proseuchæ*, without roofs. And it makes this the more probable, that, in Egypt, it never or very seldom raining, they there stood more in need of open air in their public assemblies, and trees to shelter them from the sun in that hot country, than of roofs over them to shelter them from the weather. And these, Philo complains,^e the Alexandrians did cut down, when they there rose in a tumult against the Jews that then dwelt with them in that city. And besides these *proseuchæ*, there were other places to which the Israelites, before the captivity, frequently assembled, upon the account of religion; for they often resorted to the cities of the Levites, to be taught the ritual and other ceremonies of the Mosaic law, and to the schools of the prophets for all other instructions relating to the things of God; and to these last, it is plain from Scripture,^f that they usually resorted on the sabbaths and new moons; and what end could there be of this resort, but for instruction in their duties to God? And therefore these places also as well as the *proseuchæ*, were *Moadhe El*, i. e. places of assembling on the account of religion; and consequently of all these may the Psalmist be understood in the places above mentioned. Whether this psalm, as well as the seventy-ninth, were written prophetically by that Asaph^g who lived in the time of David, of the Babylonish captivity, (to which it is plain they both relate,) or else by some other after it, as is most probable,^h I shall not here examine. All that is proper for me here to take notice of is, that nothing which is in either of these psalms can prove, that there were any such things as synagogues, wherein the Scriptures were read, or public prayers offered up unto God, till after the Babylonish captivity.

And if it be examined into, how it came to pass that the Jews were so prone to idolatry before the Babylonish captivity, and so strongly and cautiously, even to superstition, fixed against it after that captivity, the true reason hereof will appear to be, that they had the law and the prophets every week constantly read unto them after that captivity, which they had not before. For, before that captivity, they having no synagogues for public worship or public instruction, nor any places to resort to for either, unless the temple at Jerusalem, or the cities of the Levites, or to the prophets, when God was pleased to send such among them, for want hereof great ignorance grew among the people; God was little known among them, and his laws in a manner wholly

^e In Legatione ad Caium.

^f 2 Kings iv. 23.

^g 1 Chron. xvi. 5, 7, 37.

^h Vide Bocharti Hierozoic. part I, lib. 3. c. 29.

forgotten : and therefore, as occasions offered, they were easily drawn into all the superstitions and idolatrous usages of the neighbouring nations that lived round about them, till at length, for the punishment hereof, God gave them up to a dismal destruction in the Babylonish captivity : but after that captivity, and the return of the Jews from it, synagogues being erected among them in every city, to which they constantly resorted for public worship, and where every week they had the law from the first, and after that, from the time of Antiochus's persecution, the prophets also read unto them, and were, by sermons and exhortations there delivered at least every sabbath, instructed in their duty, and excited to the obedience of it : this kept them in a thorough knowledge of God and his laws. And the threats which they found in the prophets against the breakers of them, after these also came to be read among them, deterred them from transgressing against them. So that the law of Moses was never more strictly observed by them, than from the time of Ezra, (when synagogues first came into use among them,) to the time of our Saviour ; and they would have been unblamable herein, had they not overdone it by adding corrupt traditions of their own devising, whereby at length (as our Saviour chargeth them)ⁱ they made the law itself of none effect. And as by this method the Jewish religion was preserved in the times mentioned, so also was it by the same that the Christian was so successfully propagated in the first ages of the church, and hath ever since been preserved among us ; for as the Jews had their synagogues, in which the law and the prophets were read unto them every sabbath, so the Christians had their churches, in which, from the beginning, all the doctrines and duties of their religion were every Lord's day taught, inculcated, and explained unto them. And by God's blessing upon this method chiefly was it, that this holy religion still bore up against all oppressions, and notwithstanding the ten persecutions, and all other methods and artifices of cruelty and oppression which hell and heathenism could devise to suppress it, grew up and increased under them ; which Julian the apostate was so sensible of, that when he put all his wits to work, to find out new methods for the restoring of the heathen impiety, he could not think of any more effectual for this purpose, than to employ his philosophers to preach it up every week to the people, in the same manner as the ministers of the gospel did the Christian religion.^k And had it not pleased God to cut him off before he could put this design in execution, it is

i Matt. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.

k Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat. in Julianam Apostatam.

to be feared his success herein would in a very great measure have answered what he proposed by it. But to Christians above all others, this must be of the greatest benefit : for the doctrines of our holy religion having in them the sublimest principles of divine knowledge, and the precepts of it containing all the duties of morality in the highest manner improved, nothing can be of greater advantage to us, for the leading of us to the truest happiness we are capable of, as well in this life as in that which is to come, than to have these weekly taught and explained unto us, and weekly put home upon our consciences, for the forming of our lives according to them. And the political state or civil government of every Christian country is no less benefited hereby than the church itself : for as it best conduceth to keep up the spirit of religion among us, and to make every man know his duty to God, his neighbour, and himself ; so it may be reckoned of all methods the most conducive to preserve peace and good order in the state ; for hereby subjects are taught to be obedient to their prince and his laws, children to be dutiful to their parents, servants to be faithful to their masters, and all to be just and charitable, and pay all other duties which in every relation they owe to each other. And in the faithful discharge of these duties, doth the peace, good order, and happiness of every community consist. And to be weekly instructed in these duties, and to be weekly excited to the obedience of them, is certainly the properest and the most effectual method to induce men hereto. And it may justly be reckoned that the good order which is now maintained in this kingdom, is more owing to this method than to any other now in practice among us for this end ; and that one good minister, by his weekly preaching and daily good example, sets it more forward than any two of the best justices of the peace can by their exactest diligence in the execution of the laws which they are intrusted with : for these, by the utmost of their coercions, can go no farther than to restrain the outward acts of wickedness ; but the other reforms the heart within, and removes all those evil inclinations of it from whence they flow. And it is not to be doubted, but that, if this method were once dropped among us, the generality of the people, whatever else may be done to obviate it, would, in seven years' time, relapse into as bad a state of barbarity as was ever in practice among the worst of our Saxon or Danish ancestors. And therefore, supposing there were no such thing in truth and reality as that holy Christian religion which the ministers of the gospel teach (as too many among us are now permitted with impunity to say,) yet the service which they do the civil govern-

ment, in keeping all men to those duties, in the observance of which its peace, good order, and happiness consist, may very well deserve the maintenance which they receive from it.

Nehemiah, after he had held the government of Judah twelve years,^l returned to the Persian court, either recalled thither by the king, or else going thither to An. 433. Artax. 32. solicit for a new commission after the expiration of the former. During all the time that he had been in this government, he managed it with great justice,^m and supported the dignity of his office, through all these twelve years, with a very expensive and hospitable magnificence. For there sat at his table, every day, one hundred and fifty of the Jews and rulers, besides strangers who came to Jerusalem from among the heathen nations that were round about them: for as occasions brought them thither, if they were of any quality, they were always invited to the governor's house, and there hospitably and splendidly entertained. So that there was provided for him, every day, one ox, six choice sheep, and fowls, and wine, and all other things in proportion hereto; which could not but amount to a great expense. Yet all this he bore through these whole twelve years, out of his own private purse, without burdening the province at all for it, or taking any part of that allowance which before was raised out of it by other governors to support them in their station; which argues his great generosity, as well as his great love and tenderness to the people of his nation, in thus easing them of this burden, and also his vast wealth, in being able so to do. The office which he had been in at court gave him the opportunity of amassing great riches; and he thought he could not better expend them than in the service of his country, and by doing all he could to promote the true interest of it both in church and state; and God prospered him in the work, according to the great zeal with which he laboured in it.

About this time flourished Meto,ⁿ the famous Athenian astronomer, who invented the Enneadecæteris, or the cycle of the nineteen years, which we call the cycle An. 432. Artax. 33. of the moon; the numbers whereof being, by reason of the excellency of their use, written in the ancient calendars in golden letters, from hence, in our present almanacs, that number of this cycle, which accords with the year for which the almanac is made, is called the golden number. For it is still of as great use to the Christians, for the finding out of Easter, and also to the Jews for the fixing of their three great festivals, as it was to the ancient Greeks for the

^l Neh. v. 14; xiii. 6.

^m Neh. v. 14, 19.

ⁿ Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 305. Ptolemæi Magna Syntaxis, lib. 3, c. 2.

ascertaining of the times of their festivals. And for this last end was it that Meto invented it. For the Greeks, being directed by an oracle to observe all their solemn sacrifices and festivals,^o *Κατατρία*, that is, *according to three*; and this being interpreted to mean years, months, and days, and that the years were to be reckoned according to the course of the sun, and the months and days according to that of the moon, they thought themselves obliged hereby to observe all these solemnities at the same seasons of the year, and on the same month, and on the same day of the month. And therefore endeavours were made to bring all these to meet together, that is, to bring the same months, and all the days of them, to fall as near as possible within the same times of the sun's course, that so the same solemnities might always be celebrated within the same seasons of the year, as well as in the same months, and on the same days of them.^p The difficulty lay in this, that, whereas the year, according to the course of the sun (which is commonly called the solar year) is made by that revolution of it which brings it round to the same point in the ecliptic; and the Greeks reckoned their months by those revolutions of the moon which brought it round to the same conjunction with the sun, that is, from one new moon to another, and twelve of these months made their common year (which is commonly called the lunar year,) this lunar year fell eleven days short of the solar. And therefore their oracle could not be observed in keeping their solemnities to the same seasons of the year without intercalations: for otherwise their solemnities would be anticipated eleven days every year, and, in thirty-three years space, would be carried backward through all the seasons of the year (as is now done in Turkey, where they use this sort of year:) and to intercalate these eleven days every year would make as great a breach upon the other part of the oracle as to the months and days; for then every year would alter the day, and every three years the month: and, besides, it would make a breach upon the whole scheme of their year: for with them, in the same manner as with the Jews, their months always began with a new moon, and their years were always made up of these lunar months, so as to end exactly with the last day of the last moon, and to begin exactly with the first day of the next moon. It was necessary, therefore, for the bringing of all to fall right according to the directions of the oracle, that the intercalations should be made by months; and, to find out such an intercalation of months as would at length bring the solar year and the lunar year

^o Gemin. in Isagogo, c. 6.

^p Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, Petavium de Doctrina Temporum, aliosque chronologos.

to an exact agreement, so that both should begin from the same point of time, was that which was to be done for this purpose : for thus only could the solemnities be always kept to the same seasons of the year, as well as to the same months and the same days of them, and constantly be made to fall within the compass of one lunar month at most, sooner or later, within the same times of the solar year. And, therefore, in order hereunto, cycles were to be invented ; and, to find out such a cycle of years, wherein, by the intercalation or addition of one or more months, this might be effected, was the great study and endeavour of the astronomers of those times. The first attempt that was made for this purpose was that of the *Dieteris*, a cycle of two years, wherein an intercalation was made of one month : but, in two years time, the excess of the solar year above the lunar being only twenty-two days, and a lunar month making twenty-nine days and an half, this intercalation, instead of bringing the lunar year to a reconciliation with the solar, overdid it by seven days and an half ; which being a fault that was soon perceived, for the mending of it, the *Tetræteris* was introduced, which was a cycle of four years. Wherein it was thought, that an intercalation of one month would bring all that to rights which was overdone by the like intercalation of the *Dieteris*. And this was contrived chiefly with a respect to their Olympic games : for they being the chiefest of their solemnities, and celebrated once every four years, care was taken to bring this solemnity every fourth year as near as they could to the same time of the solar year in which it was performed the Olympiad before, which regularly ought always to have been begun, according to the original institution of that solemnity, on the first full moon after the summer solstice ; and it was thought that an intercalation of one month in four years would always bring it to this time. But four solar years exceeding four lunar years forty-three days and an half, the adding one lunar month, or twenty-nine days and an half, (of which it consists,) fell short of curing this defect full fourteen days ; which fault soon discovering itself, for the amending of it, they intercalated alternatively one four years with one month, and the next four years with two months, which brought it to the *Octoeteris*, or the cycle of eight years, wherein by intercalating three months, they thought they brought all to rights : and indeed it came much nearer to it than any of the former cycles ; for, by this intercalation, the eight lunar years were brought so near to eight solar years, that they differed from them only by an excess of one day, fourteen hours, and nine minutes : and therefore this cycle continued much longer in

use than any of the rest. But at length the error, by increasing every year, grew great enough to be also discovered; which produced the invention of several other cycles for the remedying of it; of which this invented by Meto, of nineteen years, is the perfectest: for it brings the two luminaries to come to about the same points within two hours, one minute, and twenty seconds; so that, after nineteen years, the same new moons and the same full moons do within that space come about again to the same points of time in every year of this cycle in which they happened in the same year of the former cycle. And to a nearer agreement than this no other cycle can bring them. This cycle is made up of nineteen lunar years and seven lunar months, by seven intercalations added to them. The years of this cycle in which these intercalations were made, were the third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth, according to Petavius; but, according to Mr. Dodwell, they were the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth. Each of these seven intercalated years consisted of thirteen months, and the rest of twelve. The chief use of this cycle among the Greeks being to settle the times of celebrating their solemnities, and that of their Olympiads being the chiefest of them, and on the fixing of which the fixing of all the rest did depend, it was in the first place applied to this purpose; and the rule of these Olympiads being, that they were to be celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, in order to settle the time of their celebration, it was necessary, in the first place, to settle the time of the summer solstice; and this Meto observed this year to be on the twenty-first day of the Egyptian month Phamenoth, which, reduced to the Julian year, falls on the twenty-seventh of June. And therefore the Greeks having received this cycle, did from this time forward, celebrate their Olympiads on the first full moon after the twenty-seventh day of our June; and thenceforth also began their year from the new moon preceding; whereas before they began it from the winter solstice: and they calculated both the new moon and the full moon by this cycle; so that from this time the new moon immediately preceding the first full moon after the summer solstice, was the beginning of their year, and that first full moon after the said solstice in every fifth year, was the time of their Olympiads. For that year, in the beginning of which this solemnity was celebrated, was, in their computation of time, called the first year of that Olympiad, reckoning from the new moon preceding; and in the beginning of the fifth year after they celebrated the next Olympiad, which made the time from one Olympiad to another to be just four years, according to the measure of the years then used.

But this use of the cycle ceasing with the solemnities of the heathen Greeks after that Christianity had gotten the ascendant in the Roman empire, it thenceforth became applied to another use, and that not only by the Christians, but also by the Jews : for by it the Christians, after the council of Nice, settled our Easter ; and from them, some few years after, the Jews learned to make the like use of it for the fixing the time of their passover, and the making of their intercalations in order to it. But of the manner how each of them applied it for these purposes, there will be hereafter an occasion fully to treat, in a place more proper for it.

The war between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, called the Peloponnesian war^a (of which Thucydides and Xenophon have written the history,) began about ^{An. 431.} ^{Ariax. 34.} the end of the first year of the 87th Olympiad, which lasted twenty-seven years. As soon as they had entered on it, both parties sent their ambassadors to king Artaxerxes to engage him on their side, and pray his aid in the war.^s

About the same time, there broke out a most grievous pestilence, which did overrun a great part of the world. It first began in Ethiopia ; from thence it came into Lybia and Egypt ; and from Egypt it invaded Judea, Phœnicia, and Syria ; and from those parts it spread itself through the whole Persian empire ; from whence it passed into Greece, and grievously afflicted the Athenian state, destroying a great number of their people, and among them died Pericles,^t the chiefest and most eminent man of that city, whose wisdom, while he lived, was the main stay and support of that republic, and of whom only it can be said, that he maintained himself in full credit for forty years together in a popular government. Thucydides hath, in his history,^u given us a very full account of this disease, having had thorough experience of it ; for he had it himself, and after that, being out of danger of suffering any more by it, he freely visited a great many others that were afflicted with it, and thereby had sufficient opportunity of knowing all the symptoms and calamities that attended it. Lucretius hath also given us a poetical description of it ; and Hippocrates hath written of it as a physician :^x for that great master of the art of physic lived in those times, and was at Athens all the while this distemper raged there. Artaxerxes invited him, with the

q Thucydides, lib. 2.

r Thucydides gives an account of the first twenty-one years of this war, and Xenophon's Hellenics continues the Greek history from thence.

s Thucydides, lib. 2. Herodotus, lib. 7.

t Plutarchus in Pericle. Thucydides, lib. 2. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 310.

u Lib. 2.

x Lib. 3, epidem. sec. 3.

promise of great rewards, to come into Persia during this plague, to cure those who were infected with it in his armies. But his answer was, that he would not leave the Grecians his countrymen in this distress, to give his help to barbarians. There are several epistles still extant at the end of Hippocrates's works, said to be written by Artaxerxes, and by Hystanes his prefect on the Hellespont, and by Hippocrates himself about this matter. Some think them not to be genuine, but do not give any reasons sufficient to convict them of it. Many instances in the histories of those times do acquaint us, how fond the Persians were of Greek physicians. And Artaxerxes, looking on himself as the greatest of kings, might well enough think he had the best title to have the greatest of physicians to attend upon him, and therefore offered the greatest of rewards to draw him to him. But Hippocrates, having a mind above the temptations of gold and silver, returned him the answer I have mentioned; which provoked him so far, that he sent to Cos, the city of Hippocrates, and where he then was, to command them to deliver unto him Hippocrates, to be punished according to his perverseness; threatening them with the demolition of their city, and the utter ruin of the whole island in which it stood, if they did not comply with him herein. But the Coans, in their answer, did let him know that no threats should ever induce them to betray so eminent a citizen into his hands. This was before Hippocrates went to Athens: for this plague had ravaged through the Persian empire before it came to that city; and it was not till the next year after this, that the Athenians were infested with it, that is, in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, as Thucydides tells us.

Nehemiah, on his return to the Persian court, having tarried there about five years in the execution, as it may be supposed, of his former office, at length obtained of the king to be sent back again to Jerusalem with a new commission. The generality of chronologers, as well as the commentators upon this part of Scripture, make this his coming back thither to be much sooner. But, considering the many and great corruptions which he tells us, in the thirteenth chapter of his book, the Jews had run into in his absence, it cannot be conceived how, in less than five years time, they could have grown up to such an height among them. He had been twelve years reforming what was amiss among them, and Ezra had been doing the same for thirteen years before him, whereby they had brought their reformation to such a state and stability, that a little time could not have been sufficient in such a manner again to have un-

An. 428.
Artax. 57.

hinged it. It is much more likely, that all this was longer than five years doing, than that it should come to pass in so short a time. It is indeed expressed in our English version, that Nehemiah came back again from the Persian court to Jerusalem, *after certain days*;^y but the Hebrew word *yamin*, which is there rendered *days*, signifieth also years, and is in a great many places of the Hebrew Scriptures so used.

About this time, most likely, lived Malachi the prophet. The greatest of the corruptions which he chargeth the Jews with are the same with those which they had run into in the time of Nehemiah's absence; and therefore it is most probable, that in this time his prophecies were delivered. It is certain the temple was all finished, and every thing restored therein, before his time: for there are passages in his prophecies which clearly suppose it; and he doth not in them charge the Jews with neglecting the restoring of the temple, but their neglecting what appertained to the true worship of God in it. But in what time it was after the restoration of the temple that he prophesied, is nowhere said in Scripture; and therefore we can only make our conjectures about it, and I know not, where any conjecture can place it with more probability, than in the time where I have said.

Many things having gone wrong among the Jews during the absence of Nehemiah, as hath been above mentioned, as soon as he was again settled in the government,^a he applied himself, with his usual zeal and diligence, to correct and again set to rights whatsoever was amiss. And that which he first took notice of as what, by the flagrancy of the offence, as well as by reason of the place where committed, was the most obvious to be resented by so good a man, was a great profanation which had been introduced into the temple for the sake of Tobiah an Ammonite.^b This man, though he had made two alliances with the Jews, (for Johanan^c his son had married the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berachiah,^d who was one of the chief managers of the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem under the direction of the governor, and he himself had married the daughter of Shecaniah the son of Arah, another great man among the Jews; yet, being an Ammonite,^e he bore a national hatred to all that were of the race of Israel; and therefore envying their prosperity, and being averse to whatsoever might promote it, did the utmost that he could to obstruct Nehemiah in all that he did for the good of that people, and confederated with Sanballat, their greatest enemy, to carry on this

y Nehemiah xiii. 6.

c Neh. vi. 18.

a Neh. xiii.

d Neh. iii. 4

b Neh. xiii. 7—9.

e Neh. ii.; iv.; vj.

purpose. However, by reason of the alliances I have mentioned, he had many correspondents among the Jews, who were favourers of him, and acted insidiously with Nehemiah on his account.^f But he, being aware of their devices, withstood and baffled them all, as long as he continued at Jerusalem. But when he went from thence to the Persian court, Eliashib the high-priest^g was prevailed with (as being one of those that was of that confederacy and alliance with 'Tobiah) to allow and provide for him lodgings within the temple itself: in order whereto he removed "the meat-offerings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, (which was commanded to be given to the Levites, and the singers, and the porters,) and the offerings of the priests," out of the chambers where they used to be laid; and out of them made one large apartment for the reception of this heathen stranger. It is doubted by some, whether this Eliashib were Eliashib the high-priest, or only another priest of that name. That which raiseth the doubt is, he is named in the text, where this is related of him, by the title only of priest, and is there said to have the oversight of the chambers of the house of God; from whence is argued, that he was only chamberlain of the temple, and not the high-priest, who was above such an office. But the oversight of the chambers of the house of God may import the whole government of the temple, which belonged to the high-priest only; and it is not to be conceived, how any one that was less than an absolute governor of the whole temple could make so great an innovation in it. Besides, Eliashib the high-priest hath no character in Scripture with which such a procedure can be said to be inconsistent. By what is said in the book of Ezra, (x. 18,) it appears the pontifical family was in his time grown very corrupt. And no act of his is mentioned either in Ezra or Nehemiah, excepting only his putting to his helping hand in the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem. Had he done any thing else worthy of memory in the reforming of what was amiss, either in church or state, in the times either of Ezra or Nehemiah, it may be presumed mention would have been made of it in the books written by them. The silence which is of him in both these books, as to any good act done by him, is a sufficient proof that there was none such to be recorded of him. For the high-priest being the head of the Jewish church, had he borne any part with these two good men, when they laboured so much to reform that church, it is utterly improbable, that it could have been passed over in their

^f Neh. vi. 17—19

^g Neh. xiii. 4.

writings, wherein they gave an account of what was done in that reformation. What Jeshua his grandfather did in concurrence with Zerubbabel the governor, and Haggai and Zechariah the prophets, in the first resettling of the church and state of the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity,^h is all recorded in Scripture; and had Eliashib done any such thing in concurrence with Ezra and Nehemiah, we may take it for certain, it would have been recorded there also. Putting all this together, it appears most likely that it was Eliashib the high-priest who was the author of this great profanation of the house of God. What was done herein, the text tells us, Nehemiah immediately understood, as soon as he came back again to Jerusalem, and he did immediately set himself to reform it. For, overruling what the high-priest had ordered to be done herein, by the authority which he had as governor, he commanded all the household stuff of Tobiah to be cast out, and the chambers to be again cleansed and restored to their former use.

The reading of the law to the people having been settled by Nehemiah,ⁱ so as to be constantly carried on at certain stated times, ever since it was begun, under his government, by Ezra (perchance from that very beginning on every sabbath-day,) when, in the course of their lessons, they came to the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, where it is commanded, that a *Moabite or an Ammonite should not come into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation, for ever*; Nehemiah,^k taking an handle from hence, separated all the mixed multitude from the rest of the people, that thereby it might be known with whom a true Israelite might lawfully marry. For neither this law nor any other of the like nature is to be understood to exclude any one, of what nation soever he were, from entering into the congregation as a proselyte, and becoming a member of their church, that would be converted thereto. Neither did any of the Jews ever so interpret it: for they freely received all into their religion that would embrace it, and, immediately on their conversion, admitted them to all the rights, parts, and privileges of it, and treated them in all respects in the same manner as true Israelites, excepting only in the case of marriage. And therefore this phrase in the text,^l *of not entering into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation*, must be understood to include no more than a prohibition not to be married thereinto till then: and thus all the Jewish doctors expound it; for their doctrine as to the case of their marrying

^h Ezra iii. ; iv. ; v. Hag. i. ; ii. Zech. iii.

^k Neh. xiii. 1, 2, 3.

ⁱ Neh. viii.

^l Deut. xxiii. 3.

with such as were not of their nation is stated by them in manner as followeth :

None of the house of Israel of either sex were to enter into marriage with any gentiles of what nation soever, unless they were first converted to their religion, and became entire proselytes to it^m. And when they were become thus thorough proselytes, they were not all immediately to be admitted to this privilege of making intermarriages with them ; for some were barred wholly from it for ever, others only in part, and some only for a limited time. Of the first sort were all of the seven nations of the Canaanites, mentioned in Deut. vii. Of the second sort were the Moabites and the Ammonites, whose males, they hold, were excluded for ever, but not their females : for the Hebrew text naming an Ammonite and a Moabite, in the masculine gender only, they understand it only of the males, and not of the females.— And this exception they make for the sake of Ruth ; for she, though a Moabitish woman, had been married to two husbands of the house of Israel, the last of which was Boaz, of whom David was descended by her. And of the third sort were the Edomites and Egyptians with whom they might not marry till the third generation.ⁿ With all others, who were not of the three excepted sorts, they might freely make intermarriages whenever they became thorough proselytes to their religion.^o But at present,^p it being not to be known, who is an Edomite, who an Ammonite, or a Moabite, or who an Egyptian of the race of the Egyptians then mentioned in the text, by reason of the confusions which have since happened of all nations with each other, they hold this prohibition to have been long since out of date ; and that now any gentile, as soon as proselyted to their religion, may immediately be admitted to make intermarriages with them. In interpreting the exclusion of the Ammonites and Moabites in the text to be for ever, they seem to exceed the prohibition of the law therein delivered ; for there (Deut. xxiii. 3,) it is extended only to the tenth generation. The words are, *Even to the tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord for ever*. The meaning of which seems plainly to be, that this should be observed as a law for ever, that an Ammonite or a Moabite was not to be admitted into the congregation of Israel, so as to be capable of making marriages with them, till the tenth generation after their becoming proselytes to the Jewish religion. But ten

^m Maimonides in Issure Biah.

ⁿ Deut. xxiii. 8.

^o A sister of David's married Ithra, an Ishmaelite, by whom she was mother of Amasa, captain of the host of Israel.

^p Maimonides in Issure Biah.

generations, and for ever being both in the same text, and within the same prohibiting clause, they interpret the former expression by the latter, and will have it, that so long a prohibition as that of ten generations, signifieth therein tantamount to for ever; and they ground this chiefly upon the text of Nehemiah, which we are now treating of. For here, in the recital of this law, the prohibition is said to be *for ever*, without the limitation of ten generations. But the words of Nehemiah are plainly an imperfect quotation of what is in the law, and seem to intend no more by that recital, than to send us to the place in the original text of the law where it is to be perfectly found. And, in all laws in the world, the words of the original text are to be depended upon, for the intention of the lawgiver, before any quotations of them, by whomsoever made.

Among other corruptions that grew up during the absence of Nehemiah, one especially to be taken notice of was the neglect of the carrying on of the daily service of the house of God in such manner as it ought.^a For the tithes, which were to maintain the ministers of the temple in their offices and stations, being either embezzled by the high-priest, and other rulers of the temple under him, or else subtracted by the laity, and not paid at all, for want of them the Levites and singers were driven from the temple, every one to his own home, there to seek for a subsistence some other way. This abuse the governor, whose piety led him always to attend the public worship, could not be long without taking notice of; and when he had observed it, and thoroughly informed himself of the cause, he soon provided very effectually for its remedy: for he forthwith made those dues to be again brought into the treasuries of the temple, and forced every man faithfully and fully to pay them; whereby a maintenance being again provided for those that attended the service of the house of God, all was there again restored to its pristine order. And he also took care that the sabbath should be duly observed,^r and made many good orders for the preventing of the profanation of it, and caused them all to be effectually put in execution. But, though all these things are mentioned in one chapter, they were not all done at one time; but the good man brought them about as occasions were administered, and as he saw opportunities best served for the successful effecting of them.

In this same year in which we suppose Nehemiah came back again to his government of Judea from the Persian court, that is, in the first year of the 88th Olympiad,^s was born Plato

q Nehemiah xiii. 10—14. Malachi iii. 8—13.

r Nehemiah xiii. 15—23.

s Diogenes Laertius in Vita Platonis.

the famous Athenian philosopher, who came nearest to the truth in divine matters of any of the heathens : for he having, in his travels into the East, where he went for his improvement in knowledge, conversed with the Jews, and gotten some insight into the writings of Moses, and their other sacred books,^t he learned many things from them, which others of his profession could not attain unto ; and therefore he is said by Numenius to be none other than Moses speaking Greek ;^u and many of the ancient fathers speak of him to the same purpose.^x

In the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, the plague broke out again at Athens, and destroyed great numbers of their people.^y This, with the other plague that happened four years before, having much exhausted that city of its inhabitants, for the better replenishing of it again, a new law was made to allow every man there to marry two wives.^z From the time of Cecrops, who was the first planter of Attica, and the founder of the city of Athens in it, no such thing as polygamy was there ever known, nor was any man allowed to have any more than one wife, both their law and their usage till now being contrary thereto. But from this time it was allowed for the cause which I have mentioned : and Socrates the philosopher was one of the first that made use of the privilege of it, being then forty-three years old : for he was born in the last year of the 77th Olympiad (which was the year 469 before Christ ;) for to Xantippe his former wife, he took another called Myrto ; and all the benefit he had by it, was to have two scolds, instead of one, to exercise his patience. As long as they disagreed, they were continually scolding, brawling, or fighting, with each other ;^a and whenever they agreed, they both joined in brawling at him, and often fell on him with their fists as well as with their tongues, and beat him soundly.^b And this was a very just punishment upon him, for giving countenance, by his practice, to so unnatural and mischievous an usage. For every where more males than females being born into the world, this sufficiently proves, that God and nature never intended any more than one woman for one man ; and they certainly act contrary to the laws of both, that have more than one to wife at the same time. Although the supreme lawgiver dispensed with the children of Israel in this case, this is no rule for others to act by.

t Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Aristobulus apud Eusebium de Preparatione Evangelica.

u Clem. Alexandr. Strom. 1. Suidas in Νῦμενιος.

x Vide Menagii Observationes ad tertium Librum Diog. Laertii. sègm. 6.

y Thucydides, lib. 3.

z Athenæus, lib. 13. Diog. Laert. in Socrate.

a Diog. Laert. ibid

b Porphyrius apud Theodoretum.

In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, Artaxerxes sent an ambassador, called Artaphernes, to the Lacedemonians,^c with letters written in the Assyrian An. 425. Ariax. 49. language; wherein, among other things, he tells them, that several ambassadors had come to him from them, but with messages so differing, that he could not learn from them what it was that they would have; and that therefore he had sent this Persian to them to let them know, that if they had any thing to propose to him, they should on his return, send with him to his court some by whom he might clearly understand what their mind was. But this ambassador being got on in his way as far as Eion, on the river Strymon in Thracia, he was there taken prisoner about the end of the year, by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens; where the Athenians treated him with much kindness and respect, thereby the better to reconcile to them the favour of the Persian king.

And the next year after, as soon as the seas were safely passable, they sent him back in a ship of their own at the public charges, and appointed some of their An. 424. Ariax. 41. citizens to go with him as ambassadors from them to the king,^c but when they were landed at Ephesus, in order to this journey, they there understood that Artaxerxes was lately dead; whereon the ambassadors proceeded no farther, but, having there dismissed Artaphernes, returned again to Athens.

Artaxerxes died within three months after the beginning of the forty-first year of his reign, and was succeeded in his kingdom by Xerxes, the only son that he had by his queen.^e But by his concubines he had seventeen others, among whom were Sogdianus, (by Ctesias called Secundianus) Ochus, and Arsites. Xerxes having made himself drunk at one of their festivals, and thereon being retired to sleep it out in his bed-chamber, Sogdianus took the advantage of it, by the help and treachery of Pharnacyas, one of Xerxes's eunuchs, then to fall upon him, and slew him, after he had reigned only forty-five days, and succeeded him in the kingdom. And, as soon as he was on the throne, he put to death Bagorazus, the faithfullest of his father's eunuchs. Artaxerxes being dead, and his queen, the mother of Xerxes dying also the same day, Bagorazus undertook the care of their funeral, and carried both their corpses to the accustomed burial-place of the royal family in Persia. But, on his return, Sogdianus being on the throne, he was very ill received by him, on the account of some former quarrel that had been between

^c Thucydides, lib. 4.^e Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 319, 322.

them in his father's lifetime; in revenge whereof, a little after, taking pretence from something which he had found fault with in the management of his father's funeral, he caused him to be stoned to death; by which two murders, that of his brother Xerxes, and this of the faithful eunuch, having made himself very odious to the army, as well as the nobility, he soon found that he sat very unsafe upon the throne which he had so wickedly gotten possession of. Whereon growing jealous and suspicious, lest some of his brothers should serve him as he had served Xerxes, and fearing Ochus, whom his father had made governor of Hyrcania, more than all the rest, he sent for him to come to court, with intention to rid himself of him, by putting him to death. But Ochus, perceiving what his designs were, under several pretences, from time to time delayed his coming, till at length, having got together a powerful army, he marched against him, for the revenging (as he declared) the death of his brother Xerxes: whereon many of the nobility, and several governors of provinces, who were disgusted with the cruelty and mismanagement of Sogdianus, revolted from him, and went over to Ochus, and having put the royal tiara upon his head, declared him king. Sogdianus, seeing himself thus deserted, fell into great fear of the power of his brother, and having less courage to defend what he had wickedly done, than he had to commit it, was prevailed upon, contrary to the advice of the wisest and best of his friends, to come to a treaty with Ochus; who, having hereby gotten him into his power cast him into ashes, and there made him die a most cruel death. This was one of the punishments of the Persians, whereby great criminals among them were put to death.^f The manner of it is described in the thirteenth chapter of the second book of the Maccabees to be thus. A high tower being filled a great way up with ashes, the criminal was, from the top, thrown down headlong into them, and there had the ashes, by a wheel, continually stirred up and raised about him, till he was suffocated by them and died. And thus this wicked prince with his life lost his empire, after he had held it only six months and fifteen day.

Sogdianus being thus despatched, Ochus obtained the kingdom; and as soon as he was settled in it, he changed his name, taking that of Darius instead of Ochus, and is the same whom historians call Darius Nothus.^g He reigned nineteen years, and is in Ptolemy's canon placed as the next immediate successor of Artax-

An. 423.
Dar. Nothus 1.

^f Concerning the first invention of this punishment, see Valerius Maximus, lib. 9, c. 2. Exter. sect. 6.

^g Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. 12, p. 321. Ptol. Can.

erxes Longimanus, according to the method of that canon, which always reckons to the predecessor the whole last year in which he died, and placeth him as the next successor who was on the throne in the beginning of the year following (as hath been already observed ;) and both the reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus making but eight months, and these not reaching to the end of the year in which Artaxerxes died, their reigns, in that canon, are cast into the last year of Artaxerxes, and Darius is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor.

But it not being the usage of the Persian kings, on their accession to the throne, to displace any of the governors of provinces, unless they were such as they had just reason to mistrust, Nehemiah, during all these revolutions in the empire, continued still in his government of Judea, and went on with the same zeal and vigour to reform it in all things relating either to church or state, and to correct and set all at rights that was amiss in either of them.

Arsites, seeing how Sogdianus had supplanted Xerxes, and Ochus Sogdianus, thought to do the same with Ochus. And therefore, though he was his brother by the same mother, as well as by the same father, rebelled against him, and Artyphius, the son of Megabyzus, joined with him in this revolt.^b Ochus, now called Darius, sent against Artyphius, Artasyras, one of his generals, while he with another army marched against Arsites. Artyphius vanquished his adversary in two battles by the help of his Grecian mercenaries. But these being bribed over to Artasyras, he lost the third battle; and thereby being reduced to the utmost difficulty, he surrendered, on hopes given him of mercy, into the hands of Darius, who would immediately have put him to death, but that he was dissuaded from it by Parysatis his queen. She was one of the daughters of Ataxerxes his father by another mother, and a very subtle, crafty woman, and whose counsel and advice he chiefly depended upon in the management of all his affairs. Her advice on the present occasion was to treat Artyphius with all manner of clemency, that by such usage of a rebel servant he might the better encourage his rebel brother to hope for the same favour, and cast himself upon his mercy; and that, if he could this way decoy him into his power, he might then deal with both as he should think fit. Darius following this advice, had that success in it which was proposed: for Arsites being informed with what clemency Artyphius was treated, thought he as a brother might be favoured much more; and

Ann. 422.
Dar. Nothus 2.

therefore, coming to terms with the king, yielded himself unto him. But, when he had thus got him into his power, he cast both him and Artyphius into the ashes, and there made them both miserably perish. Darius was much inclined to have spared Arsites; but he was overruled herein by the advice of Parysatis, who pressed it upon him, that he could no otherwise provide for his own safety, but by the death of this rebel. And the force of this argument prevailed with him, though with great difficulty, to consent to it. They being both born of the same mother, this was the cause of the tenderness which he had for him.

He also put to death Pharnacyas the eunuch, for the hand which he had in the death of Xerxes; and Monasthenes, another eunuch, who was the chief confidant of Sogdianus, and also concerned with him in his treachery against his brother, was forced to kill himself, to avoid the punishment of a much severer death which was intended for him. But all these executions did not set Darius at quiet upon his throne. For many other troubles were raised against him afterward.

The chiefest and the most dangerous of them was the rebellion of Pisuthnes, who, being made governor of Lydia, did there set up for himself, and cast off his obedience to the king; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the confidence which he placed in an army of mercenary Greeks, whom he had got together into his service, under the command of Lycon, an Athenian. Against him Darius sent Tissaphernes with an army to suppress the rebel, and also with a commission to be governor of Lydia in his stead. Tissaphernes, being a very crafty and insidious man, finds ways to get within Pisuthnes's Grecian mercenaries, and having, with large gifts and larger promises, corrupted both them and their general to change sides, they deserted Pisuthnes, and went over to Tissaphernes, whereby Pisuthnes being left too weak any longer to carry on his designs, was persuaded, on promises made him of pardon, to trust to them, and surrender himself; but, as soon as he was brought to the king, he caused him to be cast into the ashes, and there perish in the same manner as had been the fate of the other rebels before him. However, this did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised in those parts; for Amorgas his son still continued in arms with the remaining part of his army, and for about two years after infested the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, till at length being taken

Anno 414.
Dar. Nothus 10.

prisoner by the Peloponnesians at Iasus, a city of Ionia, he was delivered to Tissaphernes, and put to death.^k

The next disturbance which Darius had, was from Artoxares, the chief of the eunuchs.^l He had three eunuchs by whose ministry he governed all the affairs of his empire; these were Artoxares, Artibarxanes, and Athous; and next Parysatis his queen; he placed his greatest confidence in them, and trusted to their counsel and advice above all others, in whatsoever he did, through all the emergencies of the government. By which height of authority Artoxares being intoxicated, from being chief minister, he at length began to dream of making himself chief governor of the empire, and laid designs of cutting off Darius, and seizing the throne for himself. And that his being an eunuch might be no obstacle to him herein, he married a wife, and wore an artificial beard, that he might be thought to be no eunuch. But his wife knowing the whole plot, and being perchance weary of an husband whom she found to be truly an eunuch in her bed, whatever he pretended to be out of it, discovered all to the king; whereon he was taken into custody, and delivered over into the hands of Parysatis, who caused him to be put to death in such manner as would best satiate her cruelty, in which she exceeded all women living.

But the greatest misfortune that befell Darius during all his reign, was the revolt of Egypt, which happened in the same year with the revolt of Pisuthnes.^m For although Darius again mastered the latter of these rebellions, he never could the other. But the whole province of Egypt, which never was one of the best of the whole Persian empire, was lost unto him all the remaining part of his reign, as it also was to his successors, till it was again reduced by Ochus, as will be hereafter related. For the Egyptians being weary of the Persian yoke, Amystæus Saïtes took the advantage of it, and sallied out of his fens, where he had reigned ever since the suppression of Inarus's revolt, and, being joined by the other Egyptians, soon drove the Persians out of the country, and made himself king of all Egypt, and reigned there six years.

About this time happened at Athens the condemnation of Diagoras the Melian. He having settled in that city, and there taught atheism, the Athenians prosecuted him for it.ⁿ But, by flying out of that country, he escaped the punishment of death, which was intended for him, although not the sentence. For the Athenians, having, in his absence, con-

^k Thucydides, lib. 8.

^l Ctesias.

^m Eusebius in Chronico.

ⁿ Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Aristophanes in Avibus. Hesychius Milesius.

demned him for his impious doctrine, did set a price upon his head, and decreed the reward of a talent to whosoever should kill him, wheresoever he should be found. And about twenty years before, they had proceeded against Protagoras, another philosopher, with the like severity, for only doubting of the being of a God.^o For in the beginning of one of his books, he having written thus, (*Of the gods I know nothing, neither that they are, nor that they are not. For there are many things that hinder, the blindness of our understanding, and the shortness of human life.*) The Athenians would not endure so much as the raising of a doubt about this matter; but, calling in all his books by the common criers of their city, they caused them all publicly to be burned with infamy, and banished the author out of their territories for ever. Both these had been the scholars of Democritus, the first founder of the atomical philosophy, which is indeed wholly an atheistical scheme. For though it allows the being of a God in name, it takes it away in effect; for by denying the power of God to create the world, and the providence of God to govern the world, and the justice of God to judge the world, they do the same in effect as if they had denied his being. But this they durst not openly do, even among the heathens, for fear of punishment, the greater shame is it to us, who, in a Christian state, permit so many impious wretches to do this thing among us, with a free liberty and absolute impunity.

Eliashib, the high-priest of the Jews, died in the eleventh year of Darius Nothus, after he had held that pontificate forty years, and was succeeded in it by Joiada, his son.^p

Anno 413.
Dar. Nothus 11.

At this time Tissaphernes was governor of Lydia and Ionia, and Pharnabazus of the Hellespont for king Darius;^q who being men of great craft, and also of great application for the prosecuting the interest of their prince, were not wanting to make the best advantage they could of the divisions of the Greeks, for the promoting of the welfare of the Persian empire. The Pelopounesian war had now been carried on between the Lacedemonians and the Athenians to the twentieth year. The policy practised herein by these two Persians was, sometimes to help one, and sometimes the other, that the matter being equally balanced between them, neither might, by suppressing the other, be at leisure to trouble them, who had so long been the common enemy

Anno. 412.
Dar. Nothus 12.

^o Diog. Laert. in Protagora. Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1.

^p Neh. xii. Josephus, lib. 11. c. 7. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

^q Diod. Sic. lib. 13. Ctesias. Thucydides, lib. 8. Plutarchus in Alcibiade.

of both. And therefore, at this time, the Athenians seeming to them to have the ascendant over the other in the fortune of the war, especially on the Asian coasts, and having there much provoked them by the auxiliaries which they had sent under the command of Lycon, for the aiding and supporting of Pisuthnes in his revolt, they entered into an alliance with the Lacedemonians against them. This had been treated of with them by Tissaphernes the former year, but now was, by the consent of both governors, agreed to, whereby the Persians were obliged to furnish the Lacedemonians with large subsidies for the payment of their fleet; and the Lacedemonians, in consideration hereof, yielded, that the Persian king should have all those countries and cities which he or his ancestors had at any time before the date of the treaty been possessed of. But when this treaty came to be examined in a full assembly of the Lacedemonians. the concessions made in it to the king of Persia were thought too large, as including all the islands of the Egean Sea, and also all those countries which Xerxes had taken possession of on this side the Hellespont; and therefore the ratification of them was denied. And by this time the Athenians wanting the balance on their side to make them bear even with their adversaries, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, upon this provocation, carried over their assistance to them; and although the next year, on an emendation made in the yielding clause by limiting of it to the Asian provinces, the treaty was ratified and confirmed by the Lacedemonians; yet by several underhand and indirect practices, they rather assisted the Athenians than them, especially in defrauding their fleet of the subsidies they promised to pay them, and by sending back Alcibiades again to the Athenians, which turned the whole fate of the war. And thus they continued, either openly or covertly, sometimes to help one, and sometimes to help the other, in order to weaken and waste both, till Cyrus came to be chief governor of the Asian provinces.

Amyrtæus, having settled himself in the kingdom of Egypt, by a total expulsion of the Persians out of that country, made great preparations to follow them ^{Anno 410.} into Phœnicia, and had the Arabians in confederacy with him for this purpose.^{Dar. Nothus 14.} Of which the king of Persia having received advice, the fleet with which he had stipulated to help the Lacedemonians was recalled to defend his own territories. But the war seems not to have broken out there till the year following.

In the fifteenth year of Darius Nothus, ended the first

Anno 409.
 Dar. Nothus 15.

seven weeks of the seventy weeks of Daniel's prophecy. For then the restoration of the church and state of the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea was fully finished, in that last act of reformation, which is recorded in Neh. xiii. 23—31, just forty-nine years after it had been first begun by Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. And this reformation was the removal of all unlawful marriages from among the people; for although the law strictly forbade them to make intermarriages with any foreign nation, either by giving their daughters to them for wives, or by taking their daughters to themselves; yet, since their return from the Babylonish captivity, they had given little regard hereto, but took to them wives of all the nations round about them, with whom God had strictly commanded them not to make any alliances.^s It seems most likely, that, while they were mixed with the strange nations of those countries of the East, into which they were carried captive by the Babylonians, they there first made these strange marriages, and from thence brought with them this forbidden usage on their return. Ezra found it spread among them on his first coming to Jerusalem;^t and although for a while he had brought it to a thorough reformation, yet, by the time that Nehemiah came to succeed him,^u the corruption was grown up again; and, although he did then again reform it, and made all the people enter into a covenant with God, and seal it with an oath and a curse upon themselves, strictly to observe the rule of God's law herein for the future, and, a little after his last return to his government, he had made another reformation herein,^x by separating from Israel all the mixed multitude, yet this did not wholly root out the evil; but it grew up again, and at length came to such an height that the pontifical house, which of all others ought to have been kept the clearest from all such impure commixtures, was polluted therewith.^y For one of the sons of Joiada the high-priest whom Josephus calls Manasseh, had married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite;^z whereby an ill example being given for the breach of the law, by such as were most concerned to see the observance of it, Nehemiah came in with the utmost stretch of his power to remedy this enormity, and forced all who had taken such strange wives forthwith to part with them, or depart the country: whereon Manasseh, being unwilling to quit his wife, fled to Samaria, and many others, who, being in the same case with him, were also of the same mind, accompanied

s Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3.

u Neh. x. 30.

y Neh. xiii. 23—31.

t Ezra ix. ; x.

x Neh. xiii. 3.

z Antiq. lib. 11, c. 7.

him thither, and there settled under the protection of Sanballat, who was the governor of the place.

It may be here objected that I put the last reformation of Nehemiah too low, and the marriage of Manasseh too high; and therefore it will be necessary, before I proceed any farther, to clear these two particulars.

As to the first of these, this last act of Nehemiah's reformation, whereby he purged the land of such as would not be obedient to the law of God in the case of their wives, Nehemiah himself tells us, it was while Joiada was high-priest at Jerusalem.^a But according to the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*,^b which gives us the truest account of the succession of the high-priests of the Jews, from the captivity of Babylon to the reign of the Seleucian kings^c) Joiada succeeded in the high-priesthood, on the death of Eliashib his father, only four years before this year in which I place this act of reformation. And therefore higher than this, unless in one of these four years, it cannot be placed within the time of Joiada's high-priesthood. And that which determines me to place it in the fifth year of that priesthood, rather than in any of the four preceding, is the prophecy of Daniel's seventy weeks. For, by that prophecy, from the going forth of the decree to restore and build Jerusalem, (that is, to restore and build up again the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem by a thorough reformation of both,) to the end of that reformation, were to be seven of those weeks, that is, forty-nine years. And these forty-nine years beginning in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when this decree was granted to Ezra, they must end in the fifteenth year of Darius Nothus his son, which was the fifth year of the high-priesthood of Joiada; and therefore here this reformation must have had its ending also. And since the expulsion of Manasseh, with such others with him as would not be reformed, is the last act which is mentioned to have been done of this reformation in those very Scriptures which are professedly written to give us an account of the whole of it, what is more reasonable than to infer, that in this act it had its conclusion? and that therefore this act must be there placed where that reformation ended, that is, forty-nine years after it had its beginning, according to the prophecy of Daniel which I have mentioned. And from the seventh of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the fifteenth of Darius

^a Nehemiah xiii. 28.

^b The number of years which the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* ascribes to each high-priest brings down the first of Joiada to that year, which is the eleventh of Darius Nothus in the canon of Ptolemy.

^c It best agreeth both with the Scripture and the profane history of those times.

Nothus were just forty-nine years. If any one shall say, that, in the text of Nehemiah, (xiii. 28,) the word high-priest is put in opposition with Eliashib, and not with Joiada, and that therefore this last act of Nehemiah's reformation was in the high-priesthood of Eliashib, and not in that of Joiada his son; my answer hereto is, that the Hebrew original cannot bear this interpretation: for it having been the usage of the Jews, as well as of all other nations of the East, for the better distinguishing of persons, to add the name of the father to that of the son in the same manner as was lately practised by the Welsh, and still is among the Irish, these words in the text, Joiada Ben Eliashib, that is, Joiada the son of Eliashib, all together made but one name of the same person, and therefore the word high-priest, which followeth, can be put in apposition with nothing but the whole of it.

As to the second objection, that I place the marriage of Manasseh too high, my answer is, that I place it where the Scriptures place it, that is, in the high-priesthood of Joiada. Josephus indeed placeth this marriage in the high-priesthood of Jaddua, the grandson of Joiada, and saith, that he who contracted it was the brother of Jaddua, and the son of Johanan. To reconcile this matter, some fancy that there were two Sanballats, the first the Sanballat of the holy Scriptures, and the other the Sanballat of Josephus; and that there were two marriages contracted by two different persons, sons of two different high-priests of the Jews, with two different women, who were each daughters of two different Sanballats, the first the daughter of the Sanballat of the Scriptures, and the other the daughter of the Sanballat of Josephus; and that he that married the first of them was a son of Joiada, but that he that married the second of them was the son of Johanan, and brother of Jaddua. But as I have shown before that there could be but one Sanballat, and that the Sanballat of Josephus was the same with the Sanballat of the holy Scriptures, but that Josephus, by a mistake in his chronology, placed him in the time of Darius Codomannus, whereas he should have placed him in the time of Darius Nothus; so it must follow from hence, that he was one and the same high-priest's son that married his daughter: for each who is said to have contracted this marriage being the son of a high-priest of the Jews, each marrying the daughter of a Sanballat governor of Samaria, and each being expelled Jerusalem for it, these three characters sufficiently prove both to be the same person. The Scriptures indeed give him no name; but Josephus calls him Manassch, and therefore I call him so too. The question, therefore, being reduced to this, whether this marriage is to

be placed in the high-priesthood of Joiada and the reign of Darius Nothus, where the Scriptures place it, or else in the high-priesthood of Jaddua, and the reign of Darius Codomannus, where Josephus placeth it, I hope there will be no difficulty in determining which authority to follow.

The war being carried on between the Egyptians and the Persians, and each contending to enlarge and strengthen their barrier on the borders, it seems most likely that Darius, on this occasion, came in person into Phœnicia;^d and that then it was that Sanballat, attending him, so far insinuated himself into his favour,^e as to obtain from him a grant to build on Mount Gerizim, near Samaria, a temple like that at Jerusalem, and to make Manasseh his son-in-law high-priest of it; and that herein all that had its foundation, which Josephus, by mistaking the time, attributes to Darius Codomannus and Alexander the Great. And perchance this war might some time after produce that siege of Gaza at which Sanballat died;^f for even at this time he must have been a very old man. Gaza being the common inlet between Egypt and Phœnicia, for the passing of each to other, the possession of it was of great importance on either side. If held by the Egyptians, it would be a gate to let them in to ravage Judea, Phœnicia, and Syria; and if by the Persians, it would be a strong barrier to keep them out, and also to be a like gate for the passage of the Persian forces into Egypt. And therefore, if Amyrtæus had now possessed himself of this important post, it concerned the king of Persia to do his utmost to recover it: for, without it, he could neither defend the territories which he had remaining in those parts, nor pass into Egypt to recover what he had there lost; for he that was master of this pass could obstruct the passage either way. And therefore Alexander himself, after his victory at Issus, could not pass into Egypt till he had taken it.^g

Sanballat, having built this temple, and made Manasseh high-priest of it, Samaria thenceforth became the common refuge and asylum of the refractory Jews;^h so that, if any among them were found guilty of violating the law, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the sabbath, or the like, and were called to an account for it, they fled to the Samaritans, and there found reception; by which means it came to pass, that, after some time, the greatest part of that people were made up of apostate Jews, and their descendants. The first of these Samaritans were the Cutheans,

d Diodor. Sic. lib. 13, p. 355.

f Josephus, lib. 13, c. 8.

e Josephus, lib. 13, c. 8.

g Q. Curtius, lib. 4, c. 6. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian, lib. 2, edit. Blancard, p. 150.

h Josephus, lib. 11, c. 8.

and such others of the eastern nations as Esarhaddon planted there after the deportation of the Israelites. But when these apostate Jews flocked to them, they became a mongrel sort of people made up of both. But the mixing of so many Jews among them soon made a change in their religion. For whereas they had hitherto worshipped the God of Israel only in conjunction with their other gods, that is, the gods of those nations of the East from whence they came;ⁱ after a temple was built among them, in which the daily service was constantly performed in the same manner as at Jerusalem, and the book of the law of Moses was brought to Samaria, and there publicly read to them, they soon left off worshipping their false gods, and conformed themselves wholly to the worship of the true God,^k according to the rule which was in that book prescribed to them, and were more exact in it (as some of the Jewish doctors acknowledge^l) than the Jews themselves. However, the Jews, looking on them as apostates, hated them above all the nations of the earth, so as to avoid all manner of converse and communication with them.^m This hatred first began from the opposition which the Samaritans made against them, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, both in their rebuilding of the temple, and their repairing of the walls of Jerusalem, of which an account hath been above given; and it was afterward much increased by this apostacy of Manasseh, and those who joined with him in it, and by their erecting hereon an altar and a temple, in opposition to theirs at Jerusalem. And all others who at any time after fled from Jerusalem, for the violating of the law, always finding reception among them, this continually farther added to the rancour which the Jews had entertained against them, till at length it grew to that height, that the Jews published a curse and an anathema against them, the bitterest that ever was denounced against any people; for thereby they forbade all manner of communication with them, declared all the fruits and products of their land, and every thing else of theirs, which was either eaten or drunk among them, to be as swine's flesh, and prohibited all of their nation ever to taste thereof, and also excluded all of that people from being ever received as proselytes to their religion. And, in the last place, proceeded so far, as even to the barring of them for ever from having any portion in the resurrection of the dead to eternal life, as if this also were in their power. This curse, they say, was

ⁱ 2 Kings xvii.

^k Epiphanius *Hær.* 9. *Hottingeri Exercitat.* Anti morinianæ, sec. 16.

^l Maimonides in *Tractatum Misnicum Berachoth*, c. 8, sec. 8. Obadiah Bartenora in eundem *Tractatum*, c. 7, sec. 1.

^m John iv. 9.

first denounced against them by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, on the opposition which they gave them in the rebuilding of the temple, and by them transmitted to the Jews of Babylon, where it being also ratified and confirmed, it became thereby the act and sentence of the whole Jewish church. This account is given of it in Pirke R. Eliezer,^a which is reputed one of the ancientest of their books.^o And, ever since, they say, it hath been renewed, and also, by adding curse upon curse, continually aggravated among them. But it is not likely that this was done by Zerubbabel and Jeshua in the manner as related by R. Eliezer. If it were done at all it was done afterward, when the hatred of the Jews against them was grown to the utmost height from the causes mentioned. But thus much is certain, that, for many ages past, the conduct of the Jews towards the Samaritans hath been according to the tenor of this anathema; they constantly refusing all manner of converse or communication with them: and so it was even in our Saviour's time: for why else should the woman of Samaria ask our Saviour, *How is it that thou being a Jew askest drink of me, who am a woman of Samaria?* but that it was even then forbidden among the Jews either to eat or drink any thing of that which was the Samaritans': and the words immediately following are to this purpose; for they tell us that *the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans*. The common name by which they call these people is that of Cutheans, which is a name of so great infamy among them, that whenever they are provoked to express the utmost of their rancour against any one, they call him Cuthean, in the same manner as we often call those whom we detest, Jews or Turks; but that of Cuthean imports a much greater degree of detestation among them, than either of the other two do among us. And that this humour was very ancient among them appears from hence, that when the Jews expressed their utmost aversion to our Saviour, they said unto him, *Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil*; as if to be a Samaritan, and have a devil, were things of equal reproach. And the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, when he reckons up the nations which were most detestable to the Jews, names *the foolish people that dwell in Sechem*, to be those who were chiefly so.^q However, the Samaritans themselves will not own their original from those eastern colonies of Esarhaddon, but claim to be descended from the sons of Joseph, and therefore call Jacob their father; and so the woman of

ⁿ Cap. 38, et vide Animadversiones Vorstii ad locum prædictum p. 226—230. Lightfoot, vol. 1, p. 599.

^o The Jews say this book was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem, but there being mention made therein of the Saracen empire, it must have been written at least six hundred years after.

^p John viii. 48.

^q Ecclesiast. v. 25, 26.

Samaria calls him in her discourse with our Saviour.^r But Josephus tells us, they used to do this only when the Jews were in prosperity.^s But if at any time they fell under difficulties or oppressions they then disclaimed all relation to them, saying they were of another nation; as was notoriously done by them in the time of Antiochus's persecution.^t The particulars in which they and the Jews differ from each other in their religion are these following.

1. The Samaritans receive none other Scriptures than the five books of Moses, rejecting all the other books which are in the Jewish canon.^u And these five books they still have among them, written in the old Hebrew or Phœnician character, which was in use among them before the Babylonish captivity, and in which both these and all other Scriptures were written, till Ezra transcribed them into that of the Chaldeans. And this hath led many learned men into a mistake, as if the Samaritan copy, because written in the old character, were the true authentic copy, and that Ezra's was only a transcript; whereas in truth the Samaritan Pentateuch is no more than a transcript, copied in another character from that of Ezra, with some variations, additions, and transpositions made therein. That it was copied from that of Ezra, is manifest from two reasons. For, 1st. It hath all the interpolations that Ezra's copy hath; and that he was the author of those interpolations is generally acknowledged: and therefore, had it been ancients than Ezra's copy, it must have been without them. 2dly. There are a great many variations in the Samaritan copy, which are manifestly caused by the mistake of the similar letters in the Hebrew alphabet: which letters having no similitude in the Samaritan character, this evidently proves those variations were made in transcribing the Samaritan from the Hebrew, and not in transcribing the Hebrew from the Samaritan. It seems from hence to be beyond all doubt, that Manasseh, when he fled to the Samaritans, first brought the law of Moses among them. Esarhaddon indeed sent to his new colony, which he had planted in Samaria, an Israelitish priest, to teach them the way of worshipping God according to the manner of the former inhabitants;^x but it appears not that he did this by bringing the law of Moses among them, or that they were any otherwise instructed in it, than by tradition, till Manasseh came among them. For had they received the law of Moses from the first, and made that the rule of wor-

r John iv. 12.

s Antiq. lib. 9, c. 24, & lib. 11, c. 8.

t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7.

u Hieronymus in Dialogo adversus Luciferianos. Epiphanius. Hæres. 9. Benjaminis Itinerarium, p. 38. Eutyck. &c.

x 2 Kings xvii. 28.

ship which they paid the God of Israel from the time of the coming of that priest among them, how could they have continued in that gross idolatry of worshipping other gods in conjunction with him, which that law doth so often and so strictly forbid? And yet in this idolatry, it is agreed on all hands, they continued till the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim; and therefore it seems clear, that till then they had not a copy of this law, but that when Manasseh, and so many apostate Jews with him, came over to them, and settled in Samaria, they first brought it among them; and because the old Phœnician character was that only which the Samaritans were accustomed to, they caused this law for their sakes to be written out in that character; and in this they have retained it ever since. This Samaritan Pentateuch was well known to many of the fathers and ancient Christian writers; for it is quoted by Origen, Africanus, Eusebius, Jerome, Diodor of Tarsus, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius Gazæus, and others. That which made it so familiar to them, was a Greek translation of it then extant, which now is lost: for as there was a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures made for the use of the hellenistical Jews, which we call the Septuagint, so also was there a like Greek translation of the Samaritan Scriptures (that is, the Pentateuch, which they only allowed for such) made for the use of the hellenistical Samaritans, especially for those of Alexandria,^y where the Samaritans dwelt in great numbers, as well as the Jews. Origen indeed, and Jerome, understood the Hebrew language; and therefore might have consulted the Samaritan text, that being none other than Hebrew in another character. But the rest of those mentioned understanding nothing of it, could no otherwise have any knowledge of this Samaritan Pentateuch, but from the translation of it. And there is also an old scholiast upon the Septuagint that makes frequent mention of it. But this, as well as the other ancient books in which any mention of this Samaritan Pentateuch is to be found, were all written before the end of the sixth century. From that time, for above one thousand years after, it hath lain wholly in the dark, and in an absolute state of oblivion among all Christians both of the West and East, and hath been no more spoken of after that time by any of their writers, till about the beginning of the last century, when Scaliger, having got notice that there was such a Samaritan Pentateuch among those of that sect in the East,^z made heavy complaints, that no one would take care to get a copy of it from thence, and bring it among us

y Josephus *Antiq. lib. 12, c. 1, and lib. 13, c. 6.*

z *De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 7, p. 669.*

into these parts. A little after this, archibishop Usher procured several copies of it out of the East;^a and not long after, Sancius Harley, a priest of the oratory of Paris, and afterward bishop of St. Malo's in Brittany, brought another copy into Europe, and deposited it in the library belonging to that order in Paris.^b From which copy Morinus, another priest of the same order, published it in the Paris Polyglot. This Sancius Harley had been ambassador from the French king at Constantinople, where, having resided in that quality ten years, he made use of the opportunity which he had there of making a good collection of oriental books, which he brought home with him on his return; and, having a while after entered himself among the oratorians at Paris, he did put all these books into their library, and among them was this copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch which Morinus published.

The Samaritans, besides the Pentateuch in the original Hebrew language, have also another in the language that was vulgarly spoken among them.^c For as the Jews, after the Babylonish captivity, degenerated in their language from the Hebrew to the Babylonish dialect; so the Samaritans did the same. Whether this happened by their bringing this dialect out of Assyria with them, when they first came to plant in Samaria, or that they first fell into it by conforming themselves to the speech of those Phœnician and Syrian nations who lived next them, and with whom they mostly conversed, or else had it from the mixture of those Jews who revolted to them with Manasseh, we have not light enough to determine. But however it came to pass, after it so happened, the vulgar no longer understood what was written in the Hebrew language. And therefore, as the Jews, for the sake of the vulgar among them, who understood nothing but the vulgar language, were forced to make Chaldee versions of the Scriptures, which they call the Targums or Chaldee paraphrases; so the Samaritans were forced, for the same reason, to do the same thing, and to make a version of their Pentateuch into the vulgar Samaritan, which is called the Samaritan version. And this Samaritan version, as well as the original Samaritan text, Morinus published, together in the Polyglot above mentioned. The Samaritan text he printed from Sancius Harley's copy, but the Samaritan version he had from Peter a Valle, a gentleman of Rome, who, having many years travelled over the East, brought it thence with him, and communicated it to Morinus. But that work

a Waltonæ Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta, Lond. sec. 10.

b Morini Exercitatio prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum. c. 1.

c Vide Waltonem & Morinum, ibid.

being precipitated with too much haste, it had passed the press before such other helps came to him from Perescius, Dr. Comber, dean of Carlisle, and others, as would have enabled him to have made it much more perfect; but what was wanting therein was afterward rectified in the London Polyglot, in which the Samaritan text, and the Samaritan version, and the Latin translation of both, are published altogether much more complete and correct than they were before. This Samaritan version is not made, like the Chaldee among the Jews, by way of paraphrase, but by an exact rendering of the text, word for word, for the most part, without any variation. So that Morinus thought one Latin translation might serve for both; and the London Polyglot hath followed the same method, only where there are any variations, they are marked at the bottom of the page.

As to the variations, additions, and transpositions, whereby the Samaritan copy differs from the Hebrew, they are all enumerated in Hottinger's book against Morinus, and in the collation made of both texts in the last volume of the London Polyglot. It is not so much to be wondered at, that there are these differences between these copies, as that there should not have been many more, after those who had adhered to the one, and those who had adhered to the other, had not only broken off all manner of communication, but had constantly been in the bitterest variance possible with each other for above two thousand years; for so long had passed from the apostacy of Manasseh to the time when these copies were first brought into Europe. After the series of so many ages past, many differences might have happened by the errors of the transcribers; and the most that are between these two copies are of this sort. As to the rest, some are changes designedly made by the Samaritans for the better support of their cause against the Jews; of which sort one that is notoriously such will be taken notice of by and by in its proper place. Others are interpolations for the better explication of the text, added either from other parts of Scripture, or else by way of paraphrase upon it, to express explicitly what was thought to be implicitly contained therein. Of the first sort are, 1st. The addition which we find in Exodus xviii. where, between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth verses, is inserted what we have from the ninth to the fourteenth verse of the first of Deuteronomy inclusively; and, 2dly. That which we find in Numbers x, where, between the tenth and eleventh verses, is inserted all that which we read in the sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of the first of Deuteronomy; both which insertions are wanting in the Hebrew. And, of the other

sort, are what we find in Genesis iv. 8, and in Exodus xii. 40. In the first of these, after what is said in the Hebrew text, *And Cain spake* (or said) *to Abel his brother*, the Samaritan text adds, *Let us go into the field*: and, in the latter, instead of these words in the Hebrew text, *Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years*, the Samaritan text hath it, *Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, and their fathers, whereby they inhabited in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years*. Both these additions, it is manifest, mend the text, and make it more clear and intelligible, and seem to add nothing to the Hebrew copy, but what must be understood by the reader to make out the sense thereof. As to the other variations, the most considerable of them are those which we find in the ages of the patriarchs before Abraham, in which the Samaritan computation comes nearer to the Septuagint than to the Hebrew, though it differs from both. How these, or the transpositions of verses, or the other alterations and additions which are found in the Samaritan copy, and the differences which from thence arise between the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch, came about, many conjectures have been offered: but no certain judgment being to be made about them, without a better light to direct us herein than we can now have, I will trouble the reader with none of them; but shall add only this farther upon this head, that none of these differences can infer, that the Samaritan copy which we now have is not truly that which was anciently in use among them: for most, if not all of those passages which were quoted out of it above eleven hundred years since by those writers I have mentioned, as differing from or agreeing with the Hebrew text, and by some of them much earlier, are now to be found in the present Samaritan copies in the same words as quoted by them, and in the same manner differing from or agreeing with that text. There is an old copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch now shown at Shechem (or Nablous, as they now call it,) the head seat of that sect, which would put this matter beyond all dispute, were that true which is said of it. For they tell us, that therein are written these words: *I Abishua, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the high-priest, have transcribed this copy at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, in the thirteenth year of the children of Israel's entrance into the holy land.*^d But Dr. Huntington, late bishop of Rapho in Ireland,

^d Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. sec. 17. Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ, sec. 37. Basnage's History of the Jews, book 2, c. 2, p. 81.

having, while chaplain to the Turkey company at Aleppo, been at Shechem, and there examined this copy upon the spot, found no such words on the manuscript, nor thought the copy ancient. Whether the Samaritans, did in ancient times absolutely reject all the other Scriptures besides the Pentateuch, some do doubt; because it is certain, from the discourse of the woman of Samaria with our Saviour, that they had the same expectations of a Messiah that the Jews had; and this they say they could nowhere clearly have but from the prophets.^e And it cannot be denied, but that there is some force in this argument. Perchance, although they did read the Pentateuch only in their synagogues, yet anciently they might not have been without a due regard to the other sacred writings, whatsoever their sentiments may be of them at present.

II. The second point of difference in religion between the Samaritans and the Jews anciently was, and still is, that the Samaritans reject all traditions, and adhere only to the written word itself, and, in the observance of that they are acknowledged by the Jews themselves to be more exact than they are; and good reason is there for them so to say; for the Jews often make the law of none effect by their traditions;^f whereas the Samaritans always kept themselves strictly to the written word, and never admitted any such corrupt glosses to draw them from it. And because in this they agreed with the Sadducees (for they also denied all traditions, and adhered to the written letter of the law only,) hence the Jews have taken an handle of calumniating them, as if they agreed in other particulars with the Sadducees also, and denied with them the resurrection of the dead,^g which led Epiphanius^h and St. Gregoryⁱ into the error of asserting this to be their opinion; whereas the resurrection of the dead hath always been a doctrine as firmly held and as certainly believed among them as by the Jews themselves.

III. The third point of difference in religion between the Samaritans and the Jews was about the place of their worship. The words of the woman of Samaria, in the gospel of St. John, state this matter exactly right. For, in her discourse with our Saviour, she saith to him, *Our fathers worshipped in this mountain: but ye (meaning the Jews,) say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.* The law given by Moses was, that they should perform all their sacrifices and oblations *in the place that God should choose out of all their tribes to put his name there*; and that

^e John iv. 25.

^g Josephus. Albo, sec. 31, serm. 4.

ⁱ Moral. in Job, lib. 1, c. 15.

^f Matt. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.

^h Hæres. 9.

place was Jerusalem.^k For there the temple, by the direction of God himself, was built,^l and there God consecrated it by the habitation of his divine presence therein, and there all the tribes of Israel that adhered to the true worship of God offered up their sacrifices,^m and there the temple was again rebuilt after the Babylonish captivity, and the same service there carried on in an unity and uniformity of worship by all of that nation, till Manasseh made the schism that hath been mentioned, and, flying to Samaria, did there set up altar against altar, and temple against temple: for, after he had built that temple on Mount Gerizim, and therein erected an altar in opposition to that at Jerusalem, the Samaritans and apostate Jews who revolted to them would no longer allow Jerusalem to be the place which God had chosen; but contended, that Mount Gerizim was that place, and argued for it in the same manner as the woman of Samaria did unto our Saviour, that is, that their fathers worshipped in that mountain; for they plead, that there Abrahamⁿ and Jacob^o built altars unto God, and, by their offering up of sacrifices on them, consecrated that place above all others to his worship; and that therefore it was appointed by God himself to be the hill of blessing,^p on the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt; and that accordingly Joshua, on his entering the land of Canaan, had caused the blessings of God to be declared thereon, and also that, on his having passed the river Jordan, he built an altar on it of twelve stones, taken out of that river in his passage, according as God had commanded by Moses:^q and this they hold to be the very altar upon which they still sacrifice on that mountain even to this day. But, to make out this last part of the argument, and thereby reconcile the greater veneration to Mount Gerizim, and their place of worship thereon, they have been guilty of a very great prevarication in corrupting the text: for whereas the command of God is (Deut. xxvii. 4,) that they should set up the altar upon Mount Ebal, they have there made a sacrilegious change in the text, and, instead of Mount Ebal, have put Mount Gerizim, the better to serve their cause by it.—This corruption the Jews loudly charge them with, and the Samaritans do as loudly retort it upon them; and say, that the Jews have corrupted the text in that place, by putting Mount Ebal in their copies, where it should be Mount Gerizim; and bring this argument for it, that Mount Gerizim having been the mountain that was appointed whereon to

k Deut. xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 2, 6, 7, 15, 16, &c.

l 1 Chron. xxii.

n Gen. xlii. 4, 6, 7.

p Deut. xxvii. 12.

m 1 Kings viii. 10. 2 Chron. vii. 1—3.

o Gen. xxxii. 20.

q Deut. xxvii. 2—7.

declare the blessings of God, and Mount Ebal whereon to denounce his curses, the mountain of blessing was very proper, and the mountain of cursing very improper, for an altar of God to be built upon. But, notwithstanding this allegation in their behalf, all other copies and translations of the Pentateuch make against them, and prove the corruption to be on their side. And it very much aggravates their guilt herein, that they have not only corrupted the Scriptures in this place, but have also interpolated them with this corruption in another, that is, in Exodus xx. where, after the tenth commandment, they have subjoined, by way of an additional precept thereto, words taken out of Deuteronomy xi. and xxvii. to command the erecting of the altar in Mount Gerizim instead of Mount Ebal, and the offering of sacrifices to God in that place.^r And in that they have thus voluntarily made a corrupt alteration in one place, and a corrupt addition in another, merely out of design to serve an ill cause, this gives the less authority to their copy in all other places, where, either by alterations or additions, it differs from that of the Jews.

These two mountains, called Gerizim and Ebal, are in the tribe of Ephraim, near Samaria; and in the valley between them lieth Shechem, now called Naplous, which hath been the head seat of the Samaritan sect ever since Alexander expelled them out of Samaria for the death of Andromachus. This place the Jews in our Saviour's time, by way of reproach, called Sichar; and therefore we have it so named in St. John's gospel.^s It signifieth *the drunken city*; and the prophet Isaiah having called the Ephraimites (whose dwelling was in those parts) Sicomim,^t that is, *drunkards*, they have this text on their side for the justifying of that name. Near this place was the field which Jacob bought of the children of Hamor, and gave unto Joseph his son a little before his

^r The words added by the Samaritans after the tenth commandment, in Exodus xx. are as followeth. "And it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the land of the Canaanites, whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt set up great stones, and plaster them with plaster, and thou shalt write upon these stones all the words of this law. And it shall be, when ye are gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in Mount Gerizim, and thou shalt build there an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones. Thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones. And thou shalt there offer burnt-offerings thereon to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer peace-offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. This mountain is on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh, which are over against Shechem."

^s John iv. 5.

^t Isaiah xxviii. 1.

death.^u Therein Joseph's bones were buried when brought up out of the land of Egypt,^x and within the same plot of ground was the well, called Jacob's well, at which our Saviour sat down, when he discoursed with the woman of Samaria.^y But, after all the contest that is made between the Samaritans and the Jews about these two mountains, Jerome is positive, that neither of them were the Gerizim and Ebal of the holy Scriptures, but that the two mountains so called in them, and on which the blessings and cursings were proclaimed by the children of Israel, on their first passing over Jordan into the land of Canaan, were two small mountains or hills lying near Jericho, at a great distance from Shechem.^z And Epiphanius was of the same opinion with Jerome in this matter: and they having been both upon the place, may well be thought the best able to pass a true judgment about it. Their arguments for it are, 1st. That the Scriptures place these two mountains over against that part of the river Jordan where the children of Israel passed into the land of Canaan, and near Gilgal; but Shechem is at a great distance from both: and, 2dly. That the mountains near Shechem, called Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, are at too great a distance from each other for the people from either of them to hear either the blessings or the cursings which were pronounced from the other; but that it would be quite otherwise as to the hills near Jericho, which they conceive to be the hills by the names of Gerizim and Ebal meant in Scripture. But that hill from which Jotham the son of Gideon made his speech to the Shechemites, being called Gerizim,^a and that certainly lying just over them (for otherwise they could not have heard him from thence,) this clearly makes against this opinion, and evidently proves the Mount Gerizim of the holy Scriptures to be that very Mount Gerizim on which the temple of the Samaritans was built.

The Jews accuse the Samaritans of two pieces of idolatry, which they say were committed by them in this place.^b The first, that they there worshipped the image of a dove; and the other, that they paid divine adoration to certain teraphim, or idol gods, there hid under that mountain. For the first charge they took the handle from the idolatry of the Assyrians: for that people having worshipped one of their deities (Semiramis, saith Diodorus Siculus^c) under

^u Gen. xxiii. 19; xlviii. 22. Joshua xxiv. 32.

^x Joshua xxiv. 32.

^y John iv. 6.

^z Vide Scaligeri animadversiones in Eusebii Chron. sub. Numero 1681.

^a Judges ix. 7.

^b Talmud in Tractatu Cholin. vide etiam Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. sec. 7, & Hottingeri Exercitat. Antimorinianas, sec. 16, 17.

^c Lib. 2, p. 66, 76.

the image of a dove, they reproached the Samaritans as worshippers of the like image, because descended from them; and perchance they were so while they worshipped their other gods with the God of Israel, but never afterward. And as to the second charge, it is true, Jacob having found out that Rachel had stolen her father's teraphim, or idol gods, took them from her, and buried them under the oak in Shechem, which they suppose to have been at the foot of the mountain Gerizim;^d and, from hence, because the Samaritans worshipped God in that mountain, the Jews suggest, that they worshipped there for the sake of these idols, and paid divine adoration unto them. But both these charges were malicious calumnies, falsely imputed to them: for, after the time that Manasseh brought the law of Moses among them, and instructed them in it, the Samaritans became as zealous worshippers of the true God, and as great abhorrrers of all manner of idolatry, as the most rigorous of the Jews themselves, and so continue even to this day.

And with this last act of Nehemiah's reformation, and the expulsion of those refractory Jews that would not conform to it, not only the first period of Daniel's 70 weeks, but also the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament ending, I shall here also end this book; and proceed to relate what after followed from the beginning of the next.

d Gen. xxxv. 2—4.

THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS
CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK VII.

THUS far we have had the light of Scripture to follow. Henceforth the books of the Maccabees, Anno 408.
Dar. Nothus 16. Philo Judæus, Josephus, and the Greek and Latin writers, are the only guides which we can have to lead us through the future series of this history, till we come to the times of the gospel of Jesus Christ. How long after this Nehemiah lived at Jerusalem is uncertain; it is most likely, that he continued in his government to the time of his death; but when that happened is nowhere said; only it may be observed, that at the time where he ends his book, he could not be much less than seventy years old. After him, there seems not to have been any more governors of Judea; but that this country, being added to the prefecture of Syria, was thenceforth wholly subjected to the governor of that province, and that under him the high-priest had the trust of regulating all affairs therein.

While Darius was making war against the Egyptians and the Arabians, the Medes revolted from him;^a but, being vanquished in battle, they were soon forced again to return to their former allegiance, and for the punishment of their rebellion, submit to an heavier yoke of subjection than they had on them before; as is always the case of revolting subjects when reduced again under the power against which they rebelled.

And the next year after, Darius seems to have had as good success against the Egyptians: for Amyrtæus being dead, (perchance slain in battle,) Anno 407.
Dar. Nothus 17. Herodotus tells us, his son Pausiris succeeded him in the kingdom, by the favour of the Persians;^b which argues

^a Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 1. Herodotus, lib. 9.

^b Lib 3.

that, before they granted him this, they had reduced Egypt again under them, otherwise Pausiris could not have been made king of it by their favour.

Darius having thus settled his affairs in Media and Egypt, sent Cyrus his younger son to be commander in chief of all the provinces of Lesser Asia, giving him authority paramount over all the lieutenants and governors afore placed in them.^c He was a very young man to be intrusted with so large an authority; for having been born after his father's accession to the throne, he could not have been now above sixteen years old. But, being the darling and best beloved son of Parysatis, who had an absolute ascendant over the old king her husband, she obtained this commission for him with an intention, no doubt, to put him into a capacity of contending for the crown after his father's death; and this use he accordingly made of it, to the great damage and disturbance of the whole Persian empire, as will be hereafter related.

On his receiving his commission, he had this chiefly given him in charge by his father, that he should help the Lacedemonians against the Athenians, contrary to the wise measures hitherto observed by Tissaphernes, and the other governors of the Persian provinces in those parts.^d For their practice hitherto had been, sometimes by helping one side, and sometimes by helping the other, so to balance the matter between both parties, that each being kept up to be a match for the other, both might continue to harass and weaken each other by carrying on the war, and neither be at leisure to disturb the Persian empire. This order of the king's for a contrary practice soon discovered the weakness of his politics. For the Lacedemonians having by the help which Cyrus gave them, according to his father's instructions, soon overpowered the Athenians, and gained an absolute conquest over them, they were no sooner at leisure from this war, but they sent first Thimbro, and after him, Dercylidas, and at last Agesilaus their king, to invade the Persian provinces in Asia; where they did the Persians a great deal of damage, and might at length have endangered the whole empire, but that the Persians, by distributing vast sums of money among the Grecian cities, and the demagogues that governed them, found means to rekindle the war again in Greece; which necessitated the Lacedemonians to recall their forces for their own defence, just when they were going

^c Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 1. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe, et Lysandro. Ctesias. Justin. lib. 5, c. 5. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 13, p. 368.

^d Xenoph. *ibid.* Diodorus Siculus, *ibid.* Thucydides, lib. 2. Justin, *ibid.* Plutarchus in Lysandro.

to march into the heart of the empire, and there strike at the very vitals of it. So dangerous a thing is it in neighbouring states to break the balance of power which is between them, so as to put any one of them into a capacity of oppressing and overpowering the rest. And this instance also shows, that it is no new thing for the managers of public affairs, to barter away their national interest for their private gain, and sell it for money even to those whom they have most reason always to hate, and always to be aware of.

Cyrus at Sardis, having put to death two noble Persians, who were sons to a sister of Darius, for no other reason, but that they did not on their meeting of him, wrap up their hands within their sleeves, as was used to be done among the Persians on their meeting of the king; Darius, on complaint made hereof by the parents of the slain, was grievously offended, not only for the death of his two nephews, but also for the presumption of his son in challenging to himself the honour which was due only to the king; and therefore not thinking it fit any longer to trust him with that government, recalled him to court, on pretence that he was sick, and therefore desired to see him.^e But, before Cyrus did put himself upon this journey,^f he ordered such large subsidies to Lysander, general of the Lacedemonians, as enabled him to pay his fleet, and strengthen it so far, as to put it in that condition, by virtue whereof he gained that memorable victory over the Athenians at the Goats river in the Hellespont, whereby he absolutely overthrew the Athenian state. For, after this, they being no longer able to defend themselves, he took from them all their cities in Asia, and having besieged Athens itself, forced them to a surrender on the very hard conditions of dismantling their city, and giving up their fleet; which did put an end to the Athenian power, and vested the government of Greece wholly in the Lacedemonians, after they and the Athenians had contended for it in a very bitter war full twenty-seven years. This was called the Peloponnesian war; and is made very famous by the excellent accounts which are written of it by Thucydides and Xenophon, two of the best historians Greece ever had: their writings have ennobled it in the same manner as Homer's did the war of Troy.

About the time of the ending of this war died Darius Nothus king of Persia, after he had reigned nineteen years.^g

^e Xenophon *Hellenicorum*, lib. 2.

^f Plutarchus in *Lysandro*. Xenoph. *Hellenic*. lib. 2. Diod. Sic. lib. 13.

^g Plutarch. in *Artaxerxe*. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 13. Justin. lib. 5, c. 8. 11. Ctesias.

Before his death Cyrus was come to him, and his mother Parysatis the queen, to whom he was the best beloved of all her children, not being content to have made his peace with his father, whom he had greatly offended by his maladministrations in his government, pressed hard upon the old king to have him declared the heir of his crown, upon the same pretence whereby Xerxes had obtained the preference before his elder brothers in the time of Darius Hystaspes, that is, that he was born after his father came to the crown, and the other before. But Darius refusing to comply with her herein, bequeathed to Cyrus only the government of those provinces which he had before, and left his crown to Arsaces his eldest son by the same Parysatis, who, on his ascending the throne, took the name of Artaxerxes, and is the same to whom the Greeks, for his extraordinary memory, gave the name Mnemon, i. e. the rememberer. When his father lay dying, and he was attending on him at his bed-side, he desired to be instructed by him, by what art it was that he had so happily managed the government, and so long preserved himself in it, to the end that he, by following the same rule, might attain the same success; to which he had this memorable answer given him by the dying king, *That it was by doing in all things that which was just both towards God and man*; ^h a saying worthy to be written up in letters of gold in the palaces of princes, that, having it constantly in their view, they might be put in mind to order all their actions according to it.

Cyrus, being discovered to have laid a plot for the murdering of Artaxerxes in the temple at Pasargada when he was to come thither according to the ancient custom, to be inaugurated king, was taken into custody for the treason, and ordered to be put to death for it. ^{An. 404. Artax. 1.} But his mother Parysatis was so importunate with Artaxerxes for the saving of his life, that at length, by her means, he obtained his pardon, and was sent again into Lesser Asia unto the government left him by his father's will. But carrying thither with him his ambition, and also his resentments for the danger of his life which he was put into, he took such courses for the gratifying of these passions, which soon made his brother repent of his clemency towards him.

As soon as Artaxerxes was settled in the throne, Statira his queen, who, for her great beauty, was very much beloved by him, made use of her power with him to be revenged on

^h Athenæus, lib. 12.

ⁱ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de Expeditione Cyri, lib. 1. Justin. lib. 5, c. 11. Ctesias.

Udiastes for the death of her brother Teriteuchmes.^k The whole matter had its rise in the reign of Darius, and was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder, which caused great disturbances in the royal family, and ended very tragically upon all that were concerned in it. The father of Statira was Hidarnes, a noble Persian, and governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, the king's eldest son, then called Arsaces, falling in love with her, took her to wife, and Teriteuchmes her brother, about the same time, married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius, and sister of Arsaces; by reason of which marriage, on the death of his father, he succeeded him in his government. But having a sister named Roxana, of as great beauty as Statira, and excellently skilled in archery, and the throwing of the dart, he fell desperately in love with her, and, that he might with the greater freedom have the enjoyment of his lust upon her, he resolved to make away with Hamestris, and rebel against the king. Of which wicked designs Darius having notice, engaged Udiastes, a chief confident of Teriteuchmes, by great rewards and greater promises, to endeavour to prevent both, by cutting off Teriteuchmes. This Udiastes, to earn the rewards, readily undertook, and, falling upon Teriteuchmes, slew him, and thereon had the government of his province conferred on him for his reward. Mithridates, the son of Udiastes, being one of Teriteuchmes's guard, and engaged much in friendship and affection to him, on the hearing of this fact of his father's, bitterly imprecated vengeance upon him for it, and, in abhorrence of what was done, seized the city Zaris, and there, declaring for the son of Teriteuchmes, rebelled against the king. But Darius having soon mastered this revolt, and shut up Mithridates within his fortress, got all the family of Hidarnes, excepting the son of Teriteuchmes, whom Mithridates protected, into his power, and delivered them into the hands of Parysatis, to execute her revenge upon them for the ill usage of her daughter; who having caused Roxana in the first place to be sawn in two, who was the chief cause of all the mischief, ordered all the rest to be put to death; only, at the earnest entreaty and importunate tears of Arsaces, she spared Statira his beloved wife, contrary to the sentiments of Darius, who told her, that she would afterward have reason to repent of it; and so accordingly it happened. Thus this matter stood at the death of Darius: but Arsaces was no sooner settled on the throne, but Statira prevailed with him to have Udiastes delivered into her hands; where-

^k Ctesius.

on she commanded his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and thus cruelly did put him to death in revenge for the part which he acted in the ruin of her family, and made Mithridates, his son, for the affection which he expressed to it, governor of the province in his stead. But Parysatis bitterly resenting this fact, in revenge hereof, poisoned the son of Teriteuchmes, and not long after Statira herself, in the manner as will be hereafter related. This gives us instances of the bitterness of woman's revenge, and also of the exorbitant liberties which such are apt to run into of doing all manner of wickedness, who, being put above all restraint of laws, have nothing but arbitrary will and pleasure to govern themselves by.

Cyrus, designing a war against his brother, employed Clearchus, a Lacedemonian captain, to raise an army of Greeks for his service, which he listed with a pretence of making war with the Thracians; but they, being maintained by Cyrus's money, were kept on foot for the executing of those designs which he was forming against the king.¹ Alcibiades the Athenian, finding out the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of Pharnabazus, with purpose to go to the Persian court, there to make known to Artaxerxes what was brewing against him.^m But those who were the partisans of the Lacedemonians at Athens, fearing the great genius of that man, did let them know, that their affairs could not long stand unless he were cut off; whereon they sent to Pharnabazus to have him put to death, and he accordingly executed what they desired; and in his death the Athenians lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily again recovering by him their former state: for had he got to the Persian court, he would so far have merited the favour of Artaxerxes by the discovery which he intended to make unto him, as, no doubt, he would have gotten his assistance for the restoration of his country, and, with that assistance, a person of his valour and other great abilities would have turned the scales, and again set the Athenians as high as ever, and brought the Lacedemonians as low as they had brought them; for the preventing of which the Lacedemonians took the course of having him cut off in the manner as I have mentioned.

The cities that were under the government of Tissaphernes revolting from him to Cyrus, this produced a war between them; and Cyrus, under the pretence of arming against Tissaphernes, went more openly to

An. 403.
Artax. 2.

An. 402.
Artax. 3.

¹ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de Expeditione Cyri, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

^m Plutarchus in Alcibiade. Diodor. Sic. & Xenophon. ibid. Corn. Nepos in Alcibiade.

work in getting forces together ; and, to blind the matter the more, he wrote letters of heavy complaints to the king against Tissaphernes, and prayed in the humblest manner his favour and protection against him ; by which Artaxerxes being deceived, thought all the preparations which he was making were against Tissaphernes only. and, not being at all displeased that they should be at variance with each other, took no farther care of the matter, but permitted his brother to go on still to raise more forces, till at length he had got an army on foot, sufficient to put his designs in execution, for the dethroning of him, and the setting up of himself in his stead.ⁿ And since he had helped the Lacedemonians against the Athenians, and thereby put them into a capacity of gaining those victories over them, whereby they had made themselves masters of Greece, in confidence of the friendship which he had merited from them thereby, he communicated his designs unto them, and asked their assistance for the accomplishing of them ; which they readily granted, and ordered their fleet to join that under Tamus, Cyrus's admiral, and obey such orders as that prince should give them. But this they did without declaring any thing against Artaxerxes, or pretending to know at all of the designs which Cyrus was carrying on against him. With this caution they thought fit to act while the event of the war was uncertain, that, in case Artaxerxes gained the victory, they might not, by what they did in favour of his enemy, draw on them his resentments for it.

At length Cyrus, having raised all those forces which he thought sufficient for his designs, and mustered them all together, he marched with them directly against his brother.^o He was followed in this expedition by thirteen thousand Greeks, under the command of Clearchus (which were the flower and main strength of his army,) and by one hundred thousand of other forces raised from among the barbarians. Artaxerxes, having notice of this from Tissaphernes, who posted to the Persian court to give him information of it, prepared to meet him with a numerous army. Cyrus's greatest difficulty was to pass the straits of Cilicia, where Siennesis, king of that country, was making ready to stop his progress ; and would certainly have effected it, but that Tamus, and the Lacedemonians with their fleet, coming upon the coasts of that country, diverted him to defend his own territories : for a small guard in those narrow passes might be sufficient to impede the march of the greatest

An. 401.
Artax. 4.

ⁿ Plutarchus, Xenophon, & Diodor. *ibid*.

^o Xenophon de Expeditione Cyri. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Ctesias. Justin, lib. 5, c. 11.

army. But after Cyrus had by this means got through them, he then marched on without any farther difficulty or obstruction, till he came to the plains of Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon, where Artaxerxes meeting him with an army of nine hundred thousand men, it there came to a decisive battle between them; in which Cyrus, rashly venturing his person too far into the heat of the battle, was unfortunately slain, after his auxiliary Greeks had in a manner gotten the victory for him. This put those Greeks into a great distress; for they were now at a great distance from their own homes, in the heart of the Persian empire, and there surrounded with the numerous forces of a conquering army, and had no way to return again into Greece, but by breaking through them, and forcing their retreat through a vast tract of their enemy's country, which lay between them and home. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties: for the next day after, having, on consultation together, resolved to attempt their return by the way of Paphlagonia, they immediately set themselves on their march, and, in spite of all oppositions from a numerous army of Persians, which coasted them all the way, made a retreat of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles, all the way through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the Grecian cities on the Euxine Sea; which was the longest and most memorable retreat that was ever made through an enemy's country. Clearchus first commanded in it, but he having in the beginning of it been cut off by the treachery of Tissaphernes, it was afterward conducted chiefly by Xenophon, to whose valour and wisdom it was principally owing that they at length got safely again into Greece. The same Xenophon having written a large account of this expedition, the preparations that were made for it, and the retreat of the Greeks from the place of the battle after it was lost, and that book being still extant, and published in the English language, I need say no more, than refer the reader to it for a fuller history of all this matter.

Psammitichus, who was descended from the ancient Psammitichus, that was king of Egypt some ages before, and of whom I have spoken in the first book of this history, reigned over the Egyptians, after Pausiris.^p To him fled Tamus, Cyrus's admiral. For, after the death of that prince, Tissaphernes being sent down into his former government, with an enlargement of power (as having, in reward of the great service which he had done the king in the late war, the same command given him in those parts that Cyrus had,) all the

governors of those cities and districts, within the verge of his authority, who had espoused the interest of Cyrus, fearing the account which he might call them to for it, sent their agents to make their peace with him on the best terms they could. Only Tamus, who was the most powerful of them, took another course. He was, by birth, an Egyptian, of the city of Memphis, and, being a person of great valour, and of great skill in maritime affairs, he was first employed by Tissaphernes in the Persian fleet, and afterward, under Cyrus, became chief commander of it, and also governor of Ionia; by which means, having amassed great wealth, instead of courting the favour of Tissaphernes, or at all trusting to his clemency, he put his wife, children, and servants, with all else that he had, on board his ships, and made his retreat into his own country, much confiding in the friendship of Psammitichus, which he had merited by many good offices that he had done him while he served the Persians. But the perfidious man, having no regard to former obligations, or the common laws either of humanity or hospitality, as soon as he had received an account of his arrival, and of the great riches which he brought with him, for the sake of them, instead of receiving him as a friend, he fell upon him as an enemy, and having slain him, with all his family and followers, made a prey of all that they had. Only Gaus, one of his sons, staying behind in Asia, escaped this massacre, and afterward became admiral of the Persian fleet in the Cyprian war; all the rest were barbarously murdered for the sake of what they had. Such horrid wickedness doth the greedy desire of gain too often prompt men to, when they give up their minds to it. But Providence, no doubt, suffered it not to go unpunished, though we have no account of it; this barbarous murder being the only act that history hath recorded of this prince.

Statira being very troublesome to Parysatis her mother-in-law, in expressing her resentments and reproaches for the countenance which she gave unto Cyrus her younger son against king Artaxerxes, to be revenged for this and other grudges formerly conceived against her, she caused her to be poisoned; which was effected by this stratagem; they supping both together, and a certain bird being served up at table, which was a great rarity among the Persians, it was divided between her and her daughter-in-law by a knife poisoned on one side only; that part which was cut off on the unpoisoned side of the knife was given to Parysatis; and she having eaten it, this encouraged Statira, without any suspicion, to the other part which was cut off on the poisoned side of the knife; and she died of it within a few hours

after.^p The loss of this his much-beloved wife greatly afflicted Artaxerxes ; and therefore afterward, full discovery having been made how it came to pass, he banished his mother to Babylon for it, and for some years after never saw her ; but at length, time having mollified his grief and resentments, he permitted her again to return to court, and from that time she made it her chief business to humour him in every thing right or wrong, and no more crossed him in any thing whatsoever it was that he had an inclination to do ; and by this means she regained her interest with him, and held it to her death. She was a most crafty woman, and of great understanding and penetration in all affairs, and of as great wickedness, as what is above related of her doth sufficiently show.

Tissaphernes being settled in his government, and with that enlargement of power which I have mentioned, he began to set hard upon the Grecian cities in those parts : whereon they sent to the Lacedemonians to pray their protection against him : and they being now freed from that long war which they had with the Athenians, gladly laid hold of this occasion of again breaking with the Persians, and sent Thimbro into those parts with an army against them ; which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces to it which Xenophon brought back from Persia, and such others as were raised out of the Grecian cities which he came to protect, he took the field with it against Tissaphernes, and wore out the time of his government in several military actions in that country, in which he had some few, but not great successes.^r

But he having kept very bad discipline in his army, and permitted his soldiers to make great depredations on the allies, complaint was made hereof to the Lacedemonians ; whereon they sent Dercyllidas to take charge of that war in his stead, who being an able general, as well as a most excellent engineer, (which last he was more particularly famous for,) he managed it with better order, and much better success ;^s and Thimbro being called home to answer for what he was accused of, and convicted of it, was sent into banishment for the punishment of his crime.

Dercyllidas, after he had entered on his charge, finding that he was not strong enough to wage war with Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus both together, resolved to agree with the one of them, that thereby he might be the better

q Ctesias. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

r Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 14.

s Xenophon. et Diodorus, ibidem.

enabled to encounter the other ; and therefore having, according to this scheme, made peace with Tissaphernes, he marched against Pharnabazus with all his forces, and took from him all Æolis, and dispossessed him of several cities besides in those parts ; whereon Pharnabazus, fearing that he might invade Phrygia also, where was the chief seat of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, to be secured from his farther insults.^t

About this time Conon, by the means of Ctesias the Cnidian, who was chief physician to Artaxerxes, procured peace from that king for Euagoras of Salamine, in the island of Cyprus.^u This Euagoras having expelled Abdymon the Citian out of that city, where he was governor for the Persian king, set himself up in his stead, and reigned there as king of that place many years. Conon having been one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of the Goats river, as soon as he saw all was there brought to a desperate point, made his escape with nine of the Athenian ships ; and, having sent one of them to Athens, to acquaint his citizens with the ill fate of the battle, fled with the rest to this Euagoras, with whom he had contracted a former friendship, and there continuing with him, made use of the interest which he had with the said Ctesias at the Persian court, to do his friend this good office.^x For Ctesias being chief physician to Artaxerxes (as I have already said) was much in his favour, and had a great interest with him. He was at first physician to Cyrus his brother, and followed him to the battle in which he was slain ; where, being taken prisoner, he was made use of to cure Artaxerxes of the wounds received by him in that battle ; in which having well succeeded, he was retained as chief physician in ordinary to that king, and lived with him in that quality seventeen years.^y While he resided at this court, having well informed himself in the histories of those countries, he wrote them in twenty-three books.^z The six first of them contained an account of the empire of the Assyrians and Babylonians, from the time of Ninus and Semiramis, to that of Cyrus ;^a the other seventeen were of the affairs of Persia, from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus, to the third year of the 95th Olympiad, which was coincident with the year before Christ 398, the very next immediately following after this which I now write.

^t Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 14.

^u Diodor. Sic lib. 14. Ctesias. Theopompus in Exemptis Photii. No. 176.

^x Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 13. Plutarchus in Lysandro. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Isocrates in Euagora.

^y Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2, p. 84.

^z Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2, p. 84. Photius, cod. 62. Suidas in Κτησία :

^a Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2, p. 84, and lib. 14, p. 421.

For here Diodorus Siculus tells us it ended.^b And he wrote also an history of India. Out of both these Photius hath written extracts : and these are all the remains which are extant of his writings. He often contradicts Herodotus, and in some things also differs from Xenophon.^c We find but a poor character of him among the ancients, they generally speaking of him as a fabulous writer ;^d yet Diodorus Siculus and Trogus Pompeius take most of that from him which they have written of the Assyrian affairs ; for he having professed, that all which he wrote was taken out of the royal records of Persia, in which all transactions were, according to a law there ordained for this purpose, faithfully registered, this imposed on many to give him more credit than he deserved.^e For that there were such royal records then in Persia, in which all the affairs and transactions of the government were faithfully entered, was a thing well known ; and the books of Ezra and Esther give us a testimony of them.^f And his appealing to those records for the truth of what he wrote, was the readiest way he could take to gain authority thereto. While he lived in the Persian court, he was employed by the Grecians, as their common solicitor in most of their business which they had there depending ; and in this quality Conon made use of him in the affair I have mentioned.

This year the Athenians put Socrates to death for contemning their gods.^g He was the father of the moral philosophy of the Greeks, and a very excellent person ; but finding the theology of his countrymen too gross for a wise man to follow, he endeavoured to reform it among his scholars ; for which being accused, as one that believed not in the gods that the city believed, and corrupted the youth, he was condemned to death for it, and accordingly executed, being then full seventy years old. But afterward the Athenians repenting of it, did put all to death that had an hand in the prosecution that was made against him.

Dercyllidas, having made the truce with Pharnabazus that is above mentioned, marched into Bithynia, and there took up his winter quarters. While he was there messengers came to him from Lacedemon, to let him know, that his command was continued for another year ; and by them he was also acquainted, that it had been desired by the Grecian cities in the Thracian Chersonesus, that the isthmus

b Lib. 14, p. 421.

c Photius, *ibid*.

d Aristotelis in Hist. Animalium, lib. 8, c. 28. Plutarch. in Artaxerxe.

e Diodor. Sic. lib. 2, p. 84.

f Ezra iv. 15. Esther vi. 1.

g Diogenes Laertius in Socrate. Plato in Apologia pro Socrate, and in Phaedone. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Stanley's History of Philosophy, part 3.

h Xenophon. Hellenico. lib. 3.

of that peninsula might be fortified with a wall, to secure them from the Thracian freebooters, who continually made inroads upon them, and laid their lands waste, so that they were discouraged from manuring them.

And therefore, having, the next spring, again made a truce with Pharnabazus, he marched with his army in-
An. 398.
Artaq. 7. to the Chersonesus or peninsula above mentioned, and there built the wall which was desired; within which he included eleven Grecian cities; whereby they being secured from all farther ravages of the barbarians, thenceforth safely manured their lands, and in great plenty reaped the fruits of them.ⁱ On his return into Ionia, after this work was finished, he found that a company of banditti, having fortified the city of Atarna against him, from thence made great depredations on the adjoining countries; this necessitated him to sit down in a formal siege before it, which cost him eight months time before he could reduce it.

Pharnabazus, after his second truce with Dercyllidas, made a journey to the Persian court, and there accused Tis-saphernes to the king, for the peace which he had made with Dercyllidas; blaming him, that whereas he ought to have joined with him, for the driving of those Grecians out of Asia, he had scandalously bought a peace of them, and thereby contributed to the maintaining of them there at the king's expenses, and to the great damage of his affairs.^k This, no doubt, contributed much to the creating of that suspicion in the king of that great commander of his; which being afterward increased by other causes, at length made him resolve on his ruin. And at the same time consultation being had how the mischiefs which the king suffered from this invasion of the Lacedemonians might be best remedied, Pharnabazus earnestly pressed him forthwith to equip a great fleet, and make Conon the Athenian, then an exile in Cyprus, admiral of it, who was looked upon as the ablest commander of his time for a sea war, telling him, that hereby he would make himself master of the seas, and that this would put him in a condition to obstruct the passages of all farther recruits from the Lacedemonians into Asia, which would soon put an end to their power in those parts. And Euagoras the Cyprian having at the same time made the same proposal, and offered his assistance in it, Artaxerxes was prevailed upon, by their concurrent advice, to resolve upon what they proposed; and therefore having delivered to Pharnabazus five hundred talents out of his treasury, he sent him with orders

ⁱ Xenophon. *ibid.* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 14.

^k Diodorus Siculus, lib. 147, p. 41. Justin, lib. 6, c. 1. Pausanias in *At-ticis*. Isocrates in *Euagora*, et in *Oratione ad Philippum*.

to get ready such a fleet as he had advised, and to make Conon the admiral of it. And accordingly Conon had his commission, and all hands were set to work on the coasts of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia, to make ready the fleet that was to be put under his command.

Dercyllidas, after he had reduced Atarna, and set a strong garrison therein, marched into Caria, where Tissaphernes had the chief seat of his residence.¹ For An. 397. Ariax. 8. the Lacedemonians being made believe, that, in case he were attacked there, he would, for the saving of that province, yield to all their demands, they sent special orders to Dercyllidas for the making of this expedition, wherein he had like to have lost all his army; for Pharnabazus having joined Tissaphernes, they marched both after him with a great army, and soon had him at such an advantage, that had they made use of it, and immediately fallen on him, they could not have failed of cutting him and all his forces to pieces. Pharnabazus was very earnest for making the assault; but Tissaphernes, having experienced the extraordinary valour of the Grecian troops that followed Cyrus to the battle of Cunaxa, dreaded all Grecians in arms ever since, thinking all of that nation to be of the same valour and resolution with those which he had encountered with at that battle, and therefore could not be brought to hazard any conflict with them; but, instead of making use of the opportunity which he had in his hands, of absolutely destroying them, sent heralds to Dercyllidas, to invite him to a parley; in which proposals of peace having been offered on both sides, time was given for each to consult their principals, and in the interim a truce was agreed on between them. And thus Dercyllidas escaped ruin only by the cowardice of his enemy, when there was nothing else that could have delivered him from it.

One Herod, a Syracusian, being in Phœnicia, and seeing a great many ships there anew building, and learning that a great many more were preparing on all the An. 396. Ariax. 9. coasts of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia, to make up a fleet for some extraordinary expedition, and supposing it could be only against the Greeks, he went on board the first ship he could meet with that was bound for Greece, and hastening to Lacedemon, informed the Lacedemonians of what was doing in those parts; at which news they being terrified and much confounded, as not knowing what course to take for the preventing of the mischief that was coming upon them, Lysander proposed to them the sending Agesi-

¹ Diodorus Sic. *ibid.* Xerophon. *Hellen. lib. 3.*

laus, who was one of their kings, into Asia, that by making a strong assault there, he might divert the storm, wherever else it was intended.^m Which advice being approved of, Agesilaus was accordingly sent with a great augmentation of forces into Asia, there to take upon him the command which Dercyllidas then had, and prosecute the war with the utmost vigour he could in those parts; and Lysander, with several others of the principal Lacedemonians, to the number of thirty in all, were sent with him, to assist him with their counsel in this expedition.ⁿ And this whole matter was despatched with that speed and secrecy, that Agesilaus arrived at Ephesus before any of the king's officers had the least intimation of it. So that there being no preparations made to obstruct him, he took the field, as soon as he arrived, with ten thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and bore all before him wherever he went. Whereon Tissaphernes sending to him, to know for what end he came thither, Agesilaus answered, that it was to restore the Grecian cities in Asia to their liberty: hereon a parley being appointed to treat of this matter between them, Tissaphernes prayed a truce, till he should send to the king, and receive his instructions what to do herein. And accordingly a truce was agreed and sworn to on both sides. But Tissaphernes having little regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce, than to send to the king for more forces; and to gain a respite till they should arrive, was all that he intended by it. For as soon as those auxiliaries joined him, he sent to Agesilaus, to denounce war against him, unless he immediately left the country; at which the Lacedemonians and confederates then present were very much concerned, as fearing that the forces of Tissaphernes, now augmented with his new auxiliaries, might be too much superior to be withstood by theirs, who scarce amounted to a fourth part of their number. But Agesilaus, not being at all moved or dismayed thereat, with a pleasant countenance, bid the ambassadors who came with the message, tell Tissaphernes, that he was very much beholden to him, in that, by his perjury, he had made the gods enemies to himself, and friends to the Grecians. And thereon immediately drawing all his forces together, he made a feint, as if he intended to invade Caria; but as soon as he understood that he had thereby drawn all the Persian forces into that province to defend it against him, he turned short and marched directly into Phrygia, a province of the government of Pharnabazus, and where he had the chief

^m Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarch. & Corn. Nep. in Agesilao.

ⁿ Plutarchus in Agesilao et Lysandro. Corn. Nepos in Agesilao. Pausanias in Laconicis. Justin. lib. 6, c. 2. Xenophon, *ibid*.

seat of his residence. His coming thither being wholly unexpected, he found nothing there in a posture to resist him; and therefore overrun a great part of the province without any opposition, till he came to Dascylium, the place of Pharnabazus's usual abode, where some of his horse meeting with a defeat, he marched back by the sea-coast into Ionia, carried with him vast spoils gotten in this expedition, and wintered at Ephesus.

Nephereus succeeding Psammitichus in the kingdom of Egypt, the Lacedemonians sent to him, to solicit his aid in their war against the Persians; who thereon An. 335. Artax. 10. presented them with one hundred galleys for their sea war, and six hundred thousand bushels of corn, for the subsistence of their forces.^o At this time Pharax, admiral of the Lacedemonians, held the mastery of the seas, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, who hearing at Rhodes, where he put in, that Conon was with forty ships at Caunus, a city of Caria, set sail thither, and besieged him in that place. But an army of Persians coming to his succour, Pharax was forced to raise the siege with disadvantage, and return again to Rhodes; whereon Conon having augmented his fleet to the number of eighty sail, took the seas, and sailed to the Doric Chersonesus: but he had not long been there, before he was recalled by the Rhodians; for they, being weary of the Lacedemonians, for some disorders, and insolencies there committed, drove them thence, and sent for Conon to protect them, and received him with all his fleet into their harbour. While he was there, the ships which were carrying Nephereus's gift of corn to the Lacedemonians, put in at Rhodes, not knowing of the change of the party which had been there lately made; whereon Conon having seized them all, plentifully furnished both his fleet, and also that city, with the freight they were loaded with. After this he was reinforced with ninety other ships, which came to him from Phœnicia and Cilicia; whereby he was much superior to the Lacedemonians, and strong enough to have effected all that was expected from him; but he was hindered by the mutiny of his soldiers, occasioned by want of pay, which they whom the king had intrusted with the care of this matter fraudulently detained from them.

In the interim, Agesilaus, coming out of his winter quarters, prepared to invade the Persians in the strongest part of the country which they were possessed of in those parts, and accordingly gave out his orders for his march towards Sardis.^p Tissaphernes thinking that this was intended only to deceive

^p Xenophon. *Hellenic. lib. 3.* Didor. *Sic. lib. 14, p. 439.* Plutarch. *et Corn. Nepos in Agesilao.*

^o Diodor. *Sic. lib. 14, p. 438.* Justin. *lib. 6, c. 2.* Orosius. *lib. 3,*

him with another feint, like that of the last year, took it that now he really intended for Caria, because he had given out to go another way, and therefore marched into that province to defend it against him. But Agesilaus, now truly acting as he had given out, led his army into Lydia, Tissaphernes hereon recalled his forces from their former route. But Caria being a very rugged country, and unfit for horse, he had gone thither only with his foot, leaving his horse behind upon the borders of that country; and therefore, on their marching back for the relief of Lydia, the horse being much before the foot, Agesilaus took the advantage of falling upon the former, before the latter could come up to their assistance; and, thereby having gotten a great victory over them, and taken the Persian camp, he became absolute master of the field, and, having thereon overrun all the country, brought back from thence vast spoils, with which he enriched both himself and all his army.

The loss of this battle very much incensed the king against Tissaphernes, and augmented the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had other designs than truly were for his master's interest; and Conon coming at this time to the Persian court, much heightened the king's displeasure, by farther accusations which he there brought against him.^q For the depriving the soldiers of their pay on board Conon's fleet disabling him from doing the king any service, and he having often in vain wrote to the court of it, at length being encouraged thereto by Pharnabazus, and having a commission from him for this purpose, he went himself to the Persian court then at Babylon, and, by the means of Tithraustes, captain of the guards, so represented the matter to the king, as procured full redress; and the blame of what had been hitherto done amiss in this matter resting on Tissaphernes, this completed his ruin.^r For the king forthwith sent Tithraustes into the maritime provinces of the Lower Asia, with orders to put Tissaphernes to death, and succeed him in his government, which he accordingly executed, and sent his head to the king; of which he made a very acceptable present to his mother, who could never pardon him for the assistance he gave the king against Cyrus her most beloved son.^s But this very consideration ought to have moved Artaxerxes not to have dealt thus with him, since to that assistance he owed both his life and his

^q Diodorus, *ibid.* Plutarch. in Artaxerxe and Agesilao. Xenophon, *ibid.*

^r Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Justin. lib. 6, c. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 14, p. 438, 439.

^s Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodorus, *ibid.* Polyænus Strategem. lib. 7. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe and Agesilao.

crown. But no merit can be sufficient to secure any one, either in his life or fortune, where arbitrary will and pleasure reign without control, and princes are at a full loose to execute whatsoever their groundless suspicions, their extravagant humours, or their wild caprices, may prompt them to.

As soon as Tissaphernes was cut off, Tithraustes sent to Agesilaus, that the king having inflicted due punishment upon him that was the cause of the war, he ought to be content with it and return home, promising, on this condition, to grant full liberty to the Grecian cities in Asia to live according to their own laws, they paying their usual tribute to the king, which was all the Lacedemonians desired when they first began the war.^t But Agesilaus, thirsting after greater conquests, would not hearken hereto; but, to put off the matter, referred him to the magistrates of Lacedemon, telling him he could do nothing herein without them. However, for the price of thirty talents paid him by Tithraustes, the storm was diverted from his provinces, and Agesilaus ordered his army to prepare for a march into Phrygia.

But while he was making ready for this war, a new commission came to him from Lacedemon, whereby he was made generalissimo of their fleet, as well as of their armies, and had all their forces in Asia, both by sea and land, put under his command, that, by thus having the entire direction of the whole war, he might conduct it with a greater uniformity, for the good of the state.^u This drew him down to the sea-coast, to take care of the fleet; which having put in good order, he made Pisander, his wife's brother, admiral of it, and sent it to sea under his command. And in this, it is certain, he was more influenced by private affection to his brother-in-law, or some other by-ends of his own, than by that due regard which he ought to have had for the public good of the state; for although Pisander were a man of valour and great courage, yet he was, in other respects, noway adequate to that trust, as the event afterward sufficiently proved.

Agesilaus, having thus settled the sea affairs, pursued his designs of invading Phrygia; where having taken several cities, and made great wastes and depredations in the province, he passed on into Paphlagonia, being invited thither by Spithridates, a noble Persian, who had revolted from the king: where having made a league with Cotys, the king of that country, and married the daughter of Spithridates to him, he returned into Phrygia, and taking the city of Dascylium, there wintered in the palace of Pharnabazus, and fed

^t Xenophon, *ibid.* Plutarchus in Agesilao.

^u Pausanias in Laconicis. Xenophon. and Plutarchus, *ibid.*

his army with the spoils which he there got from the circumjacent country.^x

Tithraustes, seeing that Agesilaus was for carrying on the war in Asia, to divert him from it, sent emissaries into Greece with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in the chief cities, and thereby induce them to rekindle a war in Greece against the Lacedemonians, that so Agesilaus might be called home to defend his own country; which had that effect, that Thebes, Athens, Argos, and Corinth, with other cities of Greece, entering into a confederacy together, raised such a war against the Lacedemonians, as produced all that was intended by Tithraustes in his stratagem, as will by and by be related in its proper place.^y And the putting of the people of the same nation and interest together by the ears hath elsewhere been found the most successful means to advance the interest of a neighbouring tyrant. And money will never fail of this effect, where there are minds corrupted with vice, luxury, and irreligion, to prepare men for it.

In the beginning of the next spring, Agesilaus being ready to take the field, a parley was procured between him and Pharnabazus; at which Pharnabazus having recited the great services which he had done the Lacedemonians in their war with the Athenians, and reproached them with the ill requital they had returned him for it, especially in the devastations which they had made in his palace, park, gardens, and estate, at Dascylium, that were his own proper inheritance: and all this being truths which could not be denied, Agesilaus, and his Lacedemonian council that attended him at the conference, were so confounded at it, that they wanted an answer to excuse the ingratitude which they were charged with.^z However, to make him the best amends they could, they made him a solemn promise, that they would no more invade him, nor any of the provinces under his government, as long as there were any else against whom they might prosecute the war which they had with the Persian king; and then immediately withdrew out of those parts, and thereon formed a design of invading the upper provinces of Asia, and carrying the war into the very heart of the Persian empire. But while Agesilaus was projecting this expedition, there came messengers to him from Lacedemon, to recall him thither.^a For the Persian money having pro-

^x Plutarchus in Agesilao. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 4.

^y Pausanias in Laconicis and Messenicis. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarchus in Agesilao and Artaxerxe.

^z Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 4.

^a Plutarchus in Agesilao & Artaxerxe. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 4. Corn. Nepos in Agesilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14, p. 441. Justin, lib. 6, c. 4.

cured a very strong confederacy of several of the Grecian states and cities against them, they needed him at home to defend his own country ; and accordingly he made all the haste thither that he could, complaining, at his departure out of Asia, that the Persians had driven him thence by thirty thousand archers, meaning so many darics, which were pieces of gold that had the impression of an archer upon them. But so small a sum did not do this job : it cost the Persians much more ; and they could not have bestowed their money better to their own advantage ; for hereby they saved vastly greater expenses, which otherwise they must have been at in the war, had they not this way got rid of it. And there are instances of other crafty princes who, by following the same methods, have gained the same success, and, in the way of bribery and corruption, have done that by hundreds of pounds in the councils of their adversaries, which they could never bring to pass by millions in the open field.

Conon, on his return from the Persian court, having brought money enough with him to pay the soldiers and mariners of his fleet all their arrears, and supply it with every thing else that was wanting, took Pharnabazus on board him, and forthwith set sail to seek the enemy ; and finding their whole fleet riding near Cnidus, under the command of Pisander, he fell upon them and obtained a complete victory, having slain Pisander himself in the fight, and taken fifty of his ships ; which did put an end to the empire of the Lacedemonians in those parts, and was a prelude to their losing it every where else ; for after this it continued to decline, till at length the overthrows which they received at Leuctra and Mantinea put an absolute period to it.^b But it is not my purpose to treat of what was done in Greece any farther than as the affairs of Greece interfere with what is the main design of this history.

After this victory, Conon and Pharnabazus sailed round the isles and maritime coasts of Asia, and took in most of the cities which the Lacedemonians had in those parts ; only Sestus and Abydus, two cities in the mouth of the Hellespont, being under the command of Dercyllidas, held out against them ; whereon Pharnabazus assaulted them by land, and Conon by sea ; but not succeeding in the attempt, Pharnabazus, on the approach of winter, returned home, and Conon was left to take care of the fleet, with orders to recruit and augment it with as many ships from the cities on

^b Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 4. Justin, lib. 6, c. 3. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 14, p. 441. Isocrates in Euagora, & in Oratione ad Philippum.

the Hellespont as he could get from them against the next spring.^c

And Conon having, according to this commission, gotten ready a strong fleet of ships by the time appointed, An. 593.
Arias. 12. Pharnabazus went on board of it, and sailing through the islands, landed on Melos, the furthest of them; and having taken in that island, as lying convenient for the invading of Laconia, the country of the Lacedemonians, they from thence made a descent upon its maritime coasts, and, having ravaged them all over, loaded their fleet with the spoils which they there got.^d After this Pharnabazus, being on his return home into his province, Conon obtained of him, to send him with eighty ships of the fleet, and fifty talents of money, to rebuild the walls of Athens, having made him to understand, that nothing could conduce more to the bringing down of the pride of the Lacedemonians, than by this means to put Athens again into a condition to rival their power.^e And therefore, being arrived at Piræus, the port of Athens, he immediately set about the work; and having gotten together a great number of workmen, and made all that could be spared from on board the fleet, as well as the people of the city, to set to their helping hand, he rebuilt both the walls of Athens, and the walls of the port, with the walls also called the Long Walls, leading from the former to the latter, and distributed the fifty talents which he had received from Pharnabazus among his citizens: whereby he restored that city again to its pristine state, and may on this account be reckoned as the second founder of it.

The Lacedemonians, being exceedingly moved at the hearing of this, forthwith despatched Antalcidas, a citizen of theirs, to Tiribazus, then governor for the Persian king at Sardis, to propose terms of peace. And the confederates, on the other hand, on notice hereof, sent their ambassadors thither also, and, among them, Conon was one from the city of Athens. The terms which Antalcidas proposed were, that the king should have all the Grecian cities in Asia, and that all the rest, both in the isles and in Greece, should be restored to their liberty, and be governed by their own laws.^f Which being a peace that would be very advantageous to the king, and very disadvantageous and dishonourable to the Greeks in general, none of the other ambassadors would consent to it. And therefore they all returned without effecting any thing, excepting Conon. For the Lacedemonians

^c Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 14, p. 441.

^d Xenophon. & Diodor. Sic. *ibid.*

^e Corn. Nepos in Conone. Plutarch. in Agesilao. Justin, lib. 6, c. 5. Isocrates in Euagora. Xenoph. & Diodor. *ibid.* Pansanias in Atticis.

^f Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 4. Plutarch. in Agesilao.

bearing an implacable spite to him for what he had done in the restoration of Athens, accused him of purloining the king's money for the carrying on of that work, and also of having designs for the taking of Æolis and Ionia from the Persians, and subjecting them again to the Athenian state; whereon Tiribazus clapped him in chains, and then, going to the Persian court to communicate to the king the proceedings of this treaty, he acquainted him also of the accusation which he had received against Conon: hereon Conon being ordered to be brought to Susa, was there put to death by the king's command.^h

While Tiribazus was attending the court, Struthas was sent down from thence to take care of the maritime coasts of Asia; where, finding the great devastations An. 392. Artax. 13. which the Lacedemonians had made in those parts, he conceived from hence such an aversion against them as carried him wholly over to the Athenian side.ⁱ Whereon the Lacedemonians sent Thimbros again into Asia to renew the war there; but they not being able at that time to furnish him with strength sufficient for the undertaking, he was soon cut off by the superior power of the Persians, and all his forces broken and dissipated. After him Dephridas came thither to gather up the remains of this army, and carry on the war; and after him others were sent with the same commission. But all their doings in Asia, after the battle of Cnidus, were only as the faint strugglings of a dying power; and therefore they were forced at length to give up all there, when they could no longer hold it, by a treaty of peace, which was very disadvantageous, as well as very dishonourable to all that were of the Grecian name.

And therefore Artaxerxes, being in a manner almost wholly eased of the Grecian war, turned his whole power against Euagoras king of Cyprus, and began a war An. 391. Artax. 14. against him which he had long designed, but was not till now at leisure to prosecute it.^k How Euagoras seized Salamine, by expelling the Persian governor, and made himself king of that city, and procured, by the means of Conon, to be confirmed herein by Artaxerxes, I have already given an account. But Euagoras, being a man every way qualified for great undertakings, in a little time so enlarged his strength and his power, that he made himself in a manner king of the whole island of Cyprus. The Amathusians, the Solians, and the Citians, were those only that held out against

^g Xenoph. *ibid.* Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 442. Corn. Nepos in Conone.

^h Corn. Nepos, *ibid.* Isocrates in Panegyrico.

ⁱ Xenoph. *ibid.* Diodor. Sic. lib. 14, p. 447.

^k Isocrates in Euagora. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15, p. 458.

him; and Artaxerxes, becoming jealous of the growing power of this active and wise prince, first countenanced them herein, and afterward openly embraced their cause, and declared war against Euagoras; in which Isocrates tells us he expended above fifty thousand talents, which may be reckoned at ten millions sterling.

The Athenians, notwithstanding the alliance they now had with the Persians, and the benefits they had lately received from them, would not deny their assistance to Euagoras, who had much befriended them, especially in the kind reception which those who fled with Conon from the battle of the Goats river had found with him;^l and perchance their resentments against the king, for the death of that gallant Athenian their restorer, did not a little move them to this resolution. And therefore they forthwith equipped ten ships of war, and sent them to the aid of Euagoras, under the command of Philocrates. But a fleet which the Lacedemonians had at sea, under the command of Telautias the brother of Agesilaus, falling in with them in the isle of Rhodes, took them all; whereby it came to pass, that those who were enemies to the king of Persia, destroyed those who were going from his friends to make war against him.

Achoris succeeding Psammitichus in the kingdom of Egypt, Euagoras drew him also and the Barceans, a people of Lybia, into a confederacy with him against the Persians; and all of them engaged in conjunction together, to carry on the war with vigour against them.^m

Philocrates having miscarried in his attempt of carrying succours to Euagoras, in manner as hath been related, the Athenians sent Chabrias into the same service with another fleet, and a good number of land forces on board of it; who arriving safe in Cyprus, managed the war with that success, that he reduced the whole island under the power of Euagoras, before he again left it; which redounded much to the honour of his own conduct, and also to that of the Athenian arms.ⁿ

The Lacedemonians finding themselves hardly pressed by the confederacy of the Grecian cities against them, because desirous of a peace with the Persian king, appointed Antalcidas again to treat with Tiribazus about it; and resolving to make it on such terms as should necessarily engage that potent monarch on their side, instructed their ambassador accordingly; and having made him admiral of their fleet, under that blind, sent him with it

^l Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 4.

^m Theopompus in Excerptis Photii. Diod. Sic. lib. 15, p. 459.

ⁿ Cornelius Nepos in Chabria. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 5.

into Asia to transact this matter. On his arrival at Ephesus, having appointed Nicolochus his lieutenant to take care of the fleet, he went to Sardis, and there communicated to Tiribazus the commission on which he was sent.^o But Tiribazus having no powers to enter into such a treaty, instead of sending for orders about it from the Persian court, they both went thither, where, on their arrival, the matter was soon concluded. For Artaxerxes being at that time as much desirous of a peace as the Lacedemonians, that so he might be the better at leisure to prosecute the Cyprian war, which he had then his heart much set upon, greedily accepted of the proposal upon the scheme which Antalcidas offered. And accordingly peace was made thereupon. The terms of it were, that all the Grecian cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomnæ and Cyprus, should be under the power of the Persian king; and that all the other cities of Greece, and the isles, as well small as great, should be free, and wholly left to be governed by their own laws, except the islands of Scirus, Lemnus, and Imbrus, which having been anciently subject to the Athenians, should still continue so to be; and that Artaxerxes should join with the Lacedemonians, and all others that accepted of this peace, to make all the rest of Greece submit thereto.^p Which peace, being ratified under the seal of king Artaxerxes, Tiribazus and Antalcidas returned with it, and caused it to be proclaimed in all the cities of Greece. Hereby the Grecian cities in Asia, finding themselves betrayed by the Lacedemonians, were forced to submit; and scarce any other of the Grecian states were pleased therewith, it being very disadvantageous to many of them, and dishonourable to all. The Athenians and Thebans, of all others, were the most dissatisfied with it. But not being able alone to cope with the Persians, now joined with the Lacedemonians their allies to see it executed, were forced for a while to acquiesce therein. And it was not long that the Lacedemonians themselves were well pleased with it; but at this time being pressed on the one hand by the Persians, and on the other hand by the confederacy of the Grecian cities against them, and not being able to withstand both, they had no other way to extricate themselves from the ruin which seemed to threaten them, than by making this peace; for hereby they engaged the Persians into an alliance with them, and, by virtue thereof, made all the confederated cities of

^o Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 5. Plutarchus in Agesilao et Artaxerxe. Isocrates in Panathenaico. Diod. Sic. lib. 14, p. 452, 453. Justin. lib. 6, c. 6.

^p The city of Clazomenæ then stood on an island, but afterward that island was joined to the continent in the same manner as were the islands of Tyrus and Pharus. Strabo, lib. 1, p. 58.

Greece desist from that war which they were preparing against them; and by this means they saved themselves from the present danger; but, at the same time, they betrayed the common interest of Greece, and also their own, as far as it was involved in it. And Antalcidas at last met with his ruin from it; for the Lacedemonians, after the blow they had received from the Thebans at Leuctra, needing the assistance of the Persian power to support them, and being made believe that Antalcidas could do every thing at that court since the making of this peace, sent him thither to solicit for money to help to bear them up in that distress. But king Artaxerxes finding his interest noway concerned in this proposal, as it was in the former, rejected it with scorn and contempt. And therefore being sent away without success, either out of shame for being thus disappointed, or out of fear of the resentments of his fellow-citizens for his failing in this negotiation of what they expected from it, he famished himself, and so put an end to his life. This peace Polybius,^r Trogus Pompeius,^s Diodorus Siculus,^t and Strabo,^u tell us, was made in the same year that Rome was taken by the Gauls. It was called, from the author of it, the peace of Antalcidas; but it was not with any honour, but rather with infamy to his name, because of the prejudice and dishonour which it brought with it to all Greece.

The Athenians, on their accepting of this peace, were forced to call home Chabrias out of Cyprus; and
An. 386.
Artax. 19. Artaxerxes, now freed of all trouble from the Greeks, bent his whole force against Euagoras, king of that island.^x For having drawn together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of three hundred sail, he made Gaus, the son of Tamus, (who hath been before spoken of,) admiral of the fleet, and Orontes, one of his sons-in-law, general of the army, and Tiribazus generalissimo over both, and sent them to invade Cyprus: and accordingly they landed this great army on that island, for the reducing of it. Euagoras being pressed with so great a power, strengthened himself for the war the best he could, having drawn into confederacy with him the Egyptians, Lybians, Arabians, Tyrians, and other nations, who were then at enmity with the Persians; and with his money, of which he had amassed a vast treasure, he hired a great number of mercenaries out of all places wherever he could get them; which altogether made a very numerous army. And he also got together a considerable fleet of ships. These at first he sent out in par-

q Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

s Justin. lib. 6, c. 6.

u Lib. 6.

r Lib. 1.

t Lib. 4.

x Diodorus Siculus, lib. 15.

ties to intercept the tenders and victuallers, which brought provisions to the Persian army from the continents; which in a few days reduced them to that distress, that the soldiers mutinied and slew many of their officers and commanders, for their want of bread. For the remedying of this, their whole fleet was forced to set to sea to fetch provisions from Cilicia; whereby the army being plentifully supplied, an end was put to the mutiny. In the interim Euagoras received a great supply of corn from Egypt, and fifty sail of ships, which with others that he fitted up at home, making up his fleet to two hundred sail, he ventured with them to engage the whole naval force of the Persians, though in strength and number much superior to him. He had fought a part of the Persian army, and gained the victory, and, being flushed with this and some other advantages which he had obtained at land, he was emboldened hereby to make this attempt upon them by sea. But here he had not the same success. In the first onset he had the advantage, and took or destroyed several of their ships. But Gaus at length having brought up his whole fleet into the fight, his valour and his conduct bore all before him, and drove Euagoras out of the seas, with the loss of the greatest part of his fleet. With the remainder he escaped to Salamine, where the Persians, after this victory, shut him up in a close siege both by sea and land; and Tiribazus went to the Persian court with the news of this success, and, having there obtained two thousand talents for the use of the army, he returned with them farther to carry on the war. During his absence, Euagoras, to relieve himself in the distress he was reduced to, got through the enemy's fleet in the night with ten ships, and sailed for Egypt, leaving Protagoras his son to manage all affairs in his absence. His end in this voyage was to engage Achoris to join his whole power with him for the raising of this siege.

But failing in the main of what he there expected,^y he was sent back only with some supplies of money, which were far short of what he needed to relieve An. 385.
Artax. 20. him in his present distress; and therefore being returned to Salamine, and got again into the place, by the favour of the night, in the same manner as he came out, and finding himself deserted by his allies, and destitute of all other helps for the raising of the siege, he sent to Tiribazus to treat of peace; but could be allowed no other terms than to be divested of all that he had in Cyprus, excepting the city of Salamine only, and to hold that of the king, as a servant of his lord, and pay him tribute for it. However, con-

sidering the necessity of his affairs, he yielded to all this, excepting only the holding of Salamine as a servant under his lord; he desired it might be as a king under a king. But Tiribazus, not consenting to this, the war went on. In the mean time Orontes, who commanded the land army, not brooking the superiority which Tiribazus had over him, as being generalissimo, and having the chief conduct of the whole war, and envying also the success which he had in it, and the honour which he had gotten thereby, wrote secretly calumniating letters to the king, accusing him of having secret designs against the king's interest, and that for this purpose he held private correspondence with the Lacedemonians, and had causelessly procrastinated the war, and admitted a treaty with Euagoras, when it was in his power to have suppressed him by force, and, by courting the affection of the officers and commanders of the army, had engaged them all to him, for the promoting of his hidden purposes: whereon he was taken into custody by order from the king, and sent prisoner to the court, and Orontes had the chief command conferred on him; which was the thing he desired, as what he thought belonged to him, much rather than to the other, as being the king's son-in-law. But the army being very much dissatisfied with the change, things went very heavily on under his conduct; for all his orders, through this discontent of the soldiery, were very negligently executed, and the enemy recovered courage and strength hereby; so that at length Orontes was forced to renew the treaty with Euagoras for which he had accused his predecessor, and concluded it upon terms which the other had refused: for he consented that he should hold Salamine of the king of Persia, as king of that city, yielding only tribute to him for it. So peace was made with Euagoras. But this did not put an end to the war in those parts: for Gaus taking ill the unjust usage of Tiribazus, whose daughter he had married, and fearing that this affinity might involve him also in the same prosecution, he entered into a confederacy with the Egyptians and the Lacedemonians, and revolted from the king, and a great part both of the fleet and army joined with him herein.² The Lacedemonians entered gladly into this confederacy, because of the dislike which they now had of the peace of Antalcidas. For by this time, discerning all the disadvantages of it, especially the ill consequence which it had in alienating the affections of all the other Greeks from them, because of the dishonour, as well as the damages, which it brought with it to all the Grecian name, they would, for the redeeming of this fault, and the recovery of the credit which

² Diodorus Siculus, lib. 15.

they lost by it, have gladly laid hold of this opportunity of again renewing the war with the Persians. But Gaus the next year after, when he had brought his matters in some measure to bear, being treacherously slain by some that were under him, and Tachos, who set himself up to carry on the same design, soon dying, the whole of it fell to nothing, and after this the Lacedemonians no more meddled with the Asian affairs.

Artaxerxes, having thus finished the Cyprian war, led an army of three hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse against the Cadusians.^a But the country, ^{An. 384.} ^{Artax. 27.} by reason of its barrenness, not affording provisions enough to feed so large an army, he had like to have lost them all for want thereof, but that Tiribazus extricated him from this danger. He followed the king in this expedition, or rather was led with the court in it as a prisoner, being in great disgrace because of Orontes's accusation, and having received information, that whereas the Cadusians had two kings, they did not act in a thorough concert together, by reason of the jealousy and mistrust which they had of each other, but that each led and encamped his forces apart from the other, he proposed to Artaxerxes the bringing of them to submission by a treaty; and, having undertaken the management of it, he went to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other, and so ordered the matter, that making each of them believe that the other was treating separately with the king, brought both separately to submit to him, and so saved him and all his army. These people inhabited some part of the mountainous country which lies between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, to the north of Media,^b where they, having neither seed-time nor harvest, lived mostly upon apples, and pears, and other such tree-fruits; the land, by reason of its ruggedness, and unfertility, not being capable of tillage.^c And this was that which brought the Persians into such distress when they invaded them, the country not being capable of affording provisions for so great an army. Fuller hath a conceit that these Cadusians were the descendants of the Israelites of the ten tribes, which the kings of Assyria carried captive out of the land of Canaan;^d but his reason for it being only, that he thinks they were called Cadusians, from the Hebrew word *Kedushim*, which signifieth *holy people*, this is not foundation enough to build such an assertion upon. It would have been a better argument for this purpose, had he urged for it, that

a Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 15, p. 463

b Strabo, lib. 11, p. 507, 508, 510, 523, 524.

c Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

d Miscell. lib. 2, c. 5.

the Colchians and neighbouring nations are said anciently to have used circumcision; for not far from the Colchians was the country of the Cadusians.^e

Artaxerxes lost a great number of men in this ill-projected expedition; among others who perished in it was Camissares, by nation a Carian, and a very gallant man. He was governor of Lenco-Syria, a province lying between Cilicia and Cappadocia; and was, on his death, succeeded therein by Datames, his son, who was also with Artaxerxes in this expedition, and did him great service in it, for the reward of which he had his father's government conferred on him. He was for valour and military skill the Hannibal of those times. Cornelius Nepos hath given us his life at large; by which it appears no man ever exceeded him in stratagems of war, or in the valour and activity by which he executed them. But these eminent qualities raised that envy against him in the Persian court, as at last caused his ruin; as it hath been the fate of too many gallant men to have been thus undone by their own merit.

On the king's return to Susa, the service which Tiribazus did him in this expedition procured him a fair hearing of his cause; and it having been thoroughly examined before indifferent judges appointed by the king for it, he was found innocent and honourably discharged; and Orontes, his accuser, was condemned of calumny, and with disgrace banished the court, and put out of the king's favour for it.^f

Artaxerxes, being now freed from all other wars, resolved on the reducing of the Egyptians; they having freed themselves from the yoke of the Persians, and stood out in revolt against them now full thirty-six years; and accordingly he made great preparations for it.^g Achoris, foreseeing the storm, provided against it the best he could, having armed not only his own subjects, but drawn also a great number of Greeks and other mercenaries into his service, under the command of Chabrias the Athenian. Pharnabazus, having the care of this war committed to his charge, sent ambassadors to Athens, to make complaint against Chabrias for engaging in this service against the king, threatening them with the loss of the king's friendship, unless he were forthwith recalled. And at the same time he demanded Iphicrates, another Athenian, and the ablest general of his time, to be sent to him, to take on him the command of the mercenary Greeks in the Persian army for this war. The Athenians, at that time much depending

^e Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

^f Diodorus Siculus, p. 463.

^g Diodorus Siculus, lib. 15, p. 471. Corn. Nepos in Chabria et Iphicrate

on the favour of the Persian king for the supporting of their affairs at home, amid the broils which they had with the other cities of Greece, readily complied with both these demands; for they immediately recalled Chabrias, setting him a day for his return, and at the same time sent Iphicrates into the Persian army, to take on him the charge he was designed for. On his arrival, he having mustered his men, applied himself to exercise them in all the arts of war; in which he made them so expert, that thenceforth, under the name of Iphicratesian soldiers, they became as famous among the Greeks, as formerly the Fabian were among the Romans for the same reason. And they had time enough before they entered on action, to grow up hereto, by the instruction that was given them.

For the Persians being very slow in their preparations, it was two years after ere the war commenced.

In the interim died Achoris, king of Egypt, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, in that kingdom, who reigned only one year.^g

An. 576.
Artax. 29.

After Psammuthis, reigned in Egypt Nephertites,^h the last of the Mendesian race in that kingdom: for, after a reign of four months, he was succeeded by Nectanabis, the first of the Sebennite race, who reigned twelve years.

An. 575.
Artax. 30.

Artaxerxes, that he might the easier get Grecian auxiliaries for his Egyptian war, sent ambassadors into Greece, to put an end to all war there; requiring that all the different states and cities in that country should live in peace with each other, upon the terms of the peace of Antalcidas; and that all garrisons being withdrawn, all should be left to enjoy their liberty, and be governed according to their own laws. This proposal was readily accepted by all the cities of Greece, excepting the Thebans, who having then in view the gaining the empire over all, were the only Grecian people that refused to comply herewith.

All things being now ready for the Egyptian war, the Persian army was all drawn together at Ace, afterward called Ptolemais, and now Acon, in Palestine, and were there mustered to be two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, and twenty thousand Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Iphicrates: and their forces by sea were proportionable hereto; for their fleet consisted of three hundred galleys, and two hundred ships, besides a vast number of victuallers and tenders, which followed, to furnish both the fleet and army

An. 574.
Artax. 31.

with all things necessary.ⁱ At the same time the army marched by land, the fleet set also to sea, that so they might the better act in concert with each other, for the carrying on of the war. The first attempt which they made was upon Pelusium. Their design was to besiege it by sea and land; but the Persians having been long in preparing for this war, gave Nectanabis time enough to provide for the defence of the place; which he did so effectually, that they could not come at it either by land or sea. And therefore their fleet, instead of making a descent at this place, as was first intended, sailed from thence to the Mendesian mouth of the Nile; for that river then discharged itself into the Mediterranean by seven mouths (though now there are but two,^k) each of which was guarded by a fortress and a garrison; but the Mendesian mouth not being so well fortified against them as the Pelusian, because they were not here expected, they easily landed at this place, and as easily took the fortress which guarded it, destroying all those who were there set for its defence. After this action Iphicrates advised that they should immediately have sailed up the Nile to Memphis, the capital of Egypt. And had they followed his advice, before the Egyptians had recovered from the consternation which this powerful invasion, and the first success thereof, had put them into, they would have found the place wholly unprovided for its defence, and therefore must have certainly taken it, and with it all Egypt must again have fallen under their power. But the main of the army not being yet come up, Pharnabazus would not engage till he had gotten all his strength together, thinking that then his power would be invincible, and he must necessarily carry all before him. But Iphicrates, rightly judging, that by that time the opportunity would be lost, pressed hard for leave to attempt the place with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But Pharnabazus envying him the honour which would redound to him from hence, should he succeed in the enterprise, would not hearken to the proposal. In the interim, the Egyptians having gotten all their forces together, and put a sufficient guard into Memphis, with the rest took the field, and so harassed the Persians, that they kept them from making any farther progress, till at length, the Nile in its proper season, overflowing all the country, forced them to withdraw again into Phœnicia, with the loss of a great part of their army.^l And so this expedition, in which were ex-

ⁱ Diod. Sic lib. 15, p. 478. Corn. Nepos in Iphicrate.

^k That is, Damietta and Rosetta

^l The nature of this river is, to be six months rising, and six months falling; and when it is at the height, it doth for two months together over-

pended such vast sums of treasure, and so much time in preparing for it, all miscarried, and came to nothing. This produced great dissensions between the two generals; for Pharnabazus, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of this miscarriage upon Iphicrates; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, on Pharnabazus. But Iphicrates being aware that Pharnabazus would be believed before him at the Persian court, and remembering the case of Conon, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship, and got safely away to Athens. Hereon Pharnabazus sent ambassadors after him, to accuse him of making this expedition into Egypt miscarry; to which the Athenians gave only this answer, that, if he were found guilty of this, they would punish him for it according to his demerit. But it seems they were so far convinced of his innocency as to this matter, that they never called him to a trial for it; and a little while after they made him sole admiral of their whole fleet.

That which made most of the expeditions of the Persians under this empire miscarry, was their slowness in the execution of their designs. For the generals having nothing left to their own discretion, but being in all things strictly tied up to orders, durst not proceed on any emergency without instructions from court; and usually, before these could arrive, the opportunity was lost. And this was signally the case in this war. And therefore Iphicrates perceiving Pharnabazus to be very quick in his resolves, and very slow in the execution of them, and having thereon asked him how it came to pass that he was so forward in his words, and so backward in his actions? had the whole truth told him in this memorable answer, That his words were his own, but his actions wholly depended on his master.^m And many like instances may be given wherein noble opportunities of acting great things for the good of the public have been wholly lost, by too straitly tying up the hands of those who are to execute them.

The same year that these things were done in Egypt,

flow the whole country, and then there is no marching or encamping of an army in any part of it. This is caused by the rains, which for six months together fall in the upper parts of Ethiopia, where the rise of the Nile is. These rains begin to fall in April, and continue till October, and send great floods into the Nile; which beginning to reach Egypt in the May following, do there cause this rising or increase of the Nile, which from thence continues to rise higher and higher, till the beginning of October following, and then it again falls in the same gradual manner as it rose, till the April following. The months of the overflow are August and September, and some part of October. It must rise sixteen cubits to make a fertile year; but sometimes it riseth to twenty-three. If it riseth no higher than twelve or thirteen cubits, a famine followeth in that country.

^m Diodor. Sic. lib. 15, p. 478.

Euagoras, king of Salamine, in the island of Cyprus, being murdered by one of his eunuchs, Nicocles his son reigned in his stead, and is the same for whose sake two of Isocrates's orations were composed, and they still bear the title of his name.ⁿ In the first of these is proposed the duty of a king to his subjects; in the second the duty of subjects to their kings; for which Nicocles gave him twenty talents,^o that is, three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

The next year after,^p which was the thirty-second of Artaxerxes Mnemon, Joiada the high-priest of the
An. 573.
Artax. 32. Jews being dead,^q Johanan his son, called also Jonathan,^r succeeded him in his office, and held it thirty-two years.

Artaxerxes again sent ambassadors into Greece to exhort the states and cities, which were there at war with
Anno 371.
Artax. 34. each other, to lay down their arms, and come to an accord upon the terms of the peace which he had made with Antalcidas.^s All expressed a readiness to submit hereto, except the Thebans. That which made them at that time dissent was, that by that peace it was provided, that all the cities of Greece should be left to enjoy their own liberties, and be governed according to their own laws. Upon this article, the Lacedemonians pressed the Thebans to set all the cities of Bœotia free, and to rebuild Platea and Thespia, two cities of that country which they had demolished, and restore them again to the former inhabitants, with the territories appertaining to them. And on the other side, the Thebans, retorting upon the Lacedemonians the same argument, pressed them to permit all the towns of Laconia to enjoy their liberties, and restore Messena to its ancient owners: for they urged, that the articles of the peace insisted on did as much require the one as the other; and that therefore, if the Lacedemonians would not execute this article on their part, neither would they on theirs. But the Lacedemonians, not being sufficiently humbled by the loss of their fleet at Cnidus, would not understand this way of arguing, but looking on themselves still as much superior to the Thebans, would have them submit to that which they would not do themselves; and therefore sent an army against them, to force them to it, which produced the battle at Leuctra, in which the Lacedemonians were overthrown, with the loss of Cleombrotus, one of their kings, and above four

ⁿ Aristotelis Politic. lib. 5, c. 10. Theopompus in Bibliotheca Photii, No. 176.

^o Plutarch. in Vita Isocratis.

^p Chronicon. Alexandrin.

^q Nehemiah xii. 22; xiii. 28.

^r Nehemiah xii. 11.

^s Diodor. Sic. lib. 15, p. 483. Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 6.

thousand of their citizens : which was the greatest blow they had received in many ages past :^t for it brought the Thebans, in pursuit of this victory, into Laconia, which they wasted all over, even home to the city of Lacedemon itself, where they had not seen an enemy in five hundred years before ; and it was with difficulty that they preserved this their capital from falling under the same devastation.

The Lacedemonians being brought to this distress, sent Agesilaus into Egypt, and Antalcidas to the Persian court, to solicit for succours.^u But the Lacedemo-
An. 370.
Artax. 35.
nians, since their overthrow at Leuctra, becoming contemptible to the Persians, Antalcidas had that ill success in his embassy, as caused him to put an end to his life, in the manner as hath been above related.

However, this embassy prevailed so far with Artaxerxes, that Philiscus of Abydus was, by his order, the next year after, sent into Greece, to endeavour the com-
An. 369.
Artax. 36.
posing of the wars, which were there risen, and the bringing of all to peace upon the terms agreed on by Antalcidas.^x But the Lacedemonians refusing to consent that Messena should enjoy its liberty (to which it had been restored by the Thebans, in their late expedition into Peloponnesus, after the battle of Leuctra,) and the Thebans refusing to come to peace on any other terms, this embassy ended without any effect ; only Philiscus, thinking the Thebans stood upon too high terms, and being much offended thereat, sent to the assistance of the Lacedemonians two thousand mercenaries, which he had raised with the king's money, and so returned.

The truth of the case was, the Thebans, being elevated with their late success, and much confiding in their two generals, Pelopidas and Epaminondas (the latter
An. 366.
Artax. 37.
of which was one of the greatest men that ever Greece produced,) aimed now at nothing less than the empire of Greece. And therefore, to strengthen themselves for the obtaining of it, they sent Pelopidas and Ismenias, two of the eminentest of their citizens, in an embassy to king Artaxerxes, to secure him on their side.^y And, on the hearing of this the Athenians sent Timagoras and Leontes, and the other cities of Greece other ambassadors, to take care of their respective interests at that court on this occasion. At their admission to audience, they being required to adore the king,

^t Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. Xenoph. ibid. Plutarch. in Pelopida. Corn. Nepos in Epaminonda et Pelopida.

^u Plutarch. in Agisilao et Artaxerxe.

^x Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 7. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 15, p. 494.

^y Plutarch. in Pelopida et Artaxerxe. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 7.

Asmenias, on his entrance into the presence of the king, dropped his ring, and, stooping to take it up, thought by this trick to satisfy the ceremonial, and save his honour at the same time. But Timagoras the Athenian, to gain the greater favour with Artaxerxes, directly, without any trick or subterfuge, paid him that ceremony of adoration which was required; for which he was put to death on his return, the Athenians thinking the honour of their whole city sullied by this low act of submission in one of their citizens, though made to the greatest of kings.^z Pelopidas and Leontes would not submit to the Persian ceremonial in this particular. However, they often had free access to the king, and Pelopidas, by the fame of his great actions, as well as by his noble demeanour at this court, got that ascendant above all the other ambassadors, both in the king's esteem and favour, that he obtained all that he desired in behalf of his citizens, and returned with full success from his embassy; for he brought back letters from the king under his seal royal, whereby it was required, that the Lacedemonians should let Messena be free, and that the Athenians should recall their fleet, and that all the other cities of Greece should have the full enjoyment of their liberties; and war was threatened against all that should not comply herewith.^a The success of this embassy was much to the satisfaction of the Thebans, they thinking hereby most certainly to gain the superiority over all the other cities and states of Greece. For, should the peace be accepted of on these terms, and the Messenians thoroughly restored, the Lacedemonians would lose one half of their territory, and thereby would be brought too low to be any more a match for them; and, should the other cities of Greece, as well small as great, be all set at liberty, and made distinct states, free and independent of each other, this would so divide their power, that none of them would be in a condition to contend with them, but all must submit to them. And if the peace were not accepted of, then the king being engaged in this case to join with them to force all to it, they thought, by this addition of strength, they should easily overpower all, and thereby gain to themselves the same empire over the rest of Greece, as first the Athenians, and afterward the Lacedemonians, had for some time enjoyed. But they failed of their expectations in both these particulars; for the cities of Greece, when met together by their delegates to hear the contents of the king's letters, all refused to swear to the peace on those terms; and Artaxerxes, not being at leisure to execute the other part of

^z Valerius Maximus, lib. 5, c. 3.

^a Plutarch. in Pelopida. Xenophon. Hellenic. lib. 7.

the treaty, did not, on this refusal of the Grecian cities to come into his measures, proceed to make that war upon them which he threatened; and so this whole embassy came to nothing, and the Thebans failed of all that they designed by it. For,

All that Artaxerxes did hereupon was to send another embassy into Greece, about two years after; whereby, although he could not draw all the cities to subscribe An. 366.
Artax. 39. to his terms, and swear to the peace upon them, yet he prevailed so far, that all laid down their arms, and submitted to be at quiet with each other on the scheme proposed.^b

About this time a wicked fact of Johanan the high-priest of the Jews brought a great oppression upon the temple at Jerusalem. For Jeshua his brother having much insinuated himself into the favour of Bagoses, then governor of Syria and Phœnicia for the Persian king, obtained of him a grant of the high-priesthood with which Johanan had been invested several years, and came with this grant to Jerusalem, to take possession of the office, and depose his brother from it. But Johanan not submitting hereto, the matter came to a great contention between them; and while the one endeavoured by force to enter on the execution of the office, and the other by force to keep him from it, it happened that Johanan slew Jeshua in the inner court of the temple; which was a very wicked act in itself, but aggravated and rendered much more so by the great profanation which was brought hereby on the holy place where it was committed. Bagoses hearing of this, came in great wrath to Jerusalem, to take an account of the fact; and when, on his going into the temple to see the place where it was perpetrated, they would have hindered his entrance (all Gentiles being reckoned by them as impure, and prohibited to enter thither, he cried out with great indignation, What! am I not more pure than the dead carcass of him whom ye have slain in the temple? Whereon entering without any farther opposition, and having taken a thorough cognizance of the fact, he imposed a mulct on the temple for the punishment of it, obliging the priests to pay out of the public treasury, for every lamb they offered in the daily sacrifice, the sum of fifty drachms, which is about 1*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* sterling. This, if extended only to the ordinary sacrifices which were offered every day, amounted to thirty-six thousand five hundred drachms for the whole year, which is no more than 1140*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* sterling. But, if it extended also to the extraordinary sacrifices, which

^b Diodorus Siculus, lib. 15. p. 427.

^c Josephus Antiq. lib. 11, c. 7.

were added to the ordinary on solemn days, it will come to about half as much more; for the ordinary sacrifices, which were offered every day, and called the daily sacrifices, were a lamb in the morning,^d which was called the morning sacrifice, and a lamb in the evening, which was called the evening sacrifice; and these in the whole year came to seven hundred and thirty. But besides these, there were added on every sabbath two lambs more;^e on every new moon seven,^f on each of the seven days of the paschal solemnity seven,^g besides one more on the second day, when the wave-sheaf was offered;^h on the day of Pentecost sixteen;ⁱ on the feast of trumpets seven;^k on the great day of expiation seven;^l on each of the seven days of the feast of tabernacles fourteen;^m and on the eighth day seven.ⁿ So that the additional lambs being three hundred and seventy-one; these, if reckoned to the other, make the whole number annually offered at the morning and evening sacrifices to be eleven hundred and one. And therefore, if the mulct of fifty drachms a lamb was paid for them all, it would make the whole of it to amount to fifty-five thousand and fifty drachms, which is 1720*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* sterling. But this sum being too small for a national mulct, and far short of what governors of provinces on such occasions are apt to exact from their provincials, it seems probable, that all lambs that were offered in the temple, in any sacrifice whatsoever, were taken into the reckoning; and, without this, there will be no sufficient cause for that complaint which Josephus makes hereof; for he speaks of it as such a calamity and grievance upon the Jews, which a payment of 1720*l.* a year upon the whole nation of them could not amount to. Capellus reckons this mulct at sixty talents.^o This proceeds from his laying it at five hundred drachms a lamb instead of fifty; which is a plain mistake of his; for the text of Josephus, in all copies, hath πεντήκοντα, *fifty*, and not πενταχοσίας, *five-hundred*. But whatever this mulct was, the payment of it lasted no longer than seven years. For, on the death of Artaxerxes, the changes and revolutions which then happened in the empire, having made a change of the governor in Syria, he that succeeded Bagoses in that province no farther exacted it.

A new war having broke out in Greece between the Ar-

d Exod. xxix. 38. Numb. xxviii. 3—8.

e Numb. xxviii. 9, 10.

g Numb. xxviii. 16—24.

i Levit. xxii. 17, 18. Numb. xxvii. 27.

l Numb. xxix. 8.

n Numb. xxix. 36.

o Historia Sacra et Exotica sub A. M. 3639

f Numb. xxviii. 11.

h Levit. xxiii. 12.

k Numb. xxix. 2.

m Numb. xxix. 12—34.

cadians and the Elians, and that having produced another among the Arcadians themselves,^p one party An. 363. Artax. 42. called in the Thebans to their assistance, and the other the Lacedemonians and the Athenians. Hereon the Lacedemonians set forth a great army, under the command of Agesilaus, to help that party which they favoured, and the Thebans another under the command of Epaminondas to support the other party; which produced the famous battle of Mantinea, wherein the Lacedemonians lost the victory, and the Thebans their general Epaminondas, which was the greater loss of the two; for with him all the vigour of the Theban state expired, and they never more signified any thing after this. But as they had attained all their power and glory by the conduct and valour of this one great man, so they lost it all again with him. These losses being received on both sides, they made both weary of the war, and therefore, soon after this battle, both parties, and with them all the rest of the Grecian states, came to a general peace among themselves; and the Messenians, notwithstanding what the Lacedemonians endeavoured to the contrary, were also included in it, according as had been decreed by the king of Persia.

While these things were doing in Greece,^q Tachos succeeded Nectanabis in the kingdom of Egypt, and gathered together all the strength he could to defend himself in it against the king of Persia, who still pursued his designs of recovering that kingdom again to his empire, notwithstanding he had so often miscarried in them.

And, to make himself the stronger against so potent an enemy, he sent into Greece to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the Lacedemonians to aid him with a An. 362. Artax. 43. good number of their forces under the command of Agesilaus;^r for the Lacedemonians, being angry that Artaxerxes had forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, were glad to lay hold of this occasion to express their resentments for it. And Agesilaus, either out of fondness still to be at the head of armies, or else out of a greedy desire of gaining riches by it, gladly accepted of the employment, though it neither suited his age (which was above eighty) to be engaged in such an undertaking, nor the dignity of his person, thus to become a mercenary, and let himself to hire to a barbarous king. That which chiefly tempted him to it was, Tachos promised him to make him generalissimo of all

^p Plutarchus in Agesilao. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 15, p. 501, 502. Corn. Nepos in Epaminonda.

^q Corn. Nepos et Plutarchus in Agesilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15, p. 504.

^r Plutarch. Corn. Nepos et Diodor. ibid.

his forces. But when he was landed in Egypt, and, instead of a great and glorious king, which his great actions had represented him to be, the Egyptians found him a little old man, ill clothed, and of a contemptible presence, and living without pomp and ceremony, they very much despised him; and Tachos would allow him no other command but that of his mercenaries at land, committing to Chabrias the Athenian the charge of his fleet, and reserving to himself the chief command over all. And, when he had joined the Grecian mercenaries to the rest of his army, he marched with his whole strength into Phœnicia, thinking it better to meet the war there, than to expect till it should be brought home to him to his own doors; and Agesilaus was forced to attend him thither. But the old Grecian king saw the ill consequence of this resolution, and advised him against it, telling him, that, in the present unsettled state of his kingdom, it was his interest to tarry in Egypt, and look well to his affairs there, and manage the war abroad by his lieutenants. But Tachos contemning his advice in this particular, and slighting him in most things else, this so far alienated Agesilaus from him, that when in his absence in Phœnicia, the Egyptians revolted from him, and set up Nectanebus his kinsman to be king in his stead. Agesilaus joined with the revoltors, and drove Tachos out of his kingdom; who thereon fled to Sidon, and from thence went to the Persian court. Plutarch condemns Agesilaus as guilty of treachery, in thus turning his arms against the person into whose service he was hired. Agesilaus's excuse for it was, that he was sent to aid the Egyptians, and that therefore the Egyptians having armed against Tachos, he could not fight against them unless he had new instructions from Lacedemon; whereon messengers being sent thither, the orders returned by them were, that Agesilaus should act herein according to what he judged would be best for the interest of his country; whereon Agesilaus going over to Nectanebus, Tachos was forced to make his flight out of Egypt, in the manner as hath been related.

And he was no sooner gone, but another from among the Mendesians did set up in his stead, against Nectanebus, and got together an army of one hundred thousand men to support his pretensions.^s Agesilaus's advice to Nectanebus was, that he should fall on them immediately, before they were well formed and disciplined; and they being most of them raw and unexperienced men, they might easily have been dissipated and broken, had this advice been followed. But Nectanebus mistrusting it to be given with

An. 361.
Artax. 41.

^s Plutarch. in Agesilao. Diod. Sic. lib. 15.

an ill design, and growing jealous that Agesilaus intended to betray him, as he had Tachos before, would not hearken to him, but delayed the matter to gain more strength. In the interim, his adversary having brought his army into form and order, grew too strong for him; whereon he was forced to coop himself up, with all his forces, in one of his towns; and the other sat down before it to besiege him therein, and began to draw lines of circumvallation about it. Nectanebus, seeing the danger, would then have had Agesilaus engage the enemy to extricate him out of it. This he refused for some time to do; which increased the jealousy of that prince against him. But when the lines were so far drawn round as only to leave a sufficient space for the besieged to draw up their army in it, then Agesilaus told Nectanebus, that this was his only time to fall on; that the lines which the enemy had drawn, secured him from being encompassed; and that the gap, which was still left void, allowed room enough for him to bring all his forces to the battle; whereon an engagement ensuing, the besiegers were put to the route, and after this Agesilaus managed the rest of the war with that success, that he every where vanquished the other king, and at length took him prisoner. And thereon, having settled Nectanebus in full and quiet possession of the kingdom, returned homeward in the ensuing winter; but being in his way driven by contrary winds on the African shore, at a place called the haven of Menelaus, he there sickened and died, being full eighty-four years old.

Towards the latter end of the reign of Artaxerxes, great disturbances grew in the Persian court; which were occasioned by the contention of his sons, in making parties among the nobility about the succession.^t For he had one hundred and fifteen sons by his concubines, and three by his queen; the names of the latter were Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. For the stilling of these commotions, Artaxerxes declared Darius the eldest of them to be his successor; and for the firmer settling of the matter, allowed him to assume the name of king, and wear the royal tiara even in his life-time.^u But this not contenting him, and there being also some disgust about one of the king's concubines which he would have had from him, he formed a design against his father's life, and drew in fifty of his brothers into the same conspiracy with him. He was chiefly excited to

^t Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Ctesias. Justin. lib. 10, c. 1, 2.

^u This tiara was a turbant or cap with the peak upright. For the seven counsellors wore their turbant with the peak forward; all others with the peak backward, excepting the king, who wore it always with the peak upright.

this by Tiribazus, whose name hath been often before mentioned. Artaxerxes had promised him one of his daughters; but falling in love with her he had married her himself, and, to make him amends, having promised him another of his daughters, he married this also; such abominable incest was in those times allowed in Persia, by the religion which they then professed. These two disappointments greatly discontenting Tiribazus, and provoking his resentments against the king for them, to be revenged of him, he excited the young king to this flagitious act. But the whole being discovered, Darius was cut off in such a manner as he deserved, and all his accomplices with him.

After the death of Darins, the same contention was again revived which was in the Persian court before his being declared king; three of his surviving brothers in the same manner making parties for the succession.^x

These were Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames; the two former being the king's sons by his queen, claimed as the lawful heirs; but the other only by the favour of his father, to whom he was the most beloved of the three, though born to him only by one of his concubines. But the restless ambition of Ochus prompting him to all manner of ways to obtain the crown, he carried it from the other two by the wickedest and the worst of means. For Ariaspes being an easy and credulous prince, he terrified him so by menaces, which he suborned the eunuchs of the court to bring to him as from his father, that, apprehending himself to be just ready to be used by him in the same manner as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. But Arsames still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being, in the opinion of his father, as well as of all others, both for his wisdom and all other accomplishments, the worthiest of the throne, to remove this obstacle, he caused him to be assassinated by Harpates the son of Tiribazus. This loss, added to the former, and both aggravated by the wickedness whereby they were caused, so overwhelmed the old king with grief, that, being now ninety-four years old, he had not strength enough to support himself under it, but broke his heart and died. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice; and therefore, being honoured and revered through the whole empire, he had a fixed and thorough settled authority in all the parts of it, which Ochus being sensible of, and knowing that it would be quite otherwise with him on his succeeding,^y (the death of his two brothers having rendered the generality of the people, as well as the

^x Ctesias & Plutarch. *ibid.*

^y Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 15, p. 506.

nobility, ill affected to him,) for the avoiding of the inconveniences which might from hence follow, he dealt with the eunuchs, and all others that were about the dead king, to conceal his death, and took on him to govern as under his direction; and giving out orders and sealing decrees in his name, as if he had still been alive;^z in one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's command, to be proclaimed king through the whole empire. And when he had governed in this manner about ten months, thinking now his authority fully established, he owned his father's death, and openly ascending the throne, took the name of Artaxerxes. But by the name of Ochus is he mostly spoken of in history.

But this artifice had not that full success which he proposed. For as soon as it was known that the old king was dead, and that Ochus had taken possession of the throne, all Lesser Asia, Syria, and Phœnicia, and several other provinces of the empire, refused him their obedience, and fell off from him; which very much distressed him.^a For hereby one half of the revenues of his crown were cut off, and the remainder could not have sufficed to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they continued firm to each other. But this union being wanting, they had not long been in the revolt, ere those who were the first promoters of it were at a strife which should soonest betray each other, and thereby reconcile themselves to the king. The provinces of Lesser Asia, when they first fell off from him, resolving on a joint confederacy for their mutual defence, chose Orontes, governor of Mysia, for their common head, and having agreed on the raising of twenty thousand mercenaries, to be added to their other forces, they committed the care of it to him; but when he had received for this purpose a sum sufficient, both for the raising of these forces, and also for the maintaining of them for a year's time, he put the money in his own pocket, and betrayed those to the king that brought it to him from the revolted provinces. And Rheomithres, another prime leader in this revolt in Lesser Asia, being sent from thence into Egypt to gain succours in that kingdom, for the carrying on of this rebellion, practised the same treachery; for, on his return, with five hundred talents and fifty ships of war, having called together at Leucas, a city in Lesser Asia, several of the prime ring-leaders of the revolt, on pretence of giving them an account of his agency, he there seized them all, and made his peace with the king by betraying them into his hands, and kept the money for a prey unto himself. And by these means the

An. 352.
Ochus 1.

^z Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 7.

^a Diodorus Siculus, lib. 15, p. 504—506.

danger of this formidable revolt, which threatened the Persian empire with absolute ruin, was all blown over, and Ochus became settled on the throne much firmer than he deserved ; for he was the cruellest and the worst of all that had reigned of that race in Persia, which his actions soon made appear ; for he had not been long on the throne ere he filled the palace and all parts of the empire with a great number of murders. That the revolted provinces might have none other of the royal family to set up in his stead, and that there might not be any of them left on any other pretence whatsoever to give him any disturbance, he cut them all off, without having any regard to sex, age, or nearness of blood ;^b for he caused Ocha his own sister, who was also his mother-in-law, (for he had married her daughter,) to be buried alive ; and having shut up one of his uncles, with one hundred of his sons and grandsons, in an empty yard, he there caused them by his archers to be all shot to death. This seems to have been the father of Sysigambis the mother of Darius Codomannus. For Quintius Curtius tells us, that Ochus slew eighty of his brothers, together with their father, in one day.^c And with the same cruelty he proceeded against all others through the whole empire of whom he had any suspicion, leaving none of the nobility alive whom he thought to be any way ill affected towards him. Diodorus Siculus placeth this revolt in the last year of Artaxerxes ; but he being a prince, whose conduct in the government had thoroughly settled him in the esteem and affection of all his people, it is not likely that so great an insurrection against the royal authority should have happened in his days. But Ochus giving reason enough for it, when the next year after he ascended the throne, I have rather chosen here to place it. For his ill dispositions, and the wicked means whereby he made away with two of his brothers to come at the throne, were causes sufficient to make many of the nobility, who had the government of the provinces of the empire, to abhor the man, and refuse their submission to him. And he having taken the name of Artaxerxes, this might lead Diodorus into the mistake of placing that in the father's reign, which was done in the son's. But this revolt was soon again quashed by the means I have mentioned. Only Datames, governor of Cappadocia, having seized also Paphlagonia, gave him much trouble. But when he began his revolt, or when it ended, is nowhere clearly expressed. But by what is written of him by Cornelius Nepos^d and Polyænus,^e it appears, he maintained himself in

^b Justin. lib. 10, c. 3. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9, c. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 10, c. 8.
^c Lib. 10, c. 8.

^d In Vita Datamis.

^e Stratagem. lib. 7.

both these provinces in rebellion against the king of Persia a long while : and it was not till the time of Ochus, and some years after he had been king, that he was, by the treachery of Mithridates, one of his confidants, at length cut off.

In the first year of the 106th Olympiad, about the middle of the summer quarter, Alexander the Great, who overthrew the Persian empire, was born at Pella in Macedonia. Plutarch^f and Justin^g tell us, that, at the time of his birth king Philip his father had the news that his horse had won the victory in the horse-race at the Olympic games, which proves him to be born a little after the celebrating of those games. And Arrian^h telling us out of Aristobulus (who accompanied Alexander in all his expeditions,) that he died in the 114th Olympiad, in the year when Hegesias was archon at Athens, (which was the first year of that Olympiad,) after having lived thirty-two years and eight months, these thirty-two years and eight months being reckoned backward from the said first year of the 114th Olympiad, and the month Dæsius, in which he died, will lead us directly to the same time for his birth which I have said. But Eusebius,ⁱ and the Parian chronicle,^k place it one year later, that is, in the second year of the said 106th Olympiad. On the same day in which he was born, the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus was designedly burned by one Erostratus ;^l when he was put upon the rack to make him confess his inducements, he acknowledged it was, that, by destroying so excellent a work, he might perpetuate his name, and make it to be remembered in after ages.^m Whereon the common council of Asia made a decree, that no one should ever name him ; but this made him so much the more remembered ; so remarkable an extravagance scarce escaping any of the historians that have written of those times. Artabazus, governor of one of the Asian provinces,ⁿ being in rebellion against the king, drew Chares the Athenian to join him with such forces as he then commanded in those parts, and, by his assistance, overthrew an army of seventy thousand of the king's forces, which were sent to reduce him ; for the reward of which service Artabazus gave unto Chares as much money as paid all his fleet, and the army which he had on board it. This greatly offended the king ; and the Athenians being then

An. 356.
Ochus. S.

f In Vita Alexandri.

h Lib. 7.

k Marm. Oxon.

g Lib. 12, c. 16.

i In Chronico. p. 175.

l Plutarch in Alexandro. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 2, & de Divinatione, lib. 1.

m Valerius Maximus, lib. 8, c. 14. Aulus Gellius, lib. 2, c. 6. Solinus, c. 40.

n Diodorus Siculus. lib. 16, p. 527, 528.

engaged in a war against the Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines, who were associated in a revolt against them, threats were given out, that the king, to be revenged of them, was preparing a fleet of three hundred sail to help their enemies in this war: whereon the Athenians not only recalled Chares, but came also to an accommodation with their revolted subjects, that thereby, being freed from all embarrassments at home, they might be in a better posture to defend themselves from all such invasions as might be made upon them from abroad.

Artabazus, therefore, being thus deserted by the Athenians, applied himself to the Thebans; from whom An. 354. Ochus 5. having obtained a band of auxiliaries, to the number of five thousand men, under the command of Pammenes, he did by their assistance, gain two great victories over the king's forces; which redounded much to the honour of the Thebans and their general that commanded in this expedition.^o

About the same time happened the death of Mausolus king of Caria,^p which was rendered famous by the great grief which Artemisia^q (who was both his sister and his wife,) expressed hereat. For she having gathered together his ashes and beaten his bones to powder, took a potion of them every day in her drink, till she had in this manner drunk them all down, aiming hereby to make her body the sepulchre of her dead husband, and in two years time pined herself to death in sorrowing for him. But, before she died she took care for the erecting of that famous monument for him at Halicarnassus, which was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, and from whence all monuments of more than ordinary magnificence are called mau-soleums.^r

As Artemisia succeeded Mausolus in the kingdom, so, on her death, she was succeeded by Idrieus her brother, An. 351. Ochus 6. who married Ada his sister, in the same manner as Mausolus had married Artemisia, it being usual for the Carian kings to marry their sisters, and for those sisters, on the death of their husbands, to succeed them in the kingdom, before their brothers or children.^s

The Sidonians and other Phœnicians, being oppressed and ill used by those whom the king of Persia had set over

^o Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 527, 528.

^p Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16, p. 529. Plin. lib. 36, c. 5, 6.

^q Valerius Maximus, lib. 4, c. 6. Aulus Gellius, lib. 10, c. 18.

^r Cicero Tusc. Quest. lib. 3. Strabo, lib. 14, p. 656. A. Gellius, lib. 10, c. 18. Pausanias in Arcadicis.

^s Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 534. Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 1. Strabo, lib. 14, p. 656.

them, revolted from him, and entered into confederacy with Nectanebus, king of Egypt, against him.^t The Persians had long waged war with Nectanebus, in order to reduce Egypt again under their yoke, and were then preparing a great army to invade him. But there being no other way for them to enter Egypt but through Phœnicia, the revolt of that country happened very opportune for him; and therefore, to encourage them to stand out in it, he sent Mentor the Rhodian with four thousand of the Grecian mercenaries to their assistance, hoping thereby to make Phœnicia a barrier to Egypt, and there keep the war out of his own country. The Phœnicians, strengthened by these auxiliaries, took the field, and, by their assistance, overthrew the governors of Syria and Cilicia, two of the king's lieutenants that were sent to reduce them, and drove the Persians wholly out of Phœnicia.

The Cyprians, being provoked by the like ill usage, were encouraged by the success of the Phœnicians to revolt also; and therefore they joined with them and the Egyptians in the same confederacy.^u Hercon Ochus despatched his orders to Idrieus king of Caria to make war upon them; who, having accordingly got ready a fleet, sent it with eight thousand Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Euagoras, to invade that island, who, having there landed, and augmented their army to double its number by other forces which came to them from Syria and Cilicia, besieged Salamine by sea and land.^x Another Euagoras had formerly reigned in that city, of whom we have above spoken; on his death he was succeeded by Nicocles his son, and this Euagoras seems to have been the son of Nicocles,^y and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but, being driven out by Protagoras his uncle, was in banishment when this war began, and therefore gladly joined in it, as hoping thereby again to recover his crown. And the knowledge which he had of the country, and the party which he might still have in it, made him thought a very proper person to command in this expedition. Cyprus had then nine chief cities, and each of them had its king, but subject to the king of Persia. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a view of getting rid of the Persian yoke, and making themselves each supreme in his own city.

Ochus, finding his wars with the Egyptians to have been

^t Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 531, 533.

^u Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 532.

^x This being a petty prince, was subject to the king of Persia, and reigned under his protection, and therefore was obliged to obey his orders.

^y Vike Isocratem in Nicocle & Euagora, & Usserii Annales ad A. M. 3630, 3654.

^z Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532.

unfortunately managed, and that this proceeded from the ill conduct of his lieutenants, resolved thenceforth to lead his forces in person; and therefore, having gotten together an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, marched with them into Phœnicia.^a Mentor, who was then in Sidon with the Grecian mercenaries, being terrified with the approach of so great an army, sent privately to Ochus to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver Sidon into his hands, but also to give him his assistance in his wars with Egypt, where, through his knowledge of the country, he was enabled to do him great services. Ochus, glad of this proffer, spared no promises to engage Mentor in his service. And he accordingly having received such assurances from Ochus as he desired, engaged Tennes, king of Sidon, in the same treason, and by his assistance, delivered Sidon into his hands. The Sidonians, on his approach to lay siege to their city, had designedly burned all their ships, that none might make use of any of them to withdraw from the defence of their country. And therefore, when they found they were betrayed, and that the enemy was within their walls, having no way now left to escape either by sea or land, they retired into their houses, and, setting fire to them over their heads, were all consumed with them, to the number of forty thousand men, besides women and children; and Tennes escaped not any better than the rest: for Ochus, after he had thus subdued Sidon, having no more need of him, caused him to be put to death also; which was a reward the traitor sufficiently deserved, for thus selling his country to destruction; and may all those who practise the like courses meet with the like fate! There were vast riches of gold and silver in Sidon when this calamity happened to it, which being all melted down by the flames, Ochus sold the ashes of the city for great sums of money. The terrible destruction of this city frightening the rest of the Phœnecians, they all submitted, and made their peace with the king upon the best terms they could; and Ochus was the willinger to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from the designs which he had upon Egypt.

But before he marched thither, he was recruited with ten thousand mercenaries which were sent him out of Greece;^b for in the beginning of this expedition Ochus had sent thither for auxiliaries. The Athenians and the Lacedemonians excused themselves, telling the Persian ambassadors that were sent to them for this purpose, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with the king, but could

^a Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 531, 532. &c.

^b Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 533.

not send him any succours at that time. But the Thebans sent him one thousand men under the command of Lachares, and the Argives three thousand under the command of Nicostratus. The rest came from the Grecian cities of Asia, and all these joined him immediately after his taking of Sidon.

The Jews seem to have been engaged in this war of the Phœnicians against Ochus: for, after he had taken Sidon, he marched into Judea, and besieged and took Jericho, and, making many of the Jews captive, he led part of them with him into Egypt, and sent a great number of others into Hyrcania, and there planted them on those parts of that country which lay on the Caspian Sea.^c

Ochus at the same time also got rid of the Cyprian war; for having his mind wholly bent on the reducing of Egypt, that he might not be diverted from it by any other embarrassment, he was content to come to a composition with the nine Cyprian kings; and therefore, having removed their grievances, they all again submitted to him, and were confirmed by him in the government of their respective territories.^d The greatest difficulty in the bringing of this matter to a composure, was to content Euagoras, who claimed to be restored to his kingdom of Salamine; but he being convicted before Ochus of great crimes there committed, for which he was justly ejected, Protagoras was continued at Salamine, and amends was made Euagoras, by conferring on him the government of another place. But having there run into the same misdemeanours which he had been guilty of at Salamine, he was ejected thence also; whereon being forced to fly into Cyprus, he was there taken, and put to death for them.

Cyprus, as well as Phœnicia, being thus wholly reduced, and settled again in peace, Ochus set forward for this Egyptian expedition.^e In his way he lost many of his men at the lake of Serbonis. This lake lay in the entrance into Egypt from Phœnicia, of the extent of about thirty miles in length. The south wind blowing the sand of the desert upon it, made a crust upon the surface of the water, that in appearance looked like firm land; but if any went upon it, they were soon swallowed up and lost. And thus it happened to as many of Ochus's men as for want of good guides marched on upon it. And there are instances of whole armies which had been thus lost in that place. On his arrival in Egypt, he planted his camp

An. 350.
Ochus 9.

^c Solinus, c. 35. Syncellus ex Africano, p. 256. Orosius, lib. 31, c. 7. Josephus ex Hecateo, lib. 1, contra Apionem. Euseb. in Chron.

^d Diod. Siculus, lib. 16, p. 534.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534, 535.

near Pelusium, and from thence sent out three detachments to invade the country, setting a Grecian and a Persian in joint commission over each of them. Over the first he put Lachares the Theban, and Rosaces governor of Lydia and Ionia; over the second Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristazanes; and over the third Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of his eunuchs: to each of which having given his orders, he retained the main of the army about himself, in the place where he had first encamped, there to watch the events of the war, and to be ready from thence to relieve all the distresses and prosecute all the advantages of it. In the interim, Nectanebus having sufficient notice, from these preparations against him, to provide for his defence, had gotten together an army of one hundred thousand men, of which twenty thousand were mercenaries out of Greece, and twenty thousand out of Lybia, and the rest Egyptians. With some of these he garrisoned his towns on the borders, and with the rest guarded those passes through which the enemy was to enter into the country. The first of Ochus's detachments, under the command of Lachares, sat down before Pelusium, which was garrisoned with five thousand Greeks. While this siege was carrying on, Nicostratus, having put his detachment on board a squadron of the Persian fleet of eighty ships that attended him, sailed up through one of the channels of the Nile, into the heart of the country, and, having there landed his forces, strongly encamped them in a place convenient for it. Whereon all the soldiers of the neighbouring garrisons taking the alarm, gathered together under the command of Clinius a Grecian of the island of Cos, to drive him thence. This produced a fierce battle between them, in which Clinius, with above 5000 of his men being slain, and all the rest dissipated and broken, this in a manner determined the whole fate of the war. For hereon Nectanebus fearing lest Nicostratus should sail up the river with his victorious forces, and take Memphis the metropolis of his kingdom, he hastened thither for its defence, leaving those passes into his country open which it was his chief interest to have defended. When the Grecians who garrisoned Pelusium heard of this retreat, they gave all for lost, and therefore, coming to a parley with Lachares, agreed upon terms of being safely conveyed into Greece, with all that belonged to them, to yield the town to him. And Mentor, with the third detachment, finding the passes deserted and left open, marched through them, and, without any opposition, took in all that part of the country. For having given it out through all his camp, that Ochus had given orders graciously to receive such as should yield unto him, but utterly

to destroy all those that should stand out, in the same manner as he had destroyed the Sidonians, he permitted all his captives to escape, that they might carry the report of it all over the country; who accordingly returned to their respective cities, and dispersing every where what they had heard was ordered by Ochus, (and the brutal cruelty of the man making it believed) this so frightened the garrisons through all the country, that, in every city, both Greeks and Egyptians were at strife which of them should first yield to the invader; which Nectanebus perceiving, despaired of any longer being able to defend himself; and therefore, gathering together all the treasure he could get into his hands, fled with it into Ethiopia, and never again returned. And this was the last Egyptian that ever reigned in this country, it having been ever since enslaved to strangers, according to the prophecy of Ezekiel,^f which hath been already taken notice of. Ochus having thus made an absolute conquest of Egypt, he dismantled their chief cities, and plundered their temples, and then returned in triumph to Babylon, loaded with vast treasures of gold and silver, and other spoils gotten in this war, leaving Pherendates, one of his nobles, governor of the country. And here Manetho ended his commentaries which he wrote of the Egyptian affairs.^g He was a priest of Heliopolis in Egypt, and wrote, in the Greek language, a history of all the several dynasties of Egypt, from the beginning of that kingdom to this time,^h which is often quoted by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and others, an epitome whereof is preserved in Syncellus. He lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt; for to him he dedicates his book.

The chief cause of Nectanebus's losing of his kingdom was his over-confidence in himself.ⁱ He had gained his kingdom by the assistance of Agesilaus, and had preserved himself in it by the prudence and valour of Diaphantus an Athenian, and Lamius a Spartan, who managing his wars, and commanding his armies for him, made him victorious against the Persians in all the attempts which they had hitherto made upon him; with which being elevated, he thought himself now sufficient to conduct his own affairs, and therefore, dismissing those by whose help he had hitherto subsisted, he was now ruined for want of it.

Ochus having thus mastered this war, and recovered Phœnicia and Egypt again to his crown, he nobly rewarded the

^f Ezekiel xxix. 14, 15.

^g Syncellus, p. 256

^h Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, c. 14.

ⁱ Diodor. Sic. lib. 16, p. 535.

service of Mentor, the Rhodian.^k The other
 An. 349. Greeks he had sent back into their country, with ample
 Ochus 10. rewards, before he left Egypt : but the success
 of the whole expedition being chiefly owing to Mentor, he
 not only gave him one hundred talents, with many other
 valuable gifts, but also made him governor of all the Asiatic
 coasts, and committed to his charge the management of the
 war which he still had with some of the provinces that had
 there revolted from him in the beginning of his reign, and
 made him generalissimo of all his forces in those parts.
 Mentor having thus gained so great a share in the favour of
 Ochus, he made use of it to reconcile unto him Memnon his
 brother, and Artabazus who had married their sister ; for they
 had both been in war against him.^l Of the revolt of Artaba-
 zus, and the several victories which he had gained over the
 king's forces, I have already spoken ; but he being at length
 overpowered, took refuge with Philip king of Macedon ; and
 Memnon, who had joined with him in those wars, was forced
 to bear with him the same banishment. After this recon-
 ciliation, they both became very serviceable to Ochus, and
 his successors of that race, especially Memnon, who was a
 person of the greatest valour and military skill of any of
 his time. And Mentor was not wanting in answering that
 confidence which the king had placed in him : for, when
 settled in his province, he soon restored the king's authority
 in those parts, and made all that had revolted again submit
 to him. Some he circumvented by stratagem and military
 skill, and others he subdued by open force, and so wisely
 managed all his advantages, that at length he reduced all
 again under their former yoke, and thoroughly re-established
 the king's affairs in all those provinces.

In the first year of the 108th Olympiad died Plato, the
 famous Athenian philosopher.^m The eminentest
 An. 349. of his scholars was Aristotle, the founder of the
 Ochus 11. Peripatetic philosophy. He was by birth of Stagira,
 a small city on the river Strymon, in the northern confines of
 Macedonia. He was born in the first year of the 99th Olym-
 piad (which was the year before Christ 384.) At the age of
 seventeen he came to Athens, and became one of the schol-
 ars of Plato, and heard him till his death.ⁿ Speusippus suc-
 ceeding Plato in his school, Aristotle went into Asia, to
 Hermias the eunuch, who was king of Atarna, a city of

^k Diodor. Sic. lib. 16, p. 537.

^l Diodor. Sic. lib. 16, p. 538.

^m in Diogenes Lærtius in Platone. Dionysius Halicarnesseus in Epistola ad Ammaeum de Demosthene. Athenæus, lib. 5, c. 13.

ⁿ Diog. Laert. in Aristotele. See also Mr. Stanley's account of the life of Aristotle, in his History of Philosophy.

Mysia, and having married his niece, lived with him three years; till at length Hermias, being circumvented and drawn into a snare by Mentor the Rhodian, who commanded for Ochus in those parts, was taken prisoner, and sent to the Persian court, where he was put to death. Hereon Aristotle fled to Mitylene, and from thence went into Macedonia, and became preceptor to Alexander the Great, with whom he tarried eight years. After this he returned to Athens, and there taught the Peripatetic philosophy in the Lyceum twelve years. But being accused of holding some notions contrary to the religion there established, and not daring to venture himself on a trial, for fear of Socrates's fate, he withdrew to Chalcis, a town in Eubœa, and there died about two years after, being then sixty-three years old. While he lived with Hermias in Asia, he there fell acquainted with a Jew of wonderful wisdom, temperance, and goodness, who came thither from the upper parts of Asia upon some business which he had on those maritime coasts, and having frequent conversation with him, learned much from him. This, Josephus tells us, from a book written by Clearchus, who was one of the chiefest of Aristotle's scholars.^o And from what he then learned from this Jew, it is most likely, proceeded what Aristobulus, and out of him Clemens Alexandrinus, have observed of Aristotle's philosophy, that is, that it contains many things which agree with what is written by Moses and the prophets in the Scriptures of the Old Testament.^p

Ochus, after he had subdued Egypt, and reduced again all the revolted provinces, gave himself wholly up to his ease, spending the rest of his life in luxury, laziness, and pleasure;^q and left the administration of his affairs wholly to his ministers; the chiefest of whom were Bagoas his favourite eunuch, and Mentor the Rhodian, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the Upper Asia, and the latter those of the Lower.

Johanan, high-priest of the Jews, died in the eighteenth year of Ochus, after he had been in that office thirty-two years,^r and was succeeded by Jaddua, his son, who held it twenty years.^s

Ochus died after he had reigned twenty-one years,^t being poisoned by Bagoas, the eunuch.^u This eunuch being an Egyptian by birth, had a love for his country, and a zeal for his country religion, and thought to

An. 347.
Ochus 12.

An. 341.
Ochus 13.

An. 338.
Ochus 21

o Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 1.

q Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 537.

r Chronicon Alexandr.

t Canon Ptol.

p Strom. lib. 5.

s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11, c. 7.

u Diod. Sic. lib. 17, p. 564

have influenced Ochus in favour of both, on the conquest of that kingdom; but, not being able to overrule the brutal ferocity of that prince, those acts were done in respect of each of them which he deeply resented ever after. For Ochus, on his conquering of Egypt, not only dismantled their cities, robbed the inhabitants, and plundered their temples (as hath been already mentioned) but also carried away all their public records (which were repositied and kept with great sacredness in their temples,) and, in contempt of their religion, slew their God Apis, that is, the sacred bull which they worshipped under that name.^x For Ochus being as remarkable for his sloth and stupid inactivity, as he was for his cruelty, the Egyptians, for this reason, nick-named him the ass, which angered him so far, that he caused their Apis to be taken out of the temple where he was kept, and made him to be sacrificed to an ass, and then ordered his cook to dress up the flesh of the slain beast to be eaten by his attendants.^y All this greatly offended Bagoas. The records he afterward redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back again to their former archives. But the affront offered his religion he most resented; and it is said, that it was chiefly in revenge of this that he poisoned him. And his revenge did not rest here; but having caused another body to be buried instead of his he kept the true carcass, and in revenge of his having caused the flesh of their Apis to be eaten by his attendants, he cut his flesh into bits, and gave it to be eaten by cats, and made of his bones handles for swords. And, no doubt, when he did all this, there were other causes concurring to excite him hereto, which reviving the old resentments, and creating new ones, provoked the traitor to all this villany against his master and benefactor, which he executed upon him.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, who had now the whole power of the empire in his hands, made Arses, the youngest of his sons, king in his stead, and put all the rest to death; thinking that, by thus removing all rivals, he might best secure to himself the authority which he had usurped; for the name of king was all that he allowed to Arses; the power and authority of the government he wholly reserved to himself.^a

Philip, king of Macedon, having overthrown the Thebans and Athenians in a great battle at Chæronea, made himself thereby in a manner lord of all Greece;^b and therefore, cal-

^x Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 537.

^y Severus Sulpitius, lib. 2. Eliani Var. Hist. lib. 4, c. 8. Suidas in Ω χερ.

^z Eliani Var. Hist. lib. 6, c. 8.

^a Diod. Sic. lib. 17, p. 564.

^b Plutarch. in Demosthene et Phocione. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 555. Justin lib. 9, c. 3.

ling together at Corinth an assembly of all the Grecian cities and states, he there caused himself to be chosen captain-general of all Greece, for the carrying on of a war against the Persians, and made every city to be taxed at a certain number of men, which each of them was to send and maintain in this expedition.^c

And the next year after, he sent Parmenio, Amyntas, and Attalus, three of his chiefest captains, into Asia to begin the war, purposing soon after to follow in person with all his forces, and carry the war into the heart of the Persian empire.^d But when he was just ready to set forward on this expedition, he was slain at home while he was celebrating the marriage of Cleopatra, his daughter, with Alexander king of Epirus.^e Pausanias, a young noble Macedonian, and one of his guards, having had his body forced, and sodomitically abused, by Attalus, the chief of the king's confidants, he had often complained to Philip of the injury; but finding no redress, he turned his revenge from the author of the injury upon him that refused to do him justice for it, and slew him as he was passing in great pomp to the theatre to finish the solemnities whereby he honoured his daughter's marriage. It is observed by Diodorus, that, in this solemnity, the images of the twelve gods and goddesses being carried before him into the theatre, he added his own for the thirteenth, dressed in the same pompous habit, whereby he vainly arrogated to himself the honour of a god; but he being slain as soon as the image entered the theatre, this very signally proved him to be mortal. After his death, he was succeeded by Alexander his son, being then twenty years old.^f

About the same time, Arses, king of Persia, was slain by the like treachery, but not for so just a cause. For Bagoas, finding that Arses began to be apprized of all his villanies and treacheries, and was taking measures to be revenged on him for them, for the preventing hereof, he came beforehand with him, and cut off him and all his family.^g

After Bagoas had thus made the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, he placed on it Darius, the third of that name that reigned in Persia.^h His true name was Codomannus; that of Darius he took afterward, when he came to be king. He is said not to be of the royal family, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal seed as descended

An. 336.
Ages 2.

An. 335.
Darius 1.

c Justin. lib. 9, c. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 557.

d Justin. and Diodorus, *ibid*.

e Justin. lib. 9, c. 6. Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 558, 559.

f Diod. Sic. lib. 16, p. 558.

g Diod. Sic. lib. 17, p. 564.

from Darius Nothus ; for that Darius had a son called Ostanés, of whom mention is made in Plutarch,^h and he had a son called Arsanes, who marrying Sysigambis, his sister, was by her the father of Codomannus.ⁱ This Ostanés Ochus put to death, on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons.^k How Codomannus came to escape this slaughter is nowhere said. Only, it is to be observed, that in the former part of Ochus's reign, he made a very poor figure ; for he was then no more than an Astanda, that is, one of the public posts or couriers that carried the royal despatches through the empire.^l If we suppose him to have been the chiefest of them, in the same manner as there is a postmaster in England, and a chaousbashee at Constantinople, over all the rest of that order and employment (which is the highest interpretation the word will bear,) this will be but a low office for one of the royal blood to be employed in. But in the war which Ochus had with the Cadusians, toward the latter end of his reign, a bold champion of that nation having challenged the whole Persian army to find him a man to fight a single combat with him, and Codomannus having accepted the challenge after all others had refused, and slain the Cadusian, for the reward of this action, he was made governor of Armenia, and from thence, after the death of Arsés, by the means of Bagoas, ascended the throne in the manner as I have mentioned.^m But he had not been long on it ere Bagoas, finding, that he was not one that would answer his purpose, in permitting him to govern all in his name (which was the thing he aimed at in his advancement,) resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had his predecessor ; and accordingly provided a poisonous potion for him. But Darius being advised of the design, when the potion was brought to him, made him drink it all himself, and so got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, and thereby became thoroughly settled in the kingdom, without any farther difficulty.ⁿ The character given of him is, that he was for his stature and the make of his body the goodliest person in the whole Persian empire, and of the greatest personal valour of any in it, and of a disposition mild and generous : but having the good fortune of Alexander to encounter with, he could not stand against it. And he had been scarce warm on the throne before he found his enemy preparing to dismount him from it.

For Alexander soon after his father's death, having called

^h In Artaxerxe.

ⁱ Diod. Sic. lib. 17, p. 564.

^k Q. Curtius, lib. 10, c. 5.

^l Plutarch. de Fortuna Alexandri et in Vita ejusdem.

^m Diodor. ibid. Justin. lib. 10, c. 3.

ⁿ Diodor. ibid.

the general council of all the states and free cities of Greece to meet again at Corinth, there prevailed with them to be chosen his successor in the same general command which they had conferred on him before his death, for a war against the Persians; and all excepting the Lacedemonians, consented hereto.^o But the war which Alexander had with the Illyrians and Triballians calling him north as far as the river Danube, in his absence, the Athenians, Thebans, and some other cities, agreed to revoke this decree made in his favour, and entered into a confederacy against him. But Alexander, returning conqueror from his northern wars, soon brake this league; for passing the straits of Thermopylæ with his victorious army, he terrified the Athenians into a submission; and several other cities, following their example, made their peace with him; only the Thebans stood out. Whereon Alexander, laying siege to their city, took it by storm, and absolutely destroyed it, slaying ninety thousand of the inhabitants, and selling the rest, to the number of thirty thousand more, into slavery. The severity of which execution spread such a terror of his arms over all Greece, as brought all to submit. So that, in a second council which he called at Corinth, he was again chosen captain-general of all Greece against the Persians, by a universal suffrage, and every city consented to its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war.^p

Hereon Alexander returned into Macedonia, and having, by the next spring, there gotten his forces together, marched with them to Sestus, and there passed the Hellespont into Asia.^q The army which he led thither, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. And with so small an army he attempted, and also accomplished, the conquest of the whole Persian empire, and added India also to this acquisition. But that which was most remarkable in this undertaking,^r was, that he set out on it only with seventy talents, which was scarce sufficient to furnish the army with necessaries for thirty days; for the rest he wholly cast himself upon Providence, and Providence did not fail him herein; for, within a few days after, having encountered the Persian army at the river Granicus, he gained a great victory over them, though they were about five times his number, which put him in possession,

^o Justin. lib. 11, c. 2. Arrian. lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 17, p. 564.

^p Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 17, p. 566, 567, &c.

^q Arrian. lib. 1. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

^r At the highest reckoning, it comes to no more than fourteen thousand four hundred and thirty-seven pounds and ten shillings sterling.

not only of Darius's treasure at Sardis, but also of all the provinces of Lesser Asia; for immediately all the Grecian cities in those parts declared for him, and, after that, several of the provinces made their submission to him, and those which did not were subdued by force; and in these transactions was spent the remaining part of the year.

Before he went into winter-quarters, he ordered all of his army that had married that year to return into Macedonia, and spend the winter with their wives, and return again in the spring, appointing three captains over them to lead them home, and bring them back again at the time appointed; which exactly agreeing with the Jewish law (Deut. xxiv. 5,) and being without any instance of the like to be found in the usages of any other nation, it is most likely Aristotle learned it from the Jew he so much conversed with while in Asia, and, approving of it as a most equitable usage, communicated it to Alexander, while he was his scholar, and that he from hence had the inducement of practising it at this time.^a

The next year after, in the beginning of the spring, he reduced Phrygia under his obedience, and after that
An. 333.
Darius 3. Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and settled all these provinces under the government of such of his followers as he thought fit to appoint.^t

In the interim, Darius was not wanting to prepare for his defence.^t The advice which Memnon the Rhodian then gave him, was to carry the war into Macedonia; and a wiser course could not be taken to extricate him out of the difficulties he was then involved in; for he would be sure there to have the Lacedemonians, and several other of the Grecian states who maligned the Macedonian power, to join with him; which would soon have brought back Alexander out of Asia, to defend his own country. Darius, being made fully sensible of the reasonableness of this advice, resolved to follow it, and therefore committed the execution of it to its author, making Memnon admiral of his fleet, and captain-general of all his forces that were appointed for this expedition: and he could not have made a better choice; for he was the wisest man and the ablest general that Darius had of his side, and for some years had very faithfully adhered to the Persian interest, and was one of their generals at the battle of Granicus; and, had he been hearkened to by the other generals, the misfortune which there happened would have been avoided: for his advice was, not then to have hazarded

^s Arrian. lib. 1.

^t Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

battle, but to have desolated the country through which the Macedonians were to march; and, had this been followed, Alexander would have been forced soon to have returned for want of provisions to support his army. But the rashness and folly of the other generals overbearing what he wisely offered, that defeat ensued which opened the way to the ruin of the Persian empire. However, he did not desert Darius's interest on the misfortune of that day; but, having gathered up the remains of the Persian army, retreated with them first to Miletus, and from thence to Halicarnassus, and lastly to the isle of Cos, where Darius's commission and the Persian fleet meeting him, he set himself on the executing of the design committed to his charge; in order whereto, he took in Chios and all Lesbos, except Mitylene, purposing next to pass into Eubœa, and from thence to have made Greece and Macedonia the seat of the war. But that city holding out a siege, he there unfortunately died, which proved the ruin of that design, and the ruin of the Persian empire was the consequence of it. For Darius having no other general of valour and wisdom equal to him for the carrying on of that undertaking, he was forced to drop it. And therefore, having now nothing to depend upon for his defence but his eastern armies, he drew them all together at Babylon, to the number, saith Plutarch, of six hundred thousand men, and marched from thence to meet the enemy; which Alexander hearing of, made haste through Cilicia to take possession of the straits which led from that country into Syria, purposing there to expect and fight the Persian army:^u for within those straits there not being room any where to draw up above thirty thousand men in battle array, the Macedonians could there bring all their men to fight, and the Persians scarce the twentieth part of theirs; and therefore, should it there come to a battle, they would have no advantage of their numbers. Some of the Greeks, who followed Darius, seeing the disadvantage he would have in fighting in that place, advised him to march back into the plains of Mesopotamia, and there expect the enemy, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, and bring them all to bear their part in the battle; but the flattery of the courtiers, and his adverse fate, would not suffer him to hearken to this advice: for he was made believe, that Alexander was withdrawing from him, and that therefore he ought to press forward to take him, while entangled in those straits, lest otherwise he should escape his hands. This drew Darius to fight in those straits, where, being able to extend his front no

^u Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

longer than the Macedonians, by reason of the mountains which enclosed him on either side, he could dispose of his great army no otherwise than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the valour of the Macedonians soon breaking the first line, and that being made to recoil upon the second, and that hereby again upon the third, and so on, this did soon put the whole Persian army into disorder; and the Macedonians pursuing the advantage, by pressing forward upon those that fled, this increased the confusion, till at length their whole army was driven to a rout; and the crowd which was made in the flight of so numerous an army through those narrow passes being very great, the greatest number that fell that day were of such as were trampled to death by their own men as they pressed to escape. Darius, who fought in the first line, with great difficulty got out of the rout, and secured himself by flight; but all his camp, bag and baggage, with his mother, wife, and children (which, according to the usage of the Persian kings, were carried with him in the campaign) fell into the enemy's hands, and above one hundred thousand Persians were left dead upon the field. This battle was fought at Issus in Cilicia, towards the latter end of the year, about the beginning of our November; and the immediate consequence of it to the advantage of Alexander was, that it settled all the provinces behind him in their subjection to him, and added all Syria to his former acquisitions, the capital whereof was Damascus. Thither Darius, before the battle, had sent his treasure and most of his valuable moveables, with his concubines, and the greatest number of the court ladies that followed the camp under a guard to protect them. All these, with the town, the governor, as soon as he heard of the flight of Darius, betrayed unto Alexander, and Parmenio was sent to take possession of the place; where, besides a vast treasure in money and plate, he found three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, and a great many other ladies, that were the wives or daughters of the principal nobility of Persia, whom he made all captives. And among them was Barsena, the widow of Memnon, who being a lady of great beauty, as soon as she came into the sight of Alexander, she made a captive of him; for he fell in love with her, and, taking her into his bed, had a son by her, called Hercules, who, at the age of seventeen, being called for by the Macedonians to be their king, was murdered by the treachery of Cassander and Polysperchon to prevent it.

While Parmenio took in Damascus and Cœle-Syria, Alexander marched with the main of his army along the sea

coasts towards Phœnicia.^x As he advanced, all yielded to him, and none more readily than the Sidonians. Eighteen years before, Ochus had miserably destroyed that city, and all in it, as hath been above related. On his going back again into Persia, those who, by being absent on traffic at sea, or on other occasions, had escaped that massacre, returned and again built their city. But ever after detesting the Persians for that cruelty to it, they were glad of this occasion of shaking off their yoke, and therefore were of the first in those parts that sent to Alexander on his march that way to make their submission to him. But when he came to Tyre, he there found a stop. As he approached their territories, the Tyrians sent ambassadors to him with presents to himself, and provisions for his army: but being rather desirous to have peace with him as a friend, than willing to submit to him as a master, when he would have entered their city, they denied him admittance; which Alexander, now flushed with so many victories, not being able to bear, resolved to force them by a siege, and they, on the other hand, resolved to stand it out against him. What encouraged them to this resolution, was the strength of the place, and the confidence which they had in the assistance promised them by their allies. For the city then stood on an island, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, and was fortified with a strong wall drawn round it, upon the brink of the sea, of one hundred and fifty feet in height; and the Carthaginians, who were a powerful state, and then masters of the seas, had engaged to send them succours in the siege. And what gave them this confidence for the war, gave Alexander no less trouble in mastering the difficulties which he found in it: for the city being so situated (as I have said) he had no way of approaching to it for the making of an assault, but by carrying a bank from the continent through the sea to the island on which the city stood.

And therefore having resolved at any rate to take that city, he resolved on the making of such a bank to approach it, which he accomplished, with unwearied labour, in seven months time, and, by means thereof, at length took the city. Had he here suffered a baffle, it would have conduced much to the sinking of his credit, and this might have lessened his success every where else in the future progress of his affairs; of which being thoroughly sensible, he spared no pains to surmount this obstacle, and by assiduous application, at last carried his point. To make this bank or causey, the town of Old Tyre, which lay on the continent, furnished him with stones and rubbish

An. 332.
Darius 4.

^x Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian, lib. 2. Josephus, lib. 11, c. 8. Justin. lib. 11.

(for he pulled it all down for this purpose, and Mount Libanus, which is so famous in Scripture for its cedars, being near, supplied him with timber for the work. And by this means having carried home his causey from the continent to the island, he there stormed the town and took it. And that bank or causey is there still remaining even to this day, and of the very same length as anciently described, that is, of half a mile; whereby what was formerly an island at that distance from the shore was thenceforth made a peninsula, and so it hath ever since continued.^y

The Carthaginians having troubles at home, the Tyrians could not have from them that assistance which was promised; however, they fainted not in their resolutions of standing to their defence, and therefore, when Alexander sent to them ambassadors with terms of peace, they threw them into the sea, and went on with the war. But many of them, for fear of the worst, sent their wives and children to Carthage. They had in their city a brazen statue or colossus of Apollo, of a great height. This formerly belonged to the city of Gela in Sicily: the Charthaginians having taken Gela, in the year 405, sent it to Tyre, their mother city, where it was set up and worshipped by the Tyrians.^z During this siege, a fancy taking them, upon a dream which some one among them had to this purpose, that Apollo was about to leave them, and go over to Alexander, for the preventing hereof, they chained this statue with golden chains to the altar of Hercules, thinking thereby forcibly to detain this their god from going from them. To such ridiculous imaginations and superstitions was the religion of those times degenerated. But whatever confidence they might then place in their false gods, the oracles of the true God having destined them to destruction, this became their fate. For although what is predicted of the destruction of Tyre by Isaiah, (xxiii.) and by Ezekiel (xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.) was in part verified in the destruction of that city by Nebuchadnezzar, yet there are several particulars in these prophecies which seem applicable to this only. For Nebuchadnezzar's devastation reached no farther than Old Tyre; those who were in the island escaped that ruin. But the desolation of both is plainly threatened in some parts of these prophecies, that is, of that which stood on the island as well as that which was on the continent; and this Alexander only effected. Old Tyre he wholly demolished to make his causey to the New; by the means of which having taken that new town, he burned it down to the ground, and destroyed or enslaved all the

y See Maundrel's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 48—50.

z Diodor. Sic. lib. 13, p. 390.

inhabitants : eight thousand he slew in the sackage of the town, and two thousand of those he took prisoners he caused to be crucified. Those who were before sent to Carthage escaped this ruin, and a great number were saved by the Sidonians, and secretly conveyed away in their ships, on the taking of the place ; all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were sold for slaves.^a The cruelty to the two thousand who were crucified was unworthy of a generous conqueror. This Alexander did to gratify his rage, for being so long detained before the place, and there so valiantly resisted ; but afterward, to palliate the matter, he gave out, that it was done by way of just revenge upon them, for their murdering their masters, and that, being slaves by origin, crucifixion was the punishment proper for them. This depended upon an old story ; for some ages before, the slaves of Tyre, having made a conspiracy against their masters, murdered them all in one night (save only Strato, whom his slave secretly saved,) and, marrying their mistresses, continued masters of the town ; and from them the present Tyrians being descended, Alexander pretended thus to revenge on them the murder committed by their progenitors some ages before : and, to make it look the more plausible, he saved all of the family of Strato, as not being involved in that guilt, and, among them, Azelmelic their king, who was of it, and continued the crown still to him and his family, after he had again repeopled the place : for, having thus rid it of its former inhabitants, he planted it anew with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and from thence would be esteemed the founder of that city, though in truth he was the cruel destroyer of it.^b

On his taking this city, he unchained Apollo, rendered thanks to him for his intentions of coming over to him, sacrificed to Hercules, and did a great many other superstitious follies, which were reckoned as acts of religion in those days, and then marched towards Jerusalem.

For the Tyrians, being wholly given to merchandise, and neglecting husbandry, were mostly supplied with provisions by their neighbours ; and Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, being the countries from which they were chiefly furnished,^c Alexander, when he sat down before Tyre, was forced to seek for his provisions from the same quarters ; and therefore sent out his commissaries to require the inhabitants to submit to him, and furnish him with all necessaries for the support of his army. The Jews pleaded their oath to Da-

^a The number of those who were thus saved, Curtius tells us, were fifteen thousand.

^b Justin. lib. 18, c. 3.

^c Acts xii. 20.

rius; by which thinking themselves obliged not to own any new master, so long as he lived, would not obey his commands.^d This exceedingly angered Alexander, who, in the flush of his late victories, thinking all ought to submit to him, could bear no contradiction herein. And therefore, as soon as he had done with Tyre, he marched against Jerusalem, with intention to punish the Jews as severely as he had the Tyrians, for not obeying his commands. In this distress, Jaddua the high-priest, who had then the immediate government of that people under the Persians, being in great perplexity, and all Jerusalem with him, they had no other course to take, but to fling themselves upon God's protection, and implore his mercy to them for their deliverance from this danger; and therefore, in order hereto, they made their devout addresses unto him with sacrifices, oblations, and prayers. By which God, being moved to compassion towards them, directed Jaddua, in a vision of the night, to go out and meet the conqueror in his pontifical robes, with the priests attending him in their proper habits, and all the people in white garments. Jaddua, in obedience hereto, the next day went forth in the manner directed, with the priests and people ranged as in a sacred procession, and all habited as the vision commanded, and advanced to a place called Sapha^e (an eminence without Jerusalem, which commanded a prospect of all the country round, as well as of the city and temple of Jerusalem,) there waited the coming of Alexander, and, on his approach, met him in this pompous and solemn manner. As soon as the king saw the high-priest in this manner coming towards him, he was struck with a profound awe at the spectacle, and, hastening forward, bowed down to him, and saluted him with a religious veneration, to the great surprise of all that attended him, especially of the Syrians and Phœnicians, who expected nothing less than that Alexander should have destroyed this people as he had the Tyrians; and they came thither with an eager desire, out of the hatred they had to them, to bear a part in the execution. While all stood amazed at this behaviour, which was so much contrary to their expectations, Parmenio asked the king the reason of it, and how it came to pass, that he, whom all adored, should pay such adoration to the Jewish high-priest; to which he answered, that he did not pay that adoration to him, but to that God whose priest he was. For that, when he was at Dio in Macedonia, and there deliberating with himself how he should carry on his war against the Persians, and was in much doubt about the undertaking, this very per-

^d Josephus, lib. 11, c. 8.

^e It was so called from the Hebrew Zapha, which signifieth to see as from a watch-tower, or any other eminence.

son, and in this very habit, appeared to him in a dream, and encouraged him to lay aside all thoughtfulness and diffidence about this matter, and pass boldly over into Asia, promising him that God would be his guide in the expedition, and give him the empire of the Persians; and that therefore, on his seeing this person, and knowing him by his habit, as well as by his shape and countenance, that he was the very same that appeared to him at Dio, he assured himself from hence, that he made the present war under the conduct of God, and should certainly, by his assistance, conquer Darius, and overthrow the Persian empire, and succeed in all things concerning it according to his desire; and that therefore, in the person of this his high-priest, he paid adoration unto him. Hereon, turning again to Jaddua, he kindly embraced him, and entered Jerusalem with him in a friendly manner, and offered sacrifices to God in the temple: where Jaddua having shown him the prophecies of Daniel^f which predicted the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Grecian king, he went from thence with the greater assurance of success in his farther carrying on of the war, not doubting but that he was the person meant by those prophecies. All which particulars rendering him kindly affected to the Jews, he called them together when he was on his departure, and bid them ask what they had to desire of him. Whereon they having petitioned him, that they might enjoy the freedom of their country, laws, and religion, and be exempted every seventh year from paying any tribute, because in that year, according to their law, they neither sowed nor reaped, Alexander readily granted them all this request; which brought another very troublesome solicitation upon him.

For he was scarce gone out of Jerusalem, but he was accosted by the Samaritans, who met him in great pomp and parade, and prayed him, that he would honour also their city and temple with his presence.^g These are Josephus's words; and they plainly prove, that the temple which they invited Alexander to must have been built long before that time, and not by leave from him, while he was at the siege of Tyre, as he elsewhere by mistake relates. For if it had not been built, but by leave from him, while at that siege, the first foundation of it could scarce have been laid by this time. For the siege of Tyre lasted only seven months, and immediately from the taking of it he came to Jerusalem.

^f That is, what is written in Daniel of the ram and he-goat, (c. viii.) where that he-goat is interpreted to be the king of Grecia, who should conquer the Medes and Persians, (ver. 21,) and also what is written by the same prophet of the said Grecian king, (xi. 3.) For both these prophecies foretold the destruction of the Persian empire by a Grecian king.

^g Josephus, *ibid.*

This same Josephus indeed tells us, that Alexander from Tyre went immediately to Gaza, and did not, till after two months more spent in the taking of that city, come to Jerusalem. But herein he must be again mistaken;^h for Jerusalem lying in the way from Tyre to Gaza, it is by no means likely, that Alexander should from Tyre go directly to Gaza, then passing by Jerusalem, and afterward return three or four days march with all his army back again to that city; or that he should at all think it safe to begin the siege of Gaza, while such a city as Jerusalem was left untaken behind him; and moreover, all that write of the life and actions of Alexander tell us, that, from the taking of Gaza, he went directly into Egypt. And therefore taking it for certain, that his progress was from Tyre to Jerusalem, and from thence to Gaza, I have related it in this order. However, supposing it were otherwise, there would hereby be only two months more added to the seven above mentioned for the building of this temple, the siege of Gaza lasting no longer; and this would not much mend the matter, it being as improbable that such a temple could be built in nine months as in seven. When the Jews refused to obey that summons which Alexander sent them from Tyre to submit to him, these Samaritans readily complied with it, and, to ingratiate themselves the more with him, sent eight thousand of their men to assist him in that siege;ⁱ and valuing themselves upon this merit, thought they had a much better title to his favour than the Jews, and therefore, finding how well the Jews had fared, thought they might obtain at least the same, if not much greater grants from him; and in order hereto, made this procession to invite him to their city, and the eight thousand Samaritans that were in Alexander's army joined with them herein. Alexander answered them kindly, telling them that he was hastening into Egypt, and had not then time to spare; but that when he should come back again, he would comply with their desires as far his affairs would permit. They then requested of him to be discharged from paying tribute on the seventh year. Hereon Alexander asked them whether they were Jews? for to them only had he granted this privilege. To this they answered, that they were Hebrews, who, observing the same law the Jews did, neither reaped nor sowed in that year, and he having, for this reason, granted the Jews this immunity, they desired of him, that, having the same plea for it, they might have the same grant also. Alexander, not being then at leisure to make full inquiry into this matter, referred this also to his return, telling them, that

^h Vide Usseii Annales sub Anno Mundi 3673.

ⁱ Josephus, *ibid*.

then he would fully inform himself as to what they proposed, and would do therein what should be reasonable, and then marched on to Gaza.

On his arrival at that city,^k he found it strongly garrisoned under one of Darius's eunuchs, named Betis, who, being a very valiant man, and very faithful to his master, defended it to the utmost; and it being the inlet into Egypt, Alexander could not pass thither till he had taken it. This necessitated him to sit down before it; and, notwithstanding that the utmost of military skill, and the utmost of vigour and application, was made use of in the assailing of the place, yet it cost Alexander and all his army two months time before they could master it. The stop which this did put to his intended march into Egypt, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked his anger to that degree, that, on his taking the place, he treated the commander and all else that he found in it with inexcusable cruelty. For having slain ten thousand of the men, he sold all the rest with their wives and children into slavery; and when Betis was brought to him (whom they took alive in that assault wherein they carried the place,) instead of treating him in a manner suitable to his valour and fidelity, as a generous conqueror ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, and a cord to be drawn through them, and caused him thereby to be tied to the hinder part of a chariot, and dragged round the city till he died, bragging, that herein he imitated his progenitor Achilles, who as Homer has it, thus dragged Hector round the walls of Troy. But that was a barbarous act in the example, and much more so in the imitation: for it was only Hector's dead carcass that Achilles dragged round Troy; but Alexander thus treated Betis while alive, and thus made him die in a cruel manner, for no other cause, but that he faithfully and valiantly served his master in the post committed to his charge: which was deserving of a reward even from an enemy, rather than of so cruel a punishment; and Alexander would have acted accordingly, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity, rather than the fictions of Homer, the rule of his actions. But that young conqueror, having the Iliads of this poet in great admiration, always carried them with him, laid them under his pillow when he slept, and read in them on all leisure opportunities; and therefore, finding Achilles to be the great hero of that poem, he thought every thing said of him in it worthy of his imitation, and the readiest way to make him an hero also; and the vanity of being thought such, and the eager desire which he had of making his name in like manner to be cele-

^k Josephus *ibid.* Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4, c. 6. Arrian. lib. 2. Diod. Sic. lib. 17.

brated in after ages, was the main impulsive cause of all his undertakings. But in reality, were all his actions duly estimated, he could deserve no other character than that of the great cut-throat of the age in which he lived. But the folly of mankind, and the error of historians, is such, that they usually make the actions of war, bloodshed, and conquest, the subject of their highest encomiums; and those their most celebrated heroes that most excel therein. In a righteous cause, and the just defence of a man's country, all actions of valour are indeed just reasons of praise; but in all other cases, victory and conquest are no more than murder and rapine; and every one is to be detested, as the greatest enemy to mankind, that is most active herein. Those only are true heroes, who most benefit the world by promoting the peace, welfare, and good of mankind; but such as oppress it with the slaughter of men, the desolation of countries, the burning of cities, and the other calamities which attend war are the scourges of God, the Attilas of the age in which they live, and the greatest plagues and calamities that can happen to it, and which are never sent into the world, but for the punishment of it; and therefore ought, as such, to be prayed against, and detested by all mankind. To make these the subject of praise and panegyric, is to lay ill examples before princes, as if such oppressions of mankind were the truest ways to honour and glory. And we knew a late prince, who, having broke through treaties, leagues, and oaths, to rob his neighbours of their territories, gave no other reason for the war, but that it was for his glory. And it is too plain, that the like vain and false notions of gaining glory this way, is that grand impulse upon the minds of princes, which moves them to most of those destructive wars upon each other, whereby the peace of the world is so often disturbed, and such great mischiefs and calamities brought upon mankind.

As soon as Alexander had finished the siege of Gaza, and settled a garrison there, he marched directly for Egypt, and, on the seventh day after, arrived at Pelusium, where he was met by great numbers of the Egyptians, who thither flocked to him to own him for their sovereign, and make their submission to him; for their hatred to the Persians was such, that they were glad of any new comer that would deliver them from that insolence and indignity with which they treated them and their religion.¹ For how bad soever any religion may be (and a worse than that of the Egyptians could scarce any where be contrived,) yet as long as it is their national

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

religion, no nation will bear affront and indignity to be offered to it; and nothing usually provokes a people more than such a treatment. Ochus had slain their god Apis in a manner of indignity, the most affronting that could be offered to them, or their religion; and the Persians whom he left to govern the country carried on the humour of treating them in the same manner; which raised their indignation against them to so great an height, that when Amyntas came thither a little before but with a handful of men, they were all ready to have joined with him, for the driving of the Persians out of the country. This Amyntas having revolted from Alexander to Darius, was one of the commanders of the mercenary Greeks at the battle of Issus,^m from whence having brought off four thousand of his men, he got to Tripoli in Syria, and, having seized as many of the ships which he found there as would serve his purpose, he burned the rest, and sailed thence, first to Cyprus, and then to Pelusium in Egypt, and seized that place; for coming thither under pretence of a commission from Darius to be governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces the former governor, who was slain at Issus, he, by this means, got quiet admission thither; but as soon as he had made himself master of that strong fortress, he declared his intentions of seizing Egypt for himself, and driving the Persians thence; and great numbers of the Egyptians, out of hatred to the Persians, readily joined with him for this purpose; whereon he marched directly for Memphis, the capital of that kingdom, and, in the first battle which he had with the Persians, he got the victory, and shut them up within the walls of that city. But after this success, Amyntas permitting his soldiers to straggle for the plundering of the country, the Persians took the advantage of sallying upon them, while thus scattered, and cut them all off to a man, and Amyntas with them. However, this did not quell the aversion which the Egyptians bore the Persians, but rather increased it. So that, when Alexander entered that country, he found the people universally disposed to receive him with open arms; and therefore he had no sooner reached their borders, but multitudes of them came thither to him to welcome him into the country, and make their submission to him. For he coming thither with a victorious army was thereby enabled to give them thorough protection, which they could not so well promise themselves from Amyntas; and therefore on his approach, they immediately without reserve, all declared for him: whereon Mazæus, who commanded at Memphis for Darius, seeing it in vain to struggle against

^m Arrian. lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17, p. 587, 588.

such a power, submitted also, and, opening the gates of that city to the conqueror, yielded up all to him; whereby, without any farther opposition, he became forthwith master of the whole country.

From Memphis he projected a journey to the temple of Jupiter Hammon, which was situated among the sands and deserts of Lybia, at the distance of two hundred miles from Egypt. For Ham,ⁿ the son of Noah, as he was the first planter of Egypt and Lybia after the flood, so he became, in the idolatrous ages that after followed, the great god of those countries; and there being an island of about five miles breadth of firm land among those deserts of sand, they there built a temple to him. He was the same whom the Greeks called Jupiter, and the Egyptians Ammon; and hence it is, that the city in Egypt which the Scriptures call No Ammon^o (that is, the city of Ham or Ammon,) is by the Greeks called Diospolis (that is, the city of Jupiter.) After times did put the Egyptian name and the Greek name both together, and called him Jupiter Hammon. Alexander's journey to this temple was upon a design very foolish and vain-glorious, and, according to the religion of those times, altogether as impious. For finding in Homer, and other fables of ancient times, that most of their heroes were described as sons of some god or other, and aiming to be celebrated an hero as well as they, he would be thought the son of a god also, and, having chosen Jupiter Hammon to be his father in this farce, he sent messengers before, to corrupt the priests, to cause him to be declared the son of that god by their oracle, when he should come to consult it, and then followed after to receive the honour of that declaration.^p

In his way thither, observing a place over against the island of Pharos on the sea-coast, which he thought a very convenient place for a new city, he there built Alexandria, which thenceforth became the capital of that kingdom; for it having a very convenient port, and the Mediterranean before it, and the Nile and the Red Sea behind it, by virtue of these advantages it drew to it the trade both of the East and of the West, and thereby soon grew up to be one of the most flourishing cities of the world.^q But trade having taken another current in these latter ages, on the finding out of a way to India by the Cape of Good Hope, it is now degenerated into a poor village, by the Turks called Scanderia, remarkable for nothing else, but that it still shows some of the

ⁿ Vide Bocharti Phaleg. lib. 1, c. 1.

^o Jer. xlv. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.

^p Justin. lib. 11, c. 11. Orosius, lib. 3, c. 16.

^q Arrian. lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4 c. 8. Strabo. lib. 17, p. 590.

ruins of what it anciently was.^r Alexander, in the building of this city, made use of Denocrates for his architect, whose name had been made famous in that art by his rebuilding the temple of Diana at Ephesus, which had been burned by Erostratus;^s and having by his advice, drawn a plan of the city, and set out its walls, gates, and streets, he left him to perfect the work according to it, and went on in his journey to the temple of Jupiter Hammon. It was from thence at the distance of sixteen hundred furlongs (that is, two hundred of our miles,) and most of the way was through sandy deserts; in which he did run two great hazards, the first of being overwhelmed by the sands, and the other of perishing for want of water. By the former, Cambyses lost an army of fifty thousand men in these deserts (as hath been above related,) and by the latter he had like to have been lost himself, and all with him, but that they were miraculously relieved by a shower of rain, when they were just ready to faint to death for want of it. And indeed all his other undertakings were of a piece with this, they being all a series of bold, rash, and dangerous actions, in which he must have perished an hundred times over had not Providence in as miraculous a manner as now preserved him through all of them, for the bringing to pass those events which he was designed for. Having, on his coming to the temple, there paid his devotions, and received from the oracle the declaration of his being Jupiter's son, which he went thither for, he returned in great triumph with that title, and thenceforth, in all his letters, orders, and decrees, styled himself king Alexander, son of Jupiter Hammon, giving it out that this god begot him on Olympias his mother in the shape of a serpent. But while he prided himself in the honour which he vainly assumed hereon, every body else despised him for the folly of it; however, he persisted in it, did many acts of violence and cruelty to make it pass upon others, and suffered it to grow upon him with his prosperity so far, as at length to effect the being thought a god himself, till in the conclusion, when Providence had no more for him to do, his death showed him to be a mortal like other men.

In his return he came again to Alexandria, and ^t took care to people his new city with colonies drawn thither from many other places, among which were many of the Jews, to whom he gave great privileges, not only allowing them the use of their own laws and religion, but also admitting them equally into the same franchises and liberties with the Macedonians

^r See Thevenot's Travels, part 1, book 2, c. 1, 2.

^s Plin. lib. 5, c. 10. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 22, c. 16. Strabo, lib. 14, p. 641. Solinus, c. 32, 40.

^t Q. Curtius, lib. 4. c. 8.

themselves whom he planted there ; and then, departing from thence, he returned to Memphis, and wintered in that place.^u

It is remarked by Varro, that, at the time that Alexander built Alexandria in Egypt, the use of the papyrus for writing on was first found out in that country. The papyrus,^x in its proper signification, is a sort of great bulrush growing in the marshes of Egypt near the Nile. It runs up in a triangular stalk to the height of about fifteen feet, and is usually a foot and a half in circumference, and sometimes more. When the outer skin is taken off, there are next several films or inner skins, one within another, and naturally partable from each other. These, when separated, and flaked from the stalk, made the paper which the ancients used, and which, from the name of the tree that bore it, they called also Papyrus.^y The manner how it was fitted for use may be seen in the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the thirteenth book of Pliny's Natural History, and the book entitled *de Papyro*, which Guilandinus hath written by way of comment upon them. But the clearest and best account hereof is given by Salmasius, in his comment on the life of Firmus in Vopiscus, who was one of the writers of the *Historia Augusta*. From this papyrus it is, that what we now make use of to write upon hath also the name of *paper*, though of quite another nature from the ancient papyrus of the Egyptians.^y Many other devices were made use of in former times to find fit materials to write upon. Pliny tells us, that the ancientest way of writing was upon the leaves of the palm-tree.^z Afterward they made use of the inner bark of a tree for this purpose : which inner bark being in Latin called *Liber* and in Greek *Βίβλος*, from hence a book hath ever since, in the Latin language, been called *Liber*, and in the Greek *Βίβλος*, because their books anciently consisted of leaves made of such inner barks.^a And the Chinese still make use of such inner barks or rinds of trees to write upon, as some of their books brought into Europe plainly show. Another way made use of among the Greeks and Romans, and which was as ancient as Homer (for he makes mention of it in his poems,) was to write on tables of wood covered over with wax.^b On these they wrote with a bodkin or style of iron, with which they engraved their letters on the wax ; and hence it is that the different ways of men's writings or compositions

^u Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 2, & de Bello Judaico, lib. 2, c. 36.

^x Plin. lib. 12, c. 13. Guilandinus de Papyro. Pancirol. part 2, tit. 13. Salmuth in eundem. Parkinson's Herbal, tribe 13, c. 39.

^y Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce Papyrus.

^z Lib. 13, c. 11.

^a Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce Liber.

^b Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce Tabula.

are called different styles. This way was mostly made use of in the writing of letters or epistles; hence such epistles are in Latin called *Tabellæ*,^b and the carriers of them *Tabellarii*.^b When their epistles were thus written, they tied the tables together with a thread or string, setting their seal upon the knot, and so sent them to the party to whom they were directed, who, cutting the string, opened and read them. But, on the invention of the Egyptian papyrus for this use, all the other ways of writing were soon superseded; no material till then invented being more convenient to write upon than this.^c And therefore, when Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, set up to make a great library, and to gather all sorts of books into it, he caused them all to be copied out on this sort of paper.^d And it was exported also for the use of other countries, till Eumenes, king of Pergamus, endeavouring to erect a library at Pergamus, which should outdo that at Alexandria, occasioned a prohibition to be put upon the exportation of that commodity. For the Ptolemy who then reigned in Egypt not liking that his library should be outdone by any other, to put a stop to Eumenes's emulation in this particular, forbade the carrying any more *papyrus* out of Egypt, thinking that without it, he could no farther multiply his books.^d This put Eumenes upon the invention of making books of parchment, and on them he thenceforth copied out such of the works of learned men, as he afterward put into his library; and hence it is, that parchment is called *Pergamena* in Latin, that is, from the city Pergamus in Lesser Asia, where it was first used for this purpose among the Greeks.^e For that Eumenes, on this occasion, first invented the making of parchment cannot be true: for in Isaiah,^f Jeremiah,^g Ezekiel,^h and other parts of the holy Scriptures, many ages before the time of Eumenes, we find mention made of rolls of writing; and who can doubt but that these rolls were of parchment? And it must be acknowledged, that the authentic copy of the law, which Hilkiah found in the temple, and sent to king Josiah,ⁱ was of this material; none other used for writing, excepting parchment only, being of so durable a nature, as to last from Moses's time till then (which was eight hundred and thirty years.) And it is said by Diodorus Siculus, that the Persians of old wrote all their records on skins.^k And Herodotus tells us of sheepskins and goat-skins made use of in writing by the ancient

b Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce Tabula.

c Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce Papyrus.

d Plin. lib. 13, c. 11.

e Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce Pergamena.

f Isa. viii. 1.

g Jer. xxxvi.

h Ezek. ii. 9; iii. 1, 2, 3.

i 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

k Lib. 2, p. 84.

Ionians, many hundreds of years before Eumenes's time.¹ And can any one think, that these skins were not dressed and prepared for this use, in the same manner as parchments were in the after-times, though perchance not so artificially? It is possible, Eumenes might have found out a better way of dressing them for this use at Pergamus, and perchance it thenceforth became the chief trade of the place to make them; and either of these is reason enough, from Pergamus, to call them Pergamenæ. These were found so useful for records and books by reason of their durableness, that most of the ancient manuscripts we now have, are written in them. But, from the time that the noble art of printing hath been invented, the paper which is made of the paste of linen rags is that which hath been generally made use of, both in writing and in printing, as being the most convenient for both; and the use of parchment hath been mostly appropriated to records, registers, and instruments of law, for which, by reason of its durableness, it is most fit. The invention of making this sort of paper Mr. Ray puts very late: for he tells us, in his Herbal, that it was not known in Germany till the year of our Lord 1470; that then, two men, named Antony and Michael, brought this at first to Basil, out of Galicia in Spain, and that from thence it was learned and brought into use by the rest of the Germans.^m But there must be a mistake in this; there being both printed books, as well as manuscripts, of this sort of paper, which are certainly ancients than the year 1470. There is extant a book called Catholicon,ⁿ written by Jacobus de Janua, a monk, printed on paper at Mentz in Germany, A. D. 1460; and therefore the Germans must have had the use of this sort of paper long before the time that Mr. Ray saith. And there are manuscripts written on this sort of paper that are much ancients, as may be especially evidenced in several registers within this realm, where the dates of the instruments or acts registered prove the time. There is, in the bishop's registry at Norwich, a register book of wills, all made of paper, wherein registrations are made which bear date so high up as the year of our Lord 1370, just one hundred years before the time that Mr. Ray saith the use of it began in Germany. And I have seen a registration of some acts of John Granden, prior of Ely, made upon paper, which bears date in the fourteenth year of king Edward II. that is, A. D. 1320. This invention seems to have been brought out of the East: for most of the old manuscripts in Arabic, and the other oriental languages

¹ Herodot. lib. 5.

^m Lib. 22, c. 2.

ⁿ This book is in the library collected by Dr. John Moor, late bishop of Ely. See the Oxford Catalogue of the manuscripts of England and Ireland, tom. 2, part 1, p. 379.

which we have from thence, are written in this sort of paper; and some of them are certainly much ancients, than any of the times here mentioned about this matter. But we often find them written on paper made of the paste of silk, as well as of linen. It is most likely, the Saracens of Spain first brought it out of the East into that country; of which Galicia being a province, it might from thence, according to Mr. Ray, have been first brought into Germany: but it must have been much earlier than the time he says.

Ptolemy the astronomer being an Egyptian, and a native of Alexandria, begins the reign of Alexander over the East from the building of this city. And here ends the reign of Darius and the Persian empire; and therefore I will here also end this book.

THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS
CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK VIII.

ALEXANDER, while he wintered at Memphis, settled the affairs of Egypt. The military command he in-
An. 331.
Alex. 1. trusted only with his Macedonians, dividing the country into several districts, under each of which he placed lieutenants, independent of each other, not thinking it safe to commit the whole military power of that large and populous country into one man's hands.^a But the civil government he placed wholly in Doloaspes, an Egyptian; for his intentions being, that the country should still be governed by its own laws and usages, he thought a native, who was best acquainted with them, the properest for this charge. And that the finishing of his new city Alexandria (so called from his name,) might be carried on with the more expedition and success, he appointed Cleomenes to be his supervisor in that work, who continued many years in this charge;^b and hence it is, that in Justin he is said to be the founder of that city.^c He was of Naucratis,^d a Grecian city in Egypt, there built by a colony of the Milesians in times long before past.^e Alexander also did set him over the tribute of Arabia; but being a very wicked man, he abused both these trusts to the great oppression of all that were under him, till at length he received the just reward of all his evil deeds in an ignominious death; for Ptolemy, after he had possessed himself of Egypt, finding him plotting against him for the interest of Perdiccas, caused him to be executed for it.^f There is extant a letter of Alexander's to him of

a Arrian. lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4, c. 8.

b Arrian. & Q. Curtius, *ibid.* Aristotelis *Oeconom.* lib. 2.

c Justin. lib. 13, c. 4.

d Arrian, lib. 3.

e Strabo, lib. 17, p. 801. Stephanus & Suidas in *Ναύκρητις*.

f Pausanias in Atticis.

a very odd nature ; for therein commanding^h him, on the death of Hephestion, to build two temples to that favourite, one in Alexandria, and the other in the island of Pharos adjoining, to excite his diligence herein, he promiseth him such a pardon, as the pope often gives to his deluded votaries, that is, of all his evil deeds, past, present, and to come.^g But this did not save him from the just vengeance which Providence at length, by the hand of Ptolemy, brought upon him for all his wicked and unjust actions.

When Alexander had thus disposed of all matters in Egypt, the spring drawing on, he hastened towards the East to find out Darius. In the way, on his returning to Palestine, he had an account from thence which very much displeased him.^h On his going from that country into Egypt, he had made Andromachus, a special favourite of his, governor of Syria and Palestine ;^h on whose coming to Samaria, to settle some matters there, the Samaritans mutinied against him, and, rising in a tumult, set fire to the house in which he was, and burned him to death. This, it is supposed they did out of a rage and discontent that those privileges should be denied them which were granted to their enemies the Jews ; whereas, by their services to Alexander, especially at the siege of Tyre, they thought they had merited much more from him than the other, who had then denied him their assistance. Alexander, being exceedingly exasperated hereby against that people, as the fact sufficiently deserved, caused all that had acted any part in this murder to be put to death, and drove all the rest out of the city of Samaria, planting there, instead of them, a colony of his Macedonians, and giving their other territories to the Jews.ⁱ Those that survived this calamity retired to Shechem, under Mount Gerizim ; and from this time that place became the head seat of this people, and the metropolis of the Samaritan sect, and so continues even to this day. And whereas eight thousand Samaritans had joined him at Tyre and followed his camp ever since, that they might not, on their return, revive this mutinous temper of their countrymen, to the creating of new disturbances, he sent them into Thebais, the remotest province of Egypt, and settled them on such lands as he there caused to be divided unto them.^k

On Alexander's return into Phœnicia, he staid some time at Tyre, that he might there settle the affairs of those countries which he was to leave behind him before he did set

^g Arrian. lib. 7.

^h Q. Curtius, lib. 4, c. 8. Eusebii Chron. p. 177. Cedrenus.

Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11, c. 8.

forward to acquire more.¹ And, when he had there ordered all matters as he thought fit, he marched with his whole army to Thapsacus, and having there passed the Euphrates, directed his course towards the Tigris, in quest of the enemy. Darius, in the interim, having solicited Alexander for peace three several times, and finding, by his answers, that none was to be expected from him but on the terms of yielding to him the whole empire, applied himself to provide for another battle; in order whereto, he got together at Babylon a numerous army, it being by one half bigger than that with which he fought at Issus, and from thence took the field with it, and marched towards Nineveh.^m Thither Alexander followed after him, and, having passed the Tigris, got up with him at a small village called Gaugamela; where it came to a decisive battle between them; in which Alexander, with fifty thousand men (for that was the utmost of his number at that battle,) vanquished the vast army of the Persians, which was above twenty times as big, and this in an open plain country, without having the advantage of straits to secure his flanks, as in the battle of Issus; and hereby the fate of the Persian empire was determined; for none after this could to any purpose make head against him, but all were forced to submit to the conqueror; and he thenceforth became absolute lord of that empire in the utmost extent in which it was ever possessed by any of the Persian kings. And hereby was fully accomplished all that which, in the prophecies of Daniel, was foretold concerning him.ⁿ This battle happened in the month of October, much about the same time of the year in which was fought the battle of Issus two years before; and the place where it was fought was Gaugamela in Assyria; but that being a small village, and of no note, they would not denominate so famous a battle from so contemptible a place, but called it the battle of Arbela, because that was the next town of any note, though it were at the distance of above twelve miles from the field where the blow was struck.

Darius, after this defeat, fled into Media, intending from thence, and the rest of the northern provinces of his empire, to draw together other forces for the farther trial of his fortune in another battle.^o Alexander pursued him as far as Arbela; but, before his arrival thither, he was, by the quickness of his flight, got out of his reach. However, he there

¹ Plutarch in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4, c. 8. Arrian. lib. 3. Diod. Sic. lib. 17.

^m Darius had in this battle about one million one hundred thousand.

ⁿ Dan. vii. 6; viii. 5, 6, 7, 20, 21; x. 20; xi. 3.

^o Plutarch in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian. lib. 3. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 17.

took his treasure, and his royal equipage and furniture, which was of vast value, and then returned to his camp; where, having allowed his army such time of rest as was necessary for their refreshment after the fatigue of the battle, he marched towards Babylon. Mazæus was governor of that city and the province belonging to it, and had been one of Darius's generals in the late battle; where, after the defeat, having gathered together as many of the scattered forces of the Persians as he could, he retreated with them to that place. But, on Alexander's approach with his victorious army, he had not the courage to stand out against him; but, going forth to meet him, surrendered himself and all under his charge to him; and Bagaphanes, the governor of the castle, where the greatest part of Darius's treasure was kept, did the same; and both acted herein as if they were at strife which of them should be most forward to cast off their old master and receive the new. After thirty days tarrying in that city, he continued Mazæus, for the reward of his treachery, in the government of the province; but, placing a Macedonian in the command of the castle, he took Bagaphernes along with him, and marched to Susa, and from thence after the taking of that city, to Persepolis, the capital of the empire, carrying victory with him over all the provinces and places in the way. Arriving at Persepolis about the middle of December, he gave the city to be sacked by his army, reserving only the castle and palace to himself. Hence followed a vast slaughter upon the inhabitants, and all other barbarities which in this case use to be acted by soldiers let loose to their rage and licentiousness. This city being the metropolis of the Persian empire, and that which of all others bore the greatest enmity to Greece, he did this, he said, to execute the revenge of Greece upon it. After the cruelty of this execution was over, leaving Parmenio and Craterus in the place with the greatest part of his forces, he made a range with the rest over the neighbouring countries, and, having reduced them all to a submission to him, returned again to Persepolis, after thirty days, and there took up his winter quarters.

While Alexander lay at this place,^p he gave himself much to feasting and drinking, for joy of his victories, and the great conquests he had made. In one of his feasts, wherein he had entertained his chief commanders, he invited also their misses to accompany them; one of which was Thais, a famous Athenian courtesan, and then miss to Ptolemy; who was afterward king of Egypt.

An. 330.
Alex. 2.

^p Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian. lib. 3. Diod. Sic. lib. 17. Justin, lib. 11.

This woman, in the heat of their carousals, proposed to Alexander the burning down of the city and palace of Persepolis, for the revenging of Greece upon the Persians, especially for the burning of Athens by Xerxes. The whole company being drunk, the proposal was received with a general applause, and Alexander himself, in the heat of his wine, running into the same humour, immediately took a torch, and all the rest of the company doing the same, they all went thus armed with him at their head, and, setting fire to the city and palace, burned both to the ground; which Alexander, when he came again to his senses, exceedingly repented of; but then it was too late to help it. Thus at the motion of a drunken strumpet, was destroyed by this drunken king, one of the finest palaces in the world. That this at Persepolis was such, the ruins of it sufficiently show,^q which are still remaining even to this day, at a place called Chehel-Minar, near Shiras, in Persia. The name signifieth, in the Persian language, *forty pillars*, and the place is so called, because such a number of pillars, as well as other stately ruins of this palace, are there still remaining even to this day.^r

In the interim Darius being fled to Ecbatana in Media, there gathered together as many of his broken forces as fled that way, and endeavoured all he could to raise others to add to them, for the making up of another army. But Alexander having, by the beginning of the spring, settled all his affairs in Persia, made after him into Media. Of this, Darius having received intelligence, left Ecbatana, with intentions to march into Bactria, there to strengthen and augment his army with new recruits. But he had not gone far ere he altered his purpose: for, fearing lest Alexander should overtake him before he could reach Bactria, he stopped his march, and resolved to stand the brunt of another battle with the forces then about him, which amounted to about forty thousand men, horse and foot. But while he was preparing for it, Bessus, governor of Bactria, and Nabarzanes, another Persian nobleman, confederated with him in the treason, seized the poor unfortunate prince, and, making him their prisoner, put him in chains, and then, shutting him up in a close cart, fled with him towards Bactria, purposing, if Alexander pursued after them, to purchase their peace with him, by delivering him alive into his hands; but, if he did not pursue after them, then their intentions were to kill him, and seize his kingdom, and renew the war.^s Alexander, on

q See the Travels of Herbert, Thevenot, and Chardin.

r Vide Golii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 113.

s Arrian. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Curtius, lib. 5.

his coming to Ecbatana, found Darius was gone from thence about eight days before ; however, he pursued hard after him for eleven days together, till he came to Rages, a city of Media, often mentioned in Tobit,^t and which was the place where Nabuchodonosor, king of Assyria, is said in the book of Judith, to have slain Arphaxad king of Media.^u Here finding that it was in vain to pursue after Darius any farther, he staid in this place several days for the refreshing of his army, and for the settling of the affairs of Media. Of which having made Oxidates, a noble Persian, governor, he marched into Parthia ; where, having received intelligence of Darius's case, and what danger he was in from those traitors who had made him their prisoner, he put himself again upon the pursuit after him with part of his army, leaving the rest, under the command of Craterus, to follow after him : and, after several days hard march, he at last came up with the traitors : whereon they would have persuaded Darius to mount on horseback for his more speedy flight with them ; but he refusing thus to do, they gave him several mortal wounds, and left him dying in his cart. Philistratus, one of Alexander's soldiers, found him in this condition ; but he expired before Alexander himself came up to him. When he saw his corpse, he could not forbear shedding tears at so melancholy a spectacle ; and, having cast his cloak over it, he commanded it to be wrapped up therein, and carried to Sysigambis at Susa (where he had left her with the other captive ladies,) to be buried by her with a royal funeral, in the burying-place of the kings of Persia, and allowed the expenses necessary for it. And this was the end of this great king, and also of the empire over which he reigned, after it had lasted, from the first of Cyrus, two hundred and nine years. After this fact, Nabarzanes fled into Hyrcania, and Bessus into Bactria, and there he declared himself king by the name of Artaxerxes.

Alexander was not staid by the death of Darius from still pursuing after the traitor Bessus ; but, finding at length that he was gotten too far before him to be overtaken, he returned again into Parthia ;^x and there having regulated his affairs in the army, as well as in the province, he marched into Hyrcania, and received that country under his subjection. After that he subdued the Mardans, Arians, Drangeans, Aracausians, and several other nations, over which he flew with victory, swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days,

^t Tobit i. 14 ; iv. 1.

^u Judith i. 15.

^x Plutarch. in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. Arrian. Q. Curtius, & Justin. ib.

one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius, of near forty miles a day, for eleven days together. So that, by the speed of his marches, he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of Daniel, some ages before; he being in them set forth under the similitude of a panther or leopard with four wings:^y for he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after his prey, and came on upon his enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is, in another place of those prophecies, compared to an he-goat coming from the west with that swiftness upon the king of Media and Persia, that he seemed as if his feet did not touch the ground.^z And his actions, as well in this comparison as in the former, fully verified the prophecy.

While Alexander was among the Drangeans, discovery was made of a conspiracy formed against his life, of which Philotas, the son of Parmenio, one of the chief commanders in his army, and principal confidants, being found to be the head, was put to death for it, with all his accomplices.^a And whether Alexander thought Parmenio to have been in the plot also, or feared his revenge for the death of his son, he sent to Ecbatana, where he had left him with part of his forces, to guard his treasure which he had there laid up, and caused him to be put to death also; which brought great envy upon him, this old commander having been his chief assistant in conducting his armies to most of those victories which he had hitherto obtained. After this, Alexander, notwithstanding the approach of winter, marched still forward to the north, and subdued all in his way, carrying on his conquests as far as Mount Caucasus, where having built a city, which, from his name, he called also Alexandria, as he had several others, he there terminated the actions of this year.

Early the next spring, he made after Bessus; and having driven him out of Bactria, and settled that province under his obedience, he followed him into Sogdiana, the country now called Cowaresmia, where he was retired.^b This province being separated from Bactria by the river Oxus, which was large and deep, Bessus's chief confidence was in the unpassableness of it: for, having ta-

^y Daniel vii. 6.

^z Daniel viii. 5.

^a Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Diod. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 6, c. 7, 8, 9, &c.

^b Arrian. lib. 3. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Diod. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 7.

ken away or destroyed all the shipping and boats that were to be found on it, he thought Alexander could not possibly get over it to pursue him any farther. But no difficulty being unsurmountable to that conqueror, he found means, by stuffed skins, and such other devices, to get his army all over ; whereon Bessus's followers, despairing of his case, seized his person, and delivered him bound to Alexander, who gave him into the hands of Oxatres, the brother of Darius, to be punished by him as he should think fit, for the treason he had been guilty of in murdering his king. For after the death of Darius, this Oxatres surrendered himself to Alexander, who very kindly received him, and admitted him into the number of his friends, and treated him with favour as long as he lived. And Oxatres having thus gotten the traitor into his hands, made him die such a death as his treason deserved.

Sogdiana breeding a great number of horses,^c Alexander came thither very opportunely for the remounting of his cavalry ; for, by the quick and fatiguing marches which he had made, he had either killed or spoiled most of the horses of his army. But, notwithstanding, he had not such quick success in his conquests here, as in other provinces ; for he had not now to do with the effeminate Persians and Babylonians, but with the Sogdians, Dahans, and Massagets, valiant and hardy people, who were not but with great difficulty to be subdued. And therefore this province found him a full year's work before he could bring it into thorough subjection to him. It lay upon the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, between the river Oxus on the south, and the river Orxantes on the north ; the last of these Quintus Curtius and Arrian call Tanais, very erroneously ; for the river Tanais is much more to the west, and dischargeth itself, not into the Caspian, but into the Euxine Sea, and is the same which we now call the Don. Pliny takes notice of this mistake, and tells us it proceeded from Alexander's soldiers calling it so, and that in his time it was called Silys.^d The capital of this province was Maracanda, a great city of near ten miles in compass, and is the same which, being now called Samarcand, is the chief city of the Usbeck Tartars. While Alexander lay there with his army, towards the beginning of winter,^e he basely, in a drunken fury, murdered Clitus, one of the best of his friends, which afterward he condemned himself for, as much as every body else ; for it was a very vile action, and the greatest blot of his life. After he had thoroughly subdued

^c Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Arrian. lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

^d Lib. 6, c. 16.

^e Plutarch. in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 8, c. 1. Arrian. lib. 4.

the Sogdians, and reduced such of the Bactrians as had revolted from him, he took up his winter quarters in Nautaca, and there gave his army rest and refreshment for three months.

While he lay there, being wholly at ease from the fatigues of war, he fell in love with Roxana, the daughter of An. 328. Alex. 4. Oxyathres, a noble Persian, who was among the captive ladies in his camp, and took her to wife. She was the most beautiful woman of her time, and also one of the most wicked, as afterward by her actions, especially in the murder of Darius's daughters, she sufficiently made appear.^f That Alexander's marrying this lady might be made no objection against him among his Macedonians, he encouraged as many of their leaders and prime men as he found inclined that way to do the same, and take them wives in like manner from among the Persian ladies. So that most of the time that he spent in these quarters was taken up in making such marriages, and in nuptial feastings upon them.

But, while these things were doing in the camp, Alexander's head was busy in projecting an expedition into India;^g his main incentive to this dangerous and unprofitable enterprise, was all an excess of vanity and folly. He had read in the old Grecian fables, that Bacchus and Hercules, two of Jupiter's sons, had made this expedition into India, and he would fain, in emulation of them, do the same: for having been declared Jupiter's son as well as they, he would not be thought to come behind them in any thing, and he had flatterers enough about him to blow him up into this conceit. And about this time it was that he began to require divine honours to be paid to him, and commanded that all that were admitted to make addresses unto him should adore him, as formerly they had the Persian kings. All his old friends disliked this conduct in him, and none more than Calisthenes the philosopher. He was a kinsman of Aristotle, Alexander's master, and had been sent by him to attend this young conqueror on his first entering on the Persian war, and had accompanied him through all his expeditions ever since; and, being a very wise and grave man, was thought the properest person to advise and direct him against those excesses which the heat of his youth might carry him into.^h And this being the whole end for which he was sent to attend him, he could not but express his dislike of this folly. But Alexander, not being able to bear the freedom with which he

^f Q. Curtius, lib. 8, c. 4. Arrian. lib. 4. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

^g Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8, c. 5, 9, 10, &c. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 12, c. 7.

^h Laertius in Vita Aristotelis. Plutarch. in Alexandro. et in Sylla.

expressed himself in this matter, caused him to be put to death for it ; which, next the death of Clitus, is that which, of all his other actions, bore hardest upon his reputation ; and indeed, if duly estimated, it was by much the worst of the two ; for he was in the heat of wine, and also highly provoked by saucy and abusive language, when he slew Clitus ; but Calisthenes he did put to death deliberately and designedly, and for no other reason, but that he expressed his dislike of those follies which he was sent on purpose by his instructions and advice to correct in him.

But, beforeⁱ he went on his Indian expedition, he very providentially took care to secure all in quiet behind him ; and therefore, while he lay in those quarters at Nautaca, he removed several of the governors of provinces who had oppressed their provincials, and remedied all the grievances they had been guilty of towards them, that none might have any just cause in his absence to create disturbances, or make any risings against him or his authority in any part of the empire. And the better to provide against all such, as well as for the more successful carrying on of the new war which he was going to enter upon, he caused thirty thousand young men of the sons of the principal men of the conquered countries, to be listed for the augmenting of his army, that, having them with him in this expedition, they might be hostages with him for the good behaviour of their relations, as well as useful to him in the war.

On his marching into India, his army, with these augmentations, consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, Grecians and Persians, besides fifteen thousand which he left with Amyntas in Bactria, to keep those parts in quiet.^k Many nations on this side the river Indus were then reckoned to be of India ; and in subduing of those was this whole year employed. Some of them he conquered by force, and some he received by submission. But none pleased him more than those that welcomed him, as the third son of Jupiter that had come among them, meaning Bacchus and Hercules for the other two ; so far was he intoxicated with the vain conceit of being thought the son of that imaginary god.^l Among those whom he subdued by force were the Assacans. But Cleophis, the queen of that nation, being a very beautiful woman, redeemed her kingdom by prostituting her body to his lust ; whereby she incurred that infamy and contempt among the Indians, that they afterward called her by no other name than that of the royal whore. By this concubinage she had a son, whom, from the name of his father, she called

i Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8, c. 5.

k Q. Curtius, *ibid*

l Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

Alexander, who afterward reigned in those parts; and, if Paulus Venetus may be believed, there were in a certain province of India, which he calls Balascia, kings of his race reigning there even to this time.

Early the next spring, he passed the river Indus, over a bridge of boats there prepared for him, and from
An. 327.
Alex. 5. thence marched forward to the river Hydaspes.^m Between these two rivers lay the kingdom of Taxiles, who submitted to him. But beyond the Hydaspes lay the kingdom of Porus, a prince of great valour and power, who was there ready with a great army to impede his farther progress. This, on Alexander's passing that river, produced a fierce battle between them; wherein, after a fight of eight hours, Porus's army was vanquished with great slaughter, and he himself was taken prisoner; but the magnanimity and generosity of his carriage under his misfortune, so took with Alexander, that he again restored to him his kingdom, and also augmented it. For, after this, having passed the river Acesinis, which terminated Porus's kingdom on the east, and taken all the territory that lay between that and the river Hydraotes, he added this also to Porus's dominions. After this, passing the Hydraotes, he marched to Hyphasis, and would gladly have passed that river also, and gone on to the Ganges. But his soldiers being weary of following him any farther in these expeditions of knight-errantry, forced him there to put an end to his farther progress. And therefore, having on the banks of that river erected twelve large altars, for a memorial of his having been there, he marched back again to the Hydaspes; where having, at the place where he vanquished Porus, built a city which he called Nicæa, in memory of that victory, and another not far from it which he called Bucephala, in memory of his horse Bucephalus, which there died, he ordered his fleet to be drawn thither to him, for his passing down that river into the Indus, and the southern parts of India, purposing to carry on his arms and conquests that way as far as the ocean, and then to return to Babylon.

This fleet he had ordered to be prepared from his first passing the Indus, and it had been ever since making
An. 326.
Alex. 6. ready for him in the several places that he had appointed; which, when it was all brought together, amounted to two thousand vessels of all sorts. The chief command hereof he gave to Nearchus, and then, putting his army on board, he sailed down the Hydaspes into the Acesinis, and through that into the Indus; for the first of these fell into the second, and the second into the third. In his

^m Plutarch. et Curtius, *ibid.* Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian. lib. 5.

way, he had to do with two very valiant nations, the Oxidracians and the Mallians. The former of these inhabited where the Hydaspes fell into the Acesinis, and the other where the Acesinis fell into the Indus. Both these he forced into a submission, though not without great difficulty. And, while he besieged one of the cities of the Mallians, he was very near losing his life; for, being the first that scaled the walls, he rashly leaped into the city, before any others were at hand to second him, and was there almost wounded to death, ere any of his followers could get in to rescue him. Thence he sailed down the Indus as far as the ocean, conquering all the nations in his way on both sides that river. When he had passed the mouth of the Indus into the southern ocean, and had now carried his conquests to the utmost boundaries of the earth on that side, he reckoned that he had obtained all that he proposed; and therefore returning back to land, when he had given such orders as he thought fit for the settling of his Indian conquests, he sent Nearchus with that part of the fleet which was fittest for the voyage, back again into the ocean, ordering him to sail that way into the Persian gulf, and up through that into the Euphrates, and meet him at Babylon; and then he with his army marched over land towards the same place.ⁿ

The way that he took in his march thither was through the southern provinces of Persia; a great part of which being a very barren country, and full of sandy deserts, An. 325.
Alex. 7. he suffered very much in his passage through it, both for want of water as well as of provisions; and the scorching heat of the climate, added to the calamity, which grew so great that it destroyed a great part of his army. And to this it was chiefly owing, that he did not bring back above a fourth part of the number which he first carried with him into India. When he arrived in the province of Carmania (the same which, retaining its ancient name, is still called Kerman,) he marched in a bacchanalian procession for seven days together through that province, in a way of triumph for his Indian conquests. For it seems he had heard that Bacchus returned in this manner after his like expedition into that country; for he much affected to imitate Bacchus and Hercules in all this expedition: and he did too much the former of them, for a great part of his life, in that excessive drunkenness which he gave himself up unto.^o

Nearchus, having coasted along all the countries, from the Indus to the mouth of the Persian gulf, arrived at the isle of Harmusia (now called Ormus;) where, hearing that Alexan-

ⁿ Arrian. lib. 6, Q. Curtius, lib. 9. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

^o Plutarchus, Curtius, Arrianus, *ibid*.

der was within five days journey of that place, he went to him, and gave him an account of his voyage, and what discoveries and observations he had made in it; with which being exceedingly delighted, he sent him back again to complete his first orders, and sail up the Euphrates to Babylon, as he had appointed.

While Alexander was in Carmania, he had many complaints made to him of the oppressions exercised by his lieutenants, and other officers in the provinces, during his absence in India; for, reckoning that he would never come back again, several of them did let themselves loose to rapine, tyranny, and all manner of cruelty and oppression. All these he caused to be put to death for the expiation of their crimes, and with them six hundred of the soldiers who had been their instruments in these enormities; and he exercised the same severity upon all other of his officers whom he after that found in the same abuses; which conduced very much to the making of his government acceptable to the conquered provinces.

Being exceedingly pleased with the successful voyage that Nearchus had made with his fleet, and the account which he gave him of his discoveries, he resolved on more sea adventures, purposing no less, than from the Persian gulf, to sail round Arabia and Africa, and return by the mouth of the straits (then called Hercules's pillars, now the straits of Gibraltar,) into the Mediterranean Sea; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed at the command of Necho king of Egypt, (of which an account hath been above given.) In order hereto, he sent his commands to his lieutenants in Mesopotamia and Syria, for a fleet of ships, fit for such an undertaking, to be forthwith built at several places on the Euphrates, especially at Thapsacus, ordering great quantities of timber to be cut down on Mount Libanus, and carried thither for this purpose. This shows the greatness of his designs; but this, as well as all others of them, were quashed by his death.

On his coming to Pasargada, he was much offended at the violation which had been offered to the sepulchre of Cyrus, who was there buried. For since he was last there (which was a little after his taking of Persepolis,) it had been broken up and robbed. The Magians who had the keeping of the sepulchre, and several others, were put to the torture, for the finding out of the authors of the sacrilege. But no discovery being made this way, at length, by the malice of Bagoas, a beloved eunuch of Alexander's, the whole guilt was charged upon Orsines, the governor of the province. This Bagoas was a very beautiful young eunuch: Nabarzanes, who

conspired with Bessus in the imprisonment, and afterward in the death of Darius, presented him unto Alexander for the service of his lust; and by this present saved his life; so acceptable was the catamite to him for this vile use! and, by being thus frequently used by him, he grew so far into his favour, that he prevailed with him to sacrifice this noble Persian to his revenge, contrary to all honour, justice, and gratitude: for he had very much served him, especially in that province; for Phrasaortes, the governor of it, dying while Alexander was in India, and all things there being like to run into confusion upon it, for want of one to take care of the government, he took upon him to supply that defect, and preserved all things there in good order for the service of Alexander, to the time of his arrival thither; and, on his entering the province, met him in the most honourable manner, and, being a person of great wealth, as well as of ancient nobility, he presented him and his followers with many noble presents, to the value of several thousand talents. But, when he presented the rest of Alexander's friends and favourites, taking no notice of Bagoas, and saying withal, when he was put in mind of him, *That he paid his respects to the king's friends, not to his catamites*; this so angered the eunuch, that, to work his revenge, he contrived, that the whole charge of violating the sepulchre of Cyrus was turned upon the governor of the province; and having suborned false witnesses, to accuse him of this and many other enormities, he prevailed with Alexander to put him to death, in the manner as I have said; which, considering the services he had done him, and the munificence with which he had received him on his entering into his province, is deservedly reckoned one of the basest of his actions.

From Pasargada he marched to Persepolis, where he lamented his folly in having burned that city; from thence he passed on towards Susa. In his way thither he met Nearchus with his fleet: for Nearchus, according to his orders, had sailed up the Persian gulf, into the Euphrates; but there, hearing Alexander was on his march towards Susa, he sailed back again to the mouth of the Pisitigris, and from thence up that river to a bridge which Alexander was to pass. And there the land army and the sea army meeting, they both joined together. For which Alexander offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to his gods, and made great rejoicing in his camp, and high honours were there given to Nearchus, for his successful conduct of the fleet, in bringing it safe through so many dangers to that place.^p

When Alexander came to Susa, where he had left all the captive ladies at his last being there, he took to wife Statira,^q the eldest of Darius's daughters, and gave the younger, called Drypetis, to Hephestion his chief favourite, and at the same time married most of the rest of them, to the number of about one hundred, to others of his commanders and principal followers. For they being the daughters of the prime nobility of the Persian empire, he hoped, by these marriages, to make such a union of the Grecians and Persians together, as should render them both as one nation under his empire. And, for five days together, these nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, and all manner of feasting and rejoicing. All the dowries of these ladies Alexander paid, and at the same time distributed great rewards to such of his followers as had best deserved of him in the wars, and paid the debts of all the soldiers of his army; which last article alone amounted to ten thousand talents; Justin and Arrian say twenty thousand. On these and other occasions, he expended vast sums, which were all supplied him out of the immense treasures of Darius; for out of them he laid up in his treasury at Ecbatana only one hundred and ninety thousand talents, besides what he had at Babylon, and in other treasuries through the empire.^r

These nuptial solemnities being over, he left the main of his army under the conduct of Hephestion,^s and with the rest, went on board the fleet, which he had caused to be brought up the Eulæus (in Daniel called the Ulai,^t) on which Susa stood, and sailed down that river into the Persian gulf, and from thence passed up the Tigris, to the city Opis, where Hephestion met him with the rest of the army. On his coming to that place, he caused it to be proclaimed through the whole army, that all those Macedonians, who, by reason of their age, or the wounds they had received in the wars, or other infirmities, found themselves unable any longer to bear the fatigues of the camp, should have full liberty to return into Greece, declaring his intentions to dismiss them bountifully, and to cause them with honour and safety to be conveyed to their own homes.^u This he intended as a kindness

q Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro, & in libro de Eortuna Alexandri. Arrian. lib. 7, where, by mistake, this daughter of Darius is called Barsina. For Barsina was the concubine, not the wife of Alexander, and the daughter of Artabazus, not of Darius. She was first married to Memnon, and, after his death, being taken into the bed of Alexander, she had a son by him called Hercules.

r Justin. lib. 12, c. 1. This amounts to above thirty-five millions and an half sterling, according to the lowest calculation; but, according to Dr. Bernard's computation, it comes to near forty millions.

s Arrian. lib. 7.

t Dan. viii. 2, 16.

u Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 10, c. 2.

to them ; but, it being taken by another handle, as if he were weary of his Macedonians, and dismissed them only to make room for the new recruits which he had lately raised out of the conquered countries, to be taken into the army in their stead, they fell into a mutiny, and desired all to be dismissed ; telling him, that since he despised his soldiers, by whom he had gained all his victories, he and his father Hammon might alone wage his wars for the future ; they would serve him no longer. Thus his folly in challenging that imaginary god for his father, how much soever he valued himself upon it, was made his reproach on this, as well as on all other occasions by every body else. This mutinous humour, though it broke not out till on this occasion, had been long breeding among them. They disliked his affecting the Persian manners and habit, his marrying a Persian lady, and his causing so many of his followers to do the same. But that which disgusted them most, was his ingrafting the new recruits, which he made out of the conquered countries, into the Macedonian militia, and the advancing of many Persians to places of honour and trust, both in the army and in the provinces, equally with the Macedonians : for he having conquered by them alone, they thought they alone ought to reign with him, and engross all his favours, and therefore were grievously discontented with all the methods which he took for the uniting of the Persians with them ; and these discontents being heightened by every step which he made for the effecting of this union, at length broke out into a mutiny on the occasion mentioned. Whereon he having punished some of them, and this being of no effect to reduce the rest, he retired into his tent, and there shut himself up for two days ; after that, on the third, he called together his Asiatic soldiers, excluding the Macedonians, and spoke very kindly to them, assured them of his favour, and treated them as if he intended for the future wholly to depend upon them, choosing his guards out of them, and advancing several of them to places of honour and trust, without taking any farther notice of the mutineers ; which soon brought them to a better temper ; for seeing themselves thus kept at a distance, and wholly neglected, and excluded the favours they formerly enjoyed, they came to the door of his tent with tears of repentance, and there continued for two days in humble supplication for his pardon and favour : this prevailed with him on the third to admit them into his presence, and be reconciled unto them ; and from this time they no more mutinied against him, or faulted any of his proceedings.

From Ophis, he marched by several stations to Ecbatana in Media. While he was there, he lost his favourite He-

phession; for, having drunk too hard, he contracted a fever by it, and of that he died.^x For Alexander, having long given himself up to great drinking, encouraged his followers in it, drinking sometimes whole days and nights with them; and it is said, that in one of these drunken bouts at which he was present, the excess was carried on so far, that forty persons died of it.^y The death of this favourite was much lamented by him, and his funeral was solemnized with extravagant honours, as well as expenses, and also with as extravagant cruelty; for he caused his physician to be crucified, for no other reason, but that he could not make a man immortal, who, by all manner of excesses, did the utmost he could to kill himself. And this cruelty was the more signal, in that the patient himself baffled all that the physician prescribed for his recovery; for when, to allay the heat of his fever, and make way for the remedies to take place for the cure of it, the physician had directed an abstinence from all flesh-meats and wine, he refused to be restrained from either, but took both in such quantities, as soon put it beyond the power of physic to give him any relief; and thus, by the cause of his distemper, and by wilfully disappointing all the means of being cured of it, he became doubly his own murderer; and yet the poor physician, who could help neither, was forced to answer for all. And many instances may be given of such irrational and unjust actions, where will and pleasure rule without restraint, which often, upon reflection, bring the authors themselves to the bitterness of regret, and too late repentance; and may be sufficient to let all such see, that it is the interest of princes, as well as of their people, that their authority be regulated by such just laws, as may hinder them from doing such irrational and unjust things, as often passion and humour, when let loose from all restraint, may carry men into.

Alexander, to divert his grief after this loss, led his army against the Cossæans (a warlike nation in the mountains of Media, which none of the Persian kings could ever bring into subjection to them,) and having, in a war of forty days, wholly subdued them, he passed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.^z On his approach near that place, the Magians and the other prognosticators sent advice to him not to come thither, several signs portending, that his entering that city would prove fatal unto him. But, contemning all these, he marched with his whole army into that place, where he found ambassadors from all quarters of

An. 324.
Alex. 8.

x Plutarch. in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

y Athen. lib. 10, c. 12. Plutarch. in Alex. Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. 2.

z Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian. lib. 7. Plutarch. in Alexandro.

the world waiting his coming thither ; to all which he gave audience in their order, and took care to return such answers to every one of them as would send them away from his presence best pleased with him.

While he continued at Babylon (which was near the space of a whole year,) he projected many designs ; one was the circumnavigation of Africa ; another for the making of a full discovery of the Caspian Sea, and of all the nations round it ; and for both these he had provided fleets : another was to conquer the Arabians ; and a fourth, to make war against the Carthaginians, and carry on his conquests to the pillars of Hercules, having a great ambition in all things to imitate that hero of the Grecian poets. And, besides all these, he had many designs for the improving of Babylon. For, finding it, not only in its greatness, but also in the abundance which it was supplied with of all things necessary, either for the support or pleasures of life, to exceed all other places of the East, he resolved there to fix the seat of his empire : and therefore projected to add all the improvements to it that it was capable of. What damage that place, as well as the country about it, suffered by Cyrus's breaking down the banks of the Euphrates at the head of the canal called Pal-lacopa, I have above shown. This he did set himself to remedy in the first place ; whereby he would have recovered a whole province, which was drowned by the overflowings of the river in that place, and also have made the river itself much more navigable, and consequently much more profitable to the Babylonians, by turning the main of the stream again that way, as formerly it had been. In order hereto, he sailed to the place where the breach was made, and, having taken a view of it, he immediately ordered that to be done for the repairing of it which he thought would have remedied the evil. How he failed of the effect hath been already said. But that which he chiefly set his heart upon, was to repair the temple of Belus. This Xerxes destroyed in his return from Greece (as hath been above related,) and it had lain in its rubbish ever since. This he purposed to build again, and in a more stately and magnificent manner than it had been before.^a In order whereto, in the first place, he commanded the ground where it stood to be cleared of its rubbish ; but finding the Magians to whom he had committed the care of the work, went on but slowly with it, he employed his soldiers to assist them ; and although ten thousand of them laboured every day in this work for two months together, to the time of his death, yet were they forced to

leave it imperfect, the ground being still uncleared, so great were the ruins of the old building that were left upon it. But when it came to the turn of the Jews, who then served Alexander among his Asian recruits, to labour in this work, they could not by any means be induced to put the least helping hand to it; arguing that their religion being against idolatry, it forbad them to do any thing towards the building of an idolatrous temple: and to this resolution they all firmly stood; so that, though several severe punishments were inflicted upon them for it, not one of them could be brought to recede from it; whereupon Alexander, admiring their constancy, dismissed them his service, and sent them all home into their own country.^b

But the greatest part of the time that Alexander lay in Babylon was spent in gratifying himself in the pleasures and luxuries of the place, especially in drinking; which he carried up to the utmost excess, spending sometimes whole days and nights in it, till at length he drank himself into a fever, of which in a few days after he died, in the same manner as his favourite Hephestion had before him.

This happened about the middle of the spring in the first year of the 140th Olympiad, which fell in the year before Christ 323.^c At his death, there went a general report that he died of poison; and the same hath been said of other great princes, when they have died unexpectedly, and often with very little reason for it. He having sat out one long drinking-bout, was immediately invited to another; at which there being twenty in company, he drank to every one of them in their order, and pledged each of them again,^d and then calling for the Herculean cup (which held six of our quarts) he drank this full to Proteas, a Macedonian, who was one of the guests; and a little after pledged him again in the same.^e And he having done thus much, I think there needed no other poison to kill any man living. Immediately after this last cup, he dropped down upon the place, and then fell into that violent fever of which he died. However, that he died of poison was not only a transient report, but a fixed and lasting opinion among the Macedonians; and there were such strong reasons to make it believed, as rendered it very probable, that a poisonous liquor was also one ingredient of the cup that killed him. The sons of Antipater were charged to be the authors of this treason; and the com-

An. 323.
Philip 1.

^b Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^c Arri. lib. 7. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curtius, lib. 10, c. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. 17. d Athen. lib. 10, c. 11, & lib. 12, c. 18.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Sen. ep. 83. Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 5, c. 21. Athen. lib. 11, c. 17.

mon report was, that Cassander the eldest of them brought the poison out of Greece, and that Iollas his brother, who was cup-bearer to Alexander, gave it to him; and that he chose this time for it, that the excessive quantity of wine which he then drank, might cover this worse cause of his death.^f Alexander, a little before this time, having dismissed ten thousand of his veterans, who were past his service sent Craterus to conduct them into Greece, with commission to succeed Antipater in his government of Macedon, Thrace, and Thessaly: and ordered Antipater to come to him to Babylon, to take Craterus's place in the army. But Antipater being jealous, and not without good reason, that he was sent for to be put to death for the many maladministrations he had been guilty of in his government, did by the hands of his sons, execute this treason upon the life of Alexander, to save his own. And the death of Alexander happening so convenient to deliver him from this danger, made it the more believed that he was the author of it. And, it is certain, Cassander could never after overcome the odium of it, but was detested for it by the Macedonians as long as he lived. Pausanias, in his *Arcadics*, tells of a fountain in Arcadia called Styx, whose waters are so exceeding cold, as to be poisonous.^g Some water of this fountain, they say, was mingled with the last cup that Alexander drank at this entertainment, and thereby it was made mortal to him. This water distils from the rock Nonacris, out of which it proceeds in a small quantity, and is of so piercing a nature, that it breaks through all vessels into which it is put, excepting only a mule's hoof. And therefore they tell us, that it was carried in such a hoof from Greece to Babylon, for the executing of this villanous murder.

And here ended all the designs of this great and vain-glorious prince. Never had any man a greater run of success than he had for twelve years and an half together, (for so long he reigned from the death of his father:) in that time he subjected to him all the nations and countries that lay from the Adriatic Sea to the Ganges, the greater part of the then known habitable world. And although most of his actions were carried on with a furious and extravagant rashness, yet none of them failed of success. His first attempt upon the

^f Plut. in *Alex.* Arrian. lib. 7. Diod. Sic. lib. 17. Just. lib. 12. c. 13, 14, Pausan. in *Arcadics*. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. c. 10. Plin. lib. 30, c. 16. Vitruvius, lib. 8, c. 3.

^g Curtius by mistake placeth this fountain in Macedonia: but Vitruvius, lib. 8. c. 3. Plutarch in the life of Alexander, Strabo, lib. 8. p. 389, put it in the same place where Pausanias doth, that is, in the mountain Nonacris in Arcadia, and tell us, that Alexander was poisoned with the water of it in the same manner as he and others relate.

Persians, in passing the Granicus with only thirty-five thousand men against an army above five times as many guarding the banks of the river on the other side, was what no man else that was well in his wits would have run upon, and yet he succeeded in it; and this success creating a panic fear of him through all the Persian empire, made way for all the other victories which he afterward obtained; for no other army after that, though twenty times the number of his (as was that of Arbela,) would take courage enough to stand before him. He was a man of some virtues, but these were obscured with much greater vices. Vain-glory was his predominant folly, and that which chiefly steered him through all his actions. And the old Greek ballads, and the fables of their ancient heroes, were the patterns from which he formed most of his conduct. This made him drag Betis round the walls of Gaza, as Achilles had Hector round those of Troy. This made him make that hazardous expedition into India; for Bacchus and Hercules were said to have done the same. And this made him, in imitation of the former, make that drunken procession through Carmania on his return, which is above mentioned; for Bacchus was said to have returned that way in the same manner. And the same was the cause of that ridiculous affectation, whereby he assumed to himself to be called the son of Jupiter: for most of the Grecian fables, making their heroes the sons of some god or other, he would not be thought in this as well as not in any thing else, to come behind them. But God having ordained him to be his instrument, for the bringing to pass of all that which was by the prophet Daniel foretold concerning him, he did, by his Providence, bear him through in all things for the accomplishing of it, and when that was done, did cast him out of his hand; for he died in the prime vigour and strength of his life before he had outlived the thirty-third year of his age.

After his death, there arose great confusion among his followers about the succession.^b But at length, after seven days contest, it came to this agreement, that Aridæus, a bastard brother of Alexander's, should be declared king; and that, if Roxana, who was then gone eight months with child, should bring forth a son, that son should be joined with him in the throne, and Perdicas should have the guardianship of both; for Aridæus, being an idiot, needed a guardian as much as the infant. After this, the governments of the empire being divided among the chief commanders of the army, all went to take possession of them, leaving Perdicas at

^b Curtius, lib. 10. Diod. Sic. lib. 8. Plutarch. in Eumene. Justin. lib. 13, c. 1.—4

Babylon to take care of Aridæus, and direct for him the main affairs of the whole empire. For some time they contented themselves with the name of governors; but at length took that of kings, as they had the authority from the first.

As soon as they were settled in the provinces to which they were sent, they all fell to leaguings and making war against each other, till thereby they were, after some years, all destroyed to four. These were Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus; and they divided the whole empire between them. Cassander had Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, and those parts of Asia as lay upon the Hellespont and Bosphorus; Ptolemy, Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Palestine, and Cælo-Syria; and Seleucus, all the rest. And hereby the prophecies of Daniel were exactly fulfilled, which foretold, that the great horn of the Macedonian empire, that is, Alexander, being broken off, there should arise four other horns, that is, four kings out of the same nation, who should divide his empire between them:ⁱ and the manner how they did so, will, in the future series of this history, by fully declared.

Aridæus being thus placed on the throne, they changed his name to that of Philip;^k and from hence the Philippian era hath its original, which the Egyptians, computing from the first day of that year in which Alexander died, that is, from the first day of their Thoth preceding, (which fell in the twelfth of our November,) Ptolemy the astronomer doth the same in his canon, though contrary to the method hitherto observed by him; for, in all other descents preceding this, he begins the reign of the successor from the Thoth following, and not from the Thoth preceding the death of the successor.

Sisymbis, the mother of Darius, though she had borne with great patience the death of her father, her husband, and eighty of her brothers slain by Ochus in one day, and, since that, the death of her son, and the ruin of his family, yet could not bear the death of Alexander.^l He had shown great kindness to her, and not knowing where to expect any more, she took his death to be the completion of her calamity, and therefore, on hearing of it, refused to take any more sustenance, and famished herself to death out of grief for it. Her death was accompanied with that also of her two granddaughters, Statira the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis, the widow of Hephestion;^m for Roxana having craftily got them into her power, by the concurrence of Perdiccas, caused

ⁱ Dan. vii. 6; viii. 8, 21, 22; xi. 4.

^k Justin. lib. 13, c. 3. Diod. Sic. lib. 18. Ptolemæus in Canone.

^l Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 13, c. 1. Q. Curtius, lib. 10, c. 8.

^m Plutarch. in Alexandro.

them both to be flung into a well and murdered. She feared Statira might be with child; and if that proved to be a son, it might disturb the settlement which was made in favour of her son, in case she bore one; and therefore thus made her away, to prevent it, and her sister with her. And, not long after she was delivered of a son, who was called Alexander, and his name, with that of Andæus or Philip, was afterward joined in the government of the empire; though neither of them had any more than a name in it, the authority being wholly usurped by those who had divided the provinces among them.ⁿ

In this division of the provinces, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia were assigned to Eumenes, who had been secretary of state to Alexander.^o But these had not yet been thoroughly subjected to the Macedonian dominion; for Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, still held those countries, and Alexander having been called out of those parts in the prosecution of his other wars, before he could fully reduce him, was forced to leave him behind in the possession of his kingdom, and he had continued in it ever since. And therefore, he being first to be conquered before Eumenes could be put in possession of this government, Perdiccas sent to Antigonus and Leonnatus for the effecting of it. The former of them had the government of Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, and the greater Phrygia; and the latter, that of the Lesser Phrygia and the Hellespont. But they having both of them other designs in their heads, for the promoting of their own interest, neither of them had any regard to what Perdiccas ordered. Leonnatus was then marching into Greece, under pretence of carrying assistance to Antipater, governor of Macedonia, who was then hard pressed by a confederacy of the Greeks against him, but, in reality, to seize Macedonia and Greece for himself; but he being slain in battle against those Greeks, this did put an end to all his designs. When Eumenes came to him with Perdiccas's order, he endeavoured to draw him into his measures, and, in order hereto, communicated to him his whole scheme. But Eumenes, liking neither the man nor his project, refused to be concerned with him in it. Whereon Leonnatus would have put him to death for the concealing of the secret; which Eumenes being aware of, fled to Perdiccas, and revealed the whole matter to him. Whereon he grew very much into his confidence, and was,

ⁿ Arrian. in Excerptis Photii. Pausan. in Atticis & Bæoticis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

^o Plutarch. in Eumene. Q. Curtius, lib. 10, c. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Justin. lib. 13, c. 4. Arrian. in Excerptis Photii.

on other accounts, very acceptable unto him; for he was a very steady man, and had the best head-piece of all Alexander's captains. And therefore Perdiccas, to gratify him, taking the two kings along with him, marched into Cappadocia, and, having vanquished Ariarathes, and cut him off, with all his family and kindred, settled Eumenes in the quiet possession of his government; and afterward having subdued Isaurus and Laranda, two cities of Pisidia, that had slain their governors and revolted, he marched into Cilicia, and there took up his winter quarters. While he lay there, he projected the divorcing of Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had lately taken to wife, and the marrying of Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, in her stead. She had been wife to Alexander king of Epirus; but he having been slain in his wars in Italy, she had ever since lived a widow, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Thither Perdiccas sent Eumenes to propose the match, and court her to it; for she being in great credit and esteem with the Macedonians, as sister to Alexander, both by father and mother, he proposed by this marriage to strengthen his interest with them, and then in her right to seize the whole empire. Antigonus getting knowledge of this project, and that the cutting of him off, to make way for the success of it, was one part of the scheme, he fled into Greece to Antipater and Craterus, who were then making war with the Ætolians, and discovered to them the whole plot; whereupon, clapping up a peace with the Ætolians, they immediately marched to the Hellespont to watch these designs, and took Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, into confederacy with them, for the better strengthening of themselves against them. This Craterus was one of the eminentest of Alexander's captains, and of all of them the best beloved and esteemed by the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had sent him to conduct home into Macedonia ten thousand of his veterans, who were by age, wounds, or infirmity, disabled for farther service, with orders to take upon him the government of Macedonia and Greece, in the room of Antipater, whom he had called to Babylon, as hath been before mentioned. And therefore, after the death of Alexander, these provinces having been assigned to him in joint authority with Antipater, he had accordingly taken on him the government of them in copartnership with him, and very amicably associated with him in all his wars, as especially he had done in this, which the discovery of Perdiccas's designs made it necessary for them to engage in. In the interim, Perdiccas sent Eumenes into his province, not only to put all things there in as good posture as

he could, but also to have a watchful eye upon Neoptolemus, governor of Armenia, which lay next him ; for Perdiccas had some suspicion of him, and not without cause, as it will afterward appear.

In the beginning of the next spring, Perdiccas having assembled all his forces together in Cappadocia, deliberated with his friends whether he should march immediately into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or else into Egypt against Ptolemy.^p Should he march first into Macedonia, the fear was, that Ptolemy, who had made himself very strong in Egypt, should take the advantage to seize all the greater Asia. For the preventing of this it was resolved not to leave Ptolemy at his back, but to reduce him first, and after that to carry the war into Macedonia, and that, in the interim, Eumenes should be left with a part of the army to guard the Asian provinces against Antipater and Craterus. For the executing of which resolutions, Perdiccas gave unto Eumenes the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, in addition to those he had before, and made him captain-general of all the countries from the Hellespont to Mount Taurus, ordering all the governors of them to obey his orders ; and then, by the way of Damascus and Palestine, marched into Egypt, carrying the kings with him in this expedition also, thereby to give the greater countenance and authority to his actings in it.

Eumenes, to make good his charge, lost no time in providing for himself an army to withstand Antipater and Craterus, who had passed the Hellespont to make war upon him.^q They, in the first place, made use of all manner of endeavours to draw him over to their party, promising him the provinces which he had, with the addition of others to them ; but he, being a steady man, would not, on any terms, be wrought upon to break his faith with Perdiccas. But they had better success with Alcetas and Neoptolemus ; for they prevailed with the former, though the brother of Perdiccas, to stand neuter, and with the other to come over to him ; but, while he was on his march to join their army, Eumenes fell upon him, and having vanquished him in battle, took from him all his baggage ; and Neoptolemus himself difficultly escaped, with three hundred horse only, to Antipater and Craterus, the rest of his forces, that were not cut off in battle, taking service under Eumenes. Whereon Antipater marched into Cilicia, from thence to pass into Egypt, to the assistance of Ptolemy, if his affairs should require it ;

^p Diod. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Eumene. Justin. lib. 13, c. 6. Corn. Nep. in Eumene. Arrian. in Excerptis Photii.

^q Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Diod. Sic. lib. 18. Justin. lib. 13, c. 8. Arrian. in Excerptis Photii.

and sent Craterus and Neoptolemus, with the rest of the army, into Cappadocia, against Eumenes; where, it coming to a battle between them, Craterus and Neoptolemus were both slain, and Eumenes gained an entire victory; which was wholly owing to his wisdom and military skill in ordering the battle; for, whereas the Macedonians generally had that love for Craterus, that not one of them would have drawn a sword against him, Eumenes ordered the matter so, that none of the Macedonians that were in his army knew that Craterus was with the enemy, till that he was slain, and the victory won.

In the interim Perdiccas entered Egypt, and there waged war against Ptolemy, but not with the same success. For Ptolemy, since his having entered on the government of Egypt, managed all things there with that justice and benignity, that he had not only made himself strong in the affection of the Egyptians, but had drawn many others thither, who flocked to him out of Greece and other countries, to enjoy the benefit of so just and mild a government; which added great increase to his strength; and the army of Perdiccas were so well affected to him, that they went with great unwillingness to make war against him, and many of them daily deserted to him; all which made against Perdiccas, and at last ended in his ruin; for, having unfortunately endeavoured to pass a branch of the Nile, which made an island in it over against Memphis, he had one thousand of his men drowned in the attempt, and as many more devoured by the crocodiles of that river; which angered the Macedonians who followed him to that degree, that, rising in a mutiny against him, they slew him in his tent, and most of his friends and confidants with him.^r About two days after came the news of Eumenes's victory. Had it been known two days sooner, it would have prevented the mutiny, and the revolution which afterward followed in favour of Ptolemy, Antipater, and those of their party. The next day after the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy passed over the Nile into his camp, and there so effectually pleaded his cause before the Macedonians, that he turned them all over to him; and, when the news of Craterus's death came, he took the advantage of that grief and anger with which he saw them actuated for it, as to cause them, by a public decree, to declare Eumenes, and fifty others of that party by name, enemies to the Macedonian state; and, by the same decree, Antipater and Antigonus were appointed to make war against them as such. And whereas all were inclined to have conferred on

^r Diodorus Siculus, lib. 18. Plutarch. in Eumene. Arrian. in Excerptis Photii. Pausan. in Atticis.

him the guardianship of the kings, in the room of Perdiccas, he rather chose to keep where he was, recommending Pithon and Aridæus to this charge, and by his interest it was that they were appointed to it. The former had been a noted commander in the army of Alexander through all his wars, and followed the party of Perdiccas till his late misfortune at the Nile; when, in dislike of his conduct, he deserted from him, and went over to Ptolemy. But as to the other, no mention is made of him, till, on the death of Alexander, he was appointed to take care of his funeral; for which having made great preparations, at length, after two years time spent herein, he carried the corpse in great solemnity from Babylon into Egypt, and there deposited it in the city of Memphis; from whence it was afterward translated to Alexandria. A prophecy having been given out, that wherever Alexander should be buried, that place of all others should be the most happy and prosperous, this put the chief governors of provinces upon a strife which of them should have the body of this deceased prince, each of them desiring to make the chief seat of his government happy by it. Perdiccas, out of love to his country, would have carried it to Egæ in Macedonia, the usual burying-place of the Macedonian kings, and others elsewhere. But Ptolemy prevailed to have it brought into Egypt; where Aridæus having carried it not long before the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy, in order to gratify him for it, procured that he was chosen into this office. But Eurydice, the wife of king Aridæus (now called Philip,) putting in to have all affairs managed according to her direction, and the Macedonians favouring her in this pretence, they were so tired with the impertinency of this woman, that, when they had led back the army to Tripa-radisus in Syria, they there resigned their charge, and it was conferred wholly on Antipater; who thereon made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, wherein he excluded all that had been of the party of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and restored all of the other party that had been dispossessed. In this new distribution Seleucus had the government of Babylon conferred on him; who, from this beginning, afterward grew up to be the greatest of Alexander's successors, as will hereafter be related. Antipater, having thus settled affairs, sent Antigonus to make war upon Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia, leaving his son Cassander, with Antigonus, in the command of general of the horse in his army, to be a spy upon him.

This year Jaddua, the high-priest of the Jews, being dead, Onias, his son, succeeded him in that office, and lived in it twenty-one years.^s

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8. Chron. Alex. Euseb. in Chronico

Early the next spring, Antigonus marched out of his winter quarters against Eumenes; and, at Orcynium, in Cappadocia, it came to a battle between them, in which Eumenes lost the victory, with eight thousand of his men.^t This was caused by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal commanders of his horse, who, being corrupted by Antigonus, deserted to him in the battle. However, the traitor escaped not the punishment which he deserved; for Eumenes, having taken him, caused him immediately to be hanged for it. After this, Eumenes shifted from place to place, till at length he was shut up in the castle of Nora, which was situated in the confines of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he endured the siege of a whole year.

An. 320.
Philip 4.

In the mean time, Ptolemy, finding how convenient Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, lay for him, both for the defence of Egypt, as well as for the invading from thence the island of Cyprus, which he had an eye upon, resolved to make himself master of these provinces. They were, in the first partition of the provinces of the empire, granted to Laomedon, the Mytelenian, one of Alexander's captains, and had been confirmed to him also in that second partition which was made by Antipater at Triparadisus; and he had accordingly, from the death of Alexander to this time, been possessed of them, without any interruption or disturbance. Ptolemy, at first, thought to have bought him out of them, and offered him vast sums for this purpose; but not prevailing this way, he sent Nicanor, one of his captains, with an army into Syria against him, while he with a fleet invaded Phœnicia. Nicanor, having vanquished Laomedon in battle, and taken him prisoner, thereon seized all the inland country, and Ptolemy had the same success on the maritime; so that hereby he made himself master of all those provinces; and Antipater being returned into Macedonia, and Antigonus otherwise engaged against Eumenes, neither of them could hinder this enlargement of his power, though both disliked it.^u

But when all other parts of the country, after this vanquishing of Laomedon, readily yielded to Ptolemy, the Jews alone refused to submit to this new master, and for some time stood out against him. For, having a just sense of the oath which they had sworn to the former governor, they were truly tenacious of the faith which they had thereby engaged to him; and therefore, till overpowered by force, would comply with nothing that was contrary to it.

^t Plutarch. et Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

^u Diodorus Siculus, lib. 18. Plutarch. in Demet. Joseph. Antig. lib. 12, c. 1. Appian. in Syriacis. Pausan. in Atticis.

Whereon Ptolemy marched into Judea, and laid siege to Jerusalem.^x The place, being strongly fortified both by art and nature, might have held out long against him, but that the Jews had then such a superstitious notion for the keeping of their sabbath, that they thought it a breach of their law concerning it, even to defend themselves on that day; which Ptolemy having observed, made choice of their sabbath to storm the place; and then took it in the assault, because none of them would, on that day, defend their walls against him. Josephus, being unwilling to expose his nation to the contempt of the Greeks for so ridiculous a folly, tells the story otherwise in his Antiquities, as if Ptolemy were admitted into Jerusalem upon articles of composition, and seized the place in breach of them; but other historians,^y and those whom he himself quotes elsewhere, give that other account of it which I have here related, and which I think was the truth of the matter; for it appears from the book of the Maccabees,^z that till Mattathias, and those with him, made a decree to the contrary, it was the stated opinion of the Jews, that they were to do nothing on the sabbath-day, even for the saving of their own lives, against those that fought against them.

When Ptolemy had thus made himself master of Jerusalem and all Judea, he did at first deal very hardly with the inhabitants; for he carried above one hundred thousand of them captives into Egypt.^a But afterward, reflecting on the steadiness with which they adhered to the fealty they had sworn to their former princes and governors, he thought them the properest for the highest trust; and therefore, having chosen out of them thirty thousand of the strongest and best qualified for military service, he committed to them the garrisoning and keeping of those towns which were of the greatest importance to him to have well maintained, and appointed the rest, at their desire, to be with them in the same places, to administer all necessaries to them. And whereas he had lately brought under him Cyrene and Libya, he placed several of them there; and from them were descended the Cyrenian Jews, of whom was Jason,^b who wrote the history of the Maccabees in five books, (of which the second book of Maccabees, which we now have, is an abridgment,) and of whom also was Simon^c that bore Christ's cross at his crucifixion, and others that are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.^d

x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 1. & contra Apion. lib. 1.

y Agatharcides ap Joseph. lib. 1, contra Apion. Vide etiam Aristeam.

z 1 Maccab. ii. 41.

a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 1. Aristeeas.

b 2 Maccab. i.

c Matt. xxvii. 32. Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26.

d Acts ii. 10; vi. 9.

Antipater being worn out with age, died in Macedonia,^e and at his death, appointed Polysperchon, who was the oldest of Alexander's captains then remaining, to be the guardian of the kings, and governor of Macedonia, in his stead; which Cassander resented with great indignation: for he could not bear that his father should prefer any one before him in this trust; and therefore he forthwith set himself to form a party against the new guardian, and seized as many places as he could within the verge of his government, both in Greece and Macedon, and purposed no less than the dispossessing him of all the rest. And for the better carrying on of all this design, he sent to Ptolemy and Antigonus, to engage them to be on his side in it; and they both encouraged him to proceed therein, but with a view only to their own interest. The aim of the former was to secure himself in the provinces he had gotten; and that of the other was, to possess himself of all Asia; and they thought, if the Macedonians were embarrassed by a war at home, they might both of them, with the greater ease, obtain their designs. For no sooner was Antipater dead, but Antigonus, finding himself possessed of the greatest power of all Alexander's captains then surviving, formed a project of making himself master of all: for he was left by Antipater generalissimo of all the Lesser Asia, with full authority over all the provinces in it, and had then under his command an army of seventy thousand men, besides thirty elephants; which was a force which no other power in the empire could then resist, and therefore he resolved to seize the whole. In order hereto, his first step was to make a reform in all the governments of the provinces within the verge of his power, by putting out all such governors as he had no confidence in, and placing others in their stead who wholly depended on him. And accordingly he drove Aridæus out of his government of the Lesser Phrygia and Hellespont, and Clitus out of that of Lydia, and so proceeded to do the same in all the other provinces and cities of the Lesser Asia. But his greatest difficulty was to master Eumenes, whose valour, wisdom, and military skill, made him more formidable to him than all the rest, though he had then been for a whole year shut up and besieged by him in the castle of Nora. And therefore he would make trial again to draw him over to him, and sent his countryman Jerom of Cardia, the famous historian of those times, to make proposals to him for this purpose; with whom Eumenes managed the treaty so wisely and craftily, that he got rid of the siege at the time, when he was almost

An. 319.
Philip 5.

brought to the point of perishing by it, and without obliging himself to any thing that Antigonus intended by the composition. For an agreement being made, and the oath whereby Eumenes was to swear to it being according to the form sent by Antigonus, that he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to Antigonus, he altered the form, putting it, that he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to Olympias, and the kings, as well as to Antigonus, and then referred it to the Macedonians that lay at the siege, to judge which was the most proper form; who, still retaining their affection for the royal family, gave their judgment for the latter. And therefore Eumenes having sworn according to this form, they raised the siege, and departed. But when Antigonus had an account how this matter was managed, he was so displeased at it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and immediately despatched his orders to have the siege again renewed. But they came too late to be put in execution: for Eumenes, immediately on the raising of the siege, quitted the fortress, and, with the five hundred men that bore the siege with him, marched into Cappadocia, and there got together of his old soldiers about two thousand more, and made all other preparations for the war which he knew would be again renewed against him.^f

In the interim, the defection of Antigonus from the interest of the kings, and setting up for himself, being notorious, a commission was sent to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, from Polysperchon their guardian, constituting him captain-general of all the Lesser Asia, with orders to Teutamus and Antigenes, commanders of the Argyraspides, to join with him, and, under his command, to make war against Antigonus.^g And those who had the keeping of the king's treasures were commanded every where to supply him with money for this war. And letters were sent every where from Olympias to the same purpose. Hereon Eumenes set himself with vigour to augment his forces with new recruits, and make all other preparations which might enable him successfully to execute all the orders he had received. But, before he could get together an army sufficient for it, Menander, one of Antigonus's captains coming upon him into Cappadocia, with a great army, he was forced to march thence in haste with only three thousand men that he had then about him. But having, by long marches, gotten over Mount Taurus into the country of Cilicia, he was there met by the Argyraspides, who, according to the orders received from the

^f Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in Eumene. Diod. ib.

^g Diod. Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos, ib.

kings, joined with him, they being in number about three thousand men. These were the remainders of the old soldiers of Alexander, by whom he had won all his victories; and he having given them, when they marched with him into India, shields plated over with silver, as a mark of special honour to them, from hence they were called the *Argyraspides*, that is, *the silver shielded* (for so that name signified in the Greek language.)^h And they were eminent, above all of their time, for valour and skill in war. But the year being then spent, Eumenes could do no more at that time than enter into winter quarters with them in that country.

While he lay there, he sent his emissaries into all parts to raise him more forces; who, being plentifully supplied with money, executed their commissions so successfully, that, in the ensuing spring, he took the field with an army of twenty thousand men, horse and foot; which did put all his enemies into no small fear of him.ⁱ And therefore Ptolemy, for the crushing of him, came with a fleet upon the coasts of Cilicia, and made all manner of attempts to draw off the *Argyraspides* from him; and Antigonus endeavoured the same by several emissaries sent into Eumenes's camp for this purpose. But both miscarried herein: for Eumenes carried himself with that benignity and affability to all that were with him, and conducted all his affairs with so much prudence, that he engaged the hearts of all his soldiers to him with so strong a link of affection and confidence, that not a man of all his army could be induced to desert him.

And therefore, having his army thus firmly fixed to him, he marched with them into Syria and Phœnicia, to dispossess Ptolemy of these provinces, which against all right, he had violently seized to himself.^k His intention hereby was to open a secure correspondence between him and Polysperchon by sea: for, could he have gotten the naval strength of the Phœnicians into his power, this, in conjunction with the fleet of Polysperchon, would have made them absolute masters of the seas, and they might then have sent and received succours to and from each other, according as their affairs should require; and had this design succeeded, they must have carried all before them. But the fleet of Polysperchon being, through the folly of Clitus who commanded it, all broken and destroyed by Antigonus, this baffled the whole project. For Antigonus, immediately on the gaining

^h Justin. lib. 12, c. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 8, c. 5.

ⁱ Diod. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in Eumene.

^k Diodor. Sic. *ibid.*

of this victory, put himself upon the march with a great army to find out Eumenes, who, having received intelligence, and finding himself not strong enough to encounter so great a force as Antigonus was bringing against him, he durst not stay his coming; but forthwith withdrew out of Phœnicia, and, marching through Cœlo-Syria, passed the Euphrates, and wintered at Carrhæ and Mesopotamia. This was the ancient Charan, or Haran, of the holy Scriptures, where Abraham dwelt before he came into the land of Canaan, and after that Nahor the brother of Abraham, and his posterity after him, had their habitation for several generations.¹ And it was, in the histories of after-ages, rendered famous for the great battle there fought between the Romans and the Parthians, wherein the former received that signal overthrow, in which Crassus, and most of their army under his command, were cut in pieces.^m The Turks now call it Haran by the old name; and it was, in late ages, famous for being the prime seat of the Sabians, a noted sect in the East, of which I have above spoken.ⁿ Hence those of this sect were called Haranites, as well as Sabians, in those parts.

Eumenes, while he lay at Carrhæ, sent to Pithon governor of Media, and Seleucus governor of Babylon, to join with him, for the aiding of the kings against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the kings for this purpose to be communicated to them.^o Their answer hereto was, that they should be very ready to give all aid to the kings, but would have nothing to do with him, who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. But the truth of the matter was, they feared the great genius of Eumenes; for the intention of most of Alexander's commanders, who, after his death, had divided the governments and provinces of his empire among them, was to set up for themselves, and make themselves sovereigns each in the country which he had seized; and it was with a view to this, that, on the death of Alexander, they did set up an idiot and an infant to have the names of sovereigns after him, that, under so weak a government, they might the better ripen their designs for the usurpations they intended; and all these measures they thought would be broken, if Eumenes got the ascendant; and therefore all of them that were for these measures were against him. But, whether his purpose was to advance himself to the sovereignty, or preserve it to the family of Alexander, is uncertain. His professions always were for the

An. 317.
Philip 7.

^m in Plutarch. in Crasso. Appian. in Parthiis. Strabo, lib. 16, p. 747.
ⁿ Vide Golii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 249, 250.
^o Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

family of Alexander, and, whatever his secret intentions might be, none of his actions made any discovery to the contrary. But this much is certain, that as he was the wisest and the valiantest of all Alexander's captains, so was he the most steady and faithful to all his obligations, having never falsified his faith in any one particular wherein he had engaged it; though he himself perished for want of it in others, as will be hereafter related.

From Carrhæ Eumenes marched, in the beginning of the spring, towards Babylon; in which march he had like to have lost all his army, by a stratagem of Seleucus upon him.^p For he having encamped on a plain near the Euphrates, Seleucus, by cutting the banks of the river, overflowed the place where he lay. But Eumenes, having immediately drawn off his army to an adjoining eminence, thereby saved them from the present danger, and the next day after, having found out a way again to drain off the overflowings, he marched off without receiving any great inconvenience from it: whereon Seleucus prayed truce with them, and permitted him safely to pass through his province to Susa, where he put his army into quarters of refreshment, and from thence sent messengers to all the governors of the upper provinces of Asia to call them to his assistance. He had before transmitted to them letters from the kings, which commanded them to join him for the support of the royal interest, and now he sent to let them know where he was, and to press upon them the speedy execution of the royal command. And his messengers found them all together, they having lately joined in a war against Pithon, governor of Media, which they had just then finished. For Pithon, playing the same game in those provinces of the Upper Asia that Antigonus did in the Lower, had put Philotas to death to seize his province, and intended to have proceeded in the same manner with the rest, till he should have usurped all to himself. Which being discerned, they all joined, under the command of Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, in a common war against him; in which having vanquished him in battle, they drove him out of Media, and forced him to fly to Babylon, to crave of Seleucus the protection of his life. And they were still encamped together after this victory, when Eumenes's messengers came unto them; whereon they immediately marched to Susa, and there joined him with all their forces, which consisted of about twenty-five thousand men, horse and foot. This reinforcement made him more than a match for Antigonus, who

was then on his march after him; but, the year being far advanced before he could reach the Tigris, he was forced to take up his winter quarters in Mesopotamia, where Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, joining him, they there concerted together the operations of the next campaign.

In the interim a great change happened in Macedonia.^q For Olympias, the mother of Alexander, having formerly fled out of Macedonia into Epirus with Alexander her grandson, and Roxana his mother, for fear of Antipater, now after his death was again returned, and having gotten the power of the kingdom into her hands, put Aridæus, the nominal king (whom they call Philip.) to death, with Eurydice his wife, after he had borne the title of king six years and seven months; and with him she slew also Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and an hundred more of his principal friends and adherents: which cruelty was retaliated upon her the next year after; for then Cassander, coming upon her with an army, besieged her in Pydna, and, having forced her to surrender, first shut her up in prison, and afterward caused her to be there put to death. After the cutting off of Aridæus, Alexander, the son of Roxana, alone bore the title of king, till at length he was also in like manner cut off by the treachery of those who usurped his father's empire. But almost all the time he bore this title alone, he bore it in a jail; for Cassander, after he had taken Pydna, shut up him and his mother in the castle of Amphipolis, till at length he murdered them both, to make way for himself to be king of Macedon; as will hereafter, in its proper place, be more fully related.

Antigonus, in the beginning of the spring, marched to Babylon, where, having joined the forces which Pithon and Seleucus had there got ready for him, he passed the Tigris to find out Eumenes; and, on the other hand, Eumenes was not wanting to put himself in a posture to encounter him, being now superior to him in the number of his forces, and much more so in the wisdom and sagacity of his conduct: not that the other was defective herein; for, next Eumenes, he was certainly the best general and the wisest politician of his time.^r But the great disadvantage which Eumenes lay under was, he commanded a volunteer army, it being made up of the forces brought him by the several governors of provinces, who had joined him, and every one of these would have the general command; and Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth,

An. 316.
Alexander
Ægus 1.

^q Diod. Sic. lib. 19. Justin, lib. 14.

^r Diod. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarch. et Corn. Nepos in Eumene.

there was not one of them but thought himself, for this reason, preferable before him. To master this difficulty, he pretended that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and showed him a royal pavilion richly furnished, with a throne in it, and told him, that, if they would sit in council there, he himself would be present to prosper all their consultations and undertakings upon which they should enter in his name; and, having wrought the superstition which they had for Alexander into a belief of this, he caused such a pavilion and throne to be erected as he pretended to have seen in his dream; and, placing a crown and sceptre in the throne, he prevailed with them there to meet in council, and consult together in common, under the presidency of Alexander, in the same manner as when he was alive, without owning any other superior; which quelled all farther strife about this matter; for hereby a priority was yielded to none, and all pretences to it being still kept alive, were reserved to the opportunities which the future events of their affairs might give to lay claim thereto. However, the army had that confidence in the great abilities of Eumenes, that, in time of battle, and in all cases of danger, he was always called to the supreme command, and the soldiers would not fight till they saw him in it. And, by the wisdom of his management, he brought it to pass in all other cases, that though in outward show he seemed to waive all superiority, yet in reality he had it, and all things were ordered according to his directions. And, the royal command to all the keepers of the public treasures being to give out unto Eumenes all such sums as he should think fitting to require, this command of the purse gave him the command of all things else; for hereby he was enabled constantly to pay his army, and also to give gratuities to the chief leaders among them; which had no small influence to engage them to him. And in this posture stood the affairs of both parties, when this year's war was begun, which was carried on with great vigour on both sides; and all Media and Persia became the field of it; for they ranged these countries all over with marches and counter-marches upon each other, and all manner of stratagems and trials of military skill were put in practice on both sides. But Eumenes having a genius much superior in all such matters, he did thereby, notwithstanding the disadvantages he lay under from a mutinous and ungovernable army, make the campaign end in his favour; for he had worsted Antigonus in two encounters, in which he had slain and taken a great number of his men; and, when winter approached, he secured the best quarters for himself in the province of Gabiena, and forced Antigonus to march northward, to

seek for his in the country of Media, at the distance of twenty-five days march from him.

But the licentiousness of Eumenes's soldiers being such that they would not be kept together, but, for the sake of a more luxurious plenty, scattered themselves over the province, and quartered at so great a distance from each other, as would require several days for them again to embody.^s Antigonus, on his having an account hereof, took a march towards him in the middle of winter, reckoning to be upon him before he should be able to get his army together, and thereby gain an easy and absolute victory over him. But Eumenes, who was never wanting in any precautions necessary for his security, had his spies and scouts so well placed, and so well furnished with dromedaries, the swiftest of beasts, to give him intelligence, that he had notice of this march of Antigonus some days before he could arrive, and thereby had time to defeat it by a stratagem, which saved the army, when all the other commanders gave it for lost. For getting up upon those mountains which lay towards the enemy, with such forces as were nearest at hand, he there caused them, the next night, to kindle fires in such manner as might represent the encampment of an army; which being seen by Antigonus's scouts at a great distance, and speedily notified to him, this made him believe that Eumenes was there with all his army ready to encounter him; and therefore, not thinking it proper to engage his men, as then fatigued and tired out by a long march, with a fresh army, he stopped so long to refresh them, that Eumenes had gotten all his forces together before he could come up with him, and then he found he came too late to put his designs in execution. However, not long after, this brought on a battle between them, wherein Eumenes got the victory; which would have proved decisive in his favour, but that he lost all the fruits of it, and himself too, by the treachery of his own men. For the battle being fought in a sandy field, the feet of the men and horses in the engagement raised such a dust, as involved all in a cloud, so that there was no seeing of any thing at the least distance: of which Antigonus taking the advantage, sent out a party of horse, that seized and carried off all the baggage of Eumenes's army, before they could be perceived; whereby he gained the main point, though he lost the victory. For Eumenes's soldiers, when returned from the pursuit of the enemy, finding their camp taken, and all their baggage, with their wives and children carried off, instead of using their

An. 315.
Alexander
Ægus 2.

^s Diod. Sic. Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos, *ibid.*

swords against the enemy again to recover them, turned all their rage upon their general; and therefore, having seized and bound him, sold him to Antigonus to redeem what they had lost, and then went all over to him; which absolutely determined the war for the interest of Antigonus; for immediately hereon he became master of all Asia, from the Hellespont to the river Indus. Eumenes being thus fallen into his hands, he was for some time in a doubt how to dispose of him, he having been formerly his intimate friend, while they both served together under Alexander. The remembrance hereof did at first put the affection he had for him into a struggle with his interest for the saving of his life; and Demetrius his son became an earnest solicitor for him, being very desirous, out of the generosity of his temper, that so gallant a man should be kept alive. But at length, reflecting on his immoveable fidelity to Alexander's family, how dangerous an antagonist he had in him on this account, and how able he was to disturb all his affairs, should he again get loose from him, he durst not trust him with life, and therefore ordered him to be put to death in prison. And thus perished the wisest and the gallantest man of the age in which he lived. He had not indeed the fortune of Alexander, but in every thing else far exceeded him: for he was truly valiant without rashness, and wise without timidity, readily foreseeing all advantages that offered, and boldly executing all that were feasible; so that he never failed of any thing that he undertook, but when disappointed by the treachery of his own men. By this means he lost the battle which he fought with Antigonus in Cappadocia; and by this means only was it that he was at last undone in Gabiena. After his death, Antigonus, with all his army, in the solemnest manner, attended his funeral pile, and showed him the greatest honour that could be done him after his death, and sent his bones and ashes, in a sumptuous urn of silver, to his wife and children into Cappadocia. But this could make no amends for the taking away of his life. However, it showed that even in the opinion of the worst of his enemies, he was a person of that eminent merit as deserved a much better fate.

Antigonus now looking on the whole empire of Asia as his own, for the better securing of it to him, made a reform through all the eastern provinces, putting out all such governors as he distrusted, and placing others, of whom he had greater confidence, in their stead, and such as he thought dangerous he cut off. Of this number were Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraspides: and he had marked out Seleucus, governor of Babylon, for

the same destruction ; but he, being aware of it, fled into Egypt, and there, under the protection of Ptolemy, saved his life. And as to the Argyraspides, who were those that betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province of the empire, giving it in charge to Sibyrtius, the governor of it, by all ways and means, to cause them there to be all consumed and destroyed, so that not a man of them might again return into Greece. And this he did out of a just abhorrence of the treachery which they had been guilty of towards their general, though he himself had the fruit of it.^t

In the interim, Seleucus being got safe into Egypt, he so effectually represented to Ptolemy the formidable power of Antigonos, as he also did to Lysimachus and Cassander, by messengers sent to them for this purpose, and made them so sensible of the danger they were in from it, that he drew them all three into a league against him. Antigonos being aware that Seleucus, on his flight, might endeavour to engage those princes into measures prejudicial to his interest, sent to each of them ambassadors to renew his friendship with them. But finding by their answers, and the high demands which they made, that nothing but a war was to be expected from them, he hastened out of the East into Cilicia ; and, having there taken care for the recruiting and reinforcing of his army, and ordered all things in the provinces of Lesser Asia as best suited with his interest, he marched thence into Syria and Phœnicia.^u

His intentions, in entering into these provinces, were to dispossess Ptolemy of them, and make himself master of their naval force : for, finding that a dangerous war was coming upon him from the confederated princes, and judging aright, that, without making himself master of the seas, there was no managing of it with success against them, he found it necessary to have the Phœnician ports and shipping at his command ; but he came too late for the latter of them, Ptolemy having carried away all the Phœnician shipping into Egypt before his arrival : neither did he easily make himself master of the ports ; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, held out against him. The two latter he soon reduced, but Tyre endured a siege of fifteen months before it could be brought to yield to him. However, having all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia in his power, he immediately set himself to the building of a fleet of ships in them, cutting down vast quantities of timber from Mount Libanus, and causing them to be carried to the

An. 314.
Alexander
Egeus 3.

^t Diod. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarch. in Demet. Appian. in Syriacis.

^u Diod. & Appian. *ibid.* Justin. lib. 15.

several ports where the ships were building ; in which works several thousands of hands were employed ; and by this means he soon equipped such a number of ships, as did, with those sent him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and other confederated places, make up a fleet, which soon gave him the mastery of the seas.^x That which chiefly egged him on with so much speed to provide himself with this fleet, was an affront offered him by Seleucus ; for while he lay encamped near Tyre on the seashore, Seleucus came thither with one hundred sail of Ptolemy's fleet, and Antigonus, not having any shipping to encounter him, he passed by the coast where he was encamped, in contempt of him, within the sight of all his army ; which very much disheartening his men, and raising a mean opinion of his power in such of his allies as were then present with him, for the remedy hereof he called them all together, and let them know, that even that very summer he would be on those seas with a fleet of five hundred sail, which no power of the enemy should be able to withstand ; and accordingly he made his word good before the end of the year.

But Antigonus finding, that while he was intent upon these affairs in Phœnicia, Cassander grew upon him in the Lesser Asia, he marched thither with one part of his army, and left Demetrius, his son (then a young man, not exceeding the twenty-second year of his age,) with the other part to defend Syria and Phœnicia against Ptolemy.^y By this time Tyre was reduced to great extremities ; for Antigonus's fleet being now set to sea, barred all provisions from being carried to them ; which soon brought them to a necessity of surrendering. However, they obtained terms for the garrison of Ptolemy to march safely thence with all their effects, and for the inhabitants to retain theirs without any damage. For Andronicus, who then commanded at the siege for Antigonus, was glad on any terms to gain so important a place, especially after being tired out with so long a siege ; for it lasted (as I have already said) fifteen months. It was but nineteen years before that Alexander had destroyed this city in such a manner, as it might seem to require the length of ages for it again to recover itself ; yet in so short a time it grew up again into a condition of enduring this siege for more than double the time of that of Alexander's. This shows the great advantage of trade : for this city being the grand mart, where most of the trade both of the East and West did then

An. 313.
Alexander
Ægus 4.

^x Diod. Sic. lib. 19.

^y Diod. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarch. in Demet. Appian. in Syriacis.

centre, by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pristine vigour.

Antigonus, on his coming into Lesser Asia, soon reduced the growing power of Cassander, and forced him to very mean terms of accommodation; but, after he had made them, he repented of the agreement, and would not stand to it, but sent to Ptolemy and Seleucus for assistance; and went on with the war; which detained Antigonus longer in those parts than he intended, and in the interim, gave Ptolemy the opportunity of gaining great advantages against him in the East.^z

For having with his fleet sailed to Cyprus, he reduced most of that island to him, and from thence made a descent first upon the Upper Syria, and next upon Cilicia; where having taken great spoils, and many captives, he returned with them into Egypt; and there having, by the advice of Seleucus, formed a design for the recovery of Phœnicia and Syria, he marched thither with a great army.^a On his coming to Gaza, he there found Demetrius ready to obstruct his farther progress. This brought on a fierce battle between them, in which Ptolemy gained the victory, having slain five thousand of Demetrius's men, and taken eight thousand captive; which forced Demetrius to retreat, first to Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phœnicia, as far back as the confines of the Upper Syria, and quit all Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœlo-Syria, to the victor. But, before he left Azotus, having sent to desire leave to bury the dead, Ptolemy not only granted him this, but sent him also all his equipage, tents, and furniture, with all his friends, family, and servants, without any ransom; which kindness Demetrius had the opportunity of returning, when, a while after, he got the like advantage of Ptolemy. All the other captives he sent into Egypt, to be there employed in his service on board his fleet; and then marching forward, had all the seacoast of Phœnicia forthwith surrendered to him, excepting only Tyre; for Andronicus, who had lately taken that city after the long siege I have mentioned, having then the government of it, held it out for some time.

But, at length the garrison-soldiers falling into a mutiny against him, delivered the place to Ptolemy, and him with it.

After these successes, Seleucus, having obtained of Ptolemy one thousand foot, and three hundred horse, marched eastward with them to recover Babylon.^b With so small a

^z Diod. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarch. in Demetrio.

^a Diod. ibid. Plutarch. in Demetrio. Justin, lib. 15, c. 1. Hecataeus Abderita apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^b Diod. Sic. lib. 19. Appian. in Syriacis.

force did he undertake so great an enterprise, and yet succeeded in it. On his coming to Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, he brought all the Macedonians that were there in garrison to join with him. And as soon as he drew near to Babylon, great numbers of the inhabitants of that province flocked to him: for remembering his mild government, and disliking the severity of Antigonus, they were glad of his return, and desirous to see him reinstated in his former command over them; and therefore, on his approach to the city, he found the gates opened to him, and he was received into the place with the general acclamation of the people. Whereon those who were of the party of Antigonus retired into the castle; but Seleucus, having now the possession of the city, and all the people on his side, soon made himself master of this fortress; and with it again received his children, friends, and servants, whom, on his flight into Egypt, Antigonus had there shut up in prison; and then applied himself to get together such an army as might enable him to keep what he had gotten: for he had not long been in possession of this city, ere Nicanor (who was governor of Media for Antigonus) put himself upon the march with an army to drive him thence. Seleucus, on his having received intelligence of it, passed the Tigris to meet him, and having gotten him at a disadvantage, stormed his camp in the night, and put his whole army to the route; whereon Nicanor, with some few of his friends, fled through the deserts to Antigonus, and all his forces that survived the route, part through dislike of Antigonus, and part through fear of the conqueror, joined with him. Whereby, having gotten a great army under him, he seized Media, Susiana, and other neighbouring provinces and places, and thereby firmly fixed his interest and his power in those parts; which he daily improved by the clemency of his government, and the justice, equity, and humanity, which he practised towards all that were under it; and, by these means, from so low a beginning, as I have mentioned, he grew up at length to be the greatest of all Alexander's successors.

From this retaking of Babylon by Seleucus, began the famous era of the Seleucidæ, made use of all over the East, by heathens, Jews, Christians, and Mahometans.^c It is called by the Jews,^d the *era of contracts*, because, after they fell under the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were forced to use it in all their contracts, and other instruments of civil affairs; and it afterward grew so much in use

^c Vide Scaliger. Petavium, Calvisium, aliosque chronolog. de hac æra.

^d Vide Vorstii Zemach David, p. 61. & Dissertationem R. Azariæ apud eundem in Observationibus ad Zemach David, p. 247, 248, &c.

among them, that, till a thousand years after Christ, they had no other way whereby to compute their time, but this *era of contracts* only; for it was not till then that they began to reckon by the years from the creation of the world. As long as they continued in the East, they continued in the eastern usage of computing by the *era of contracts* (as they called it;) but when about the year of our Lord 1040, they were driven out of the East, and forced to remove into these western parts, and here settled in Spain, France, England, and Germany, they learned from some of the Christian chronologers of these countries to compute by the years from the creation. The first year of this era, according to their reckoning, falls in the year of the Julian period 953, and takes its beginning from the autumnal equinox of that year. But the true year of the creation of the world, according to Scaliger's computation, was one hundred and eighty-nine years, and according to others, two hundred and forty-nine years, higher up than where this era of the Jews placeth it. However, the *era of contracts* is not at this time out of use among those people: for they continue still to reckon by it, as well as by the other. The Arabs call it *Taric Dilcarnain*, that is, *The Era of the Two-horned*. The reason of this name some deduce from Alexander, who is in the Alcoran and other Arabic books, frequently called *The two-horned*.^c And he is often found with two horns on his coins. This most likely proceeded from the fond vanity which he had of being thought the son of Jupiter Hammon: for that god of the heathens being usually represented with two rams' horns on his head, Alexander might cause himself to be so represented too, the better to make the fiction pass that he was his son. But this era hath no relation to Alexander, although it hath been, by some, ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name, *The era of Alexander*: for Alexander was dead twelve years before it began, and its commencement only was from the recovery of Babylon by Seleucus. And therefore it is most proper to deduce the origin of this Arabic name, *Taric Dilcarnain*, from Seleucus: and Appian gives us in him a sufficient reason for it; for he tells us, that Seleucus being a person of that great strength, that, laying hold of a bull by the horn, he could stop him in his full career, the statuarios for this reason usually made his statues with two bull's horns on his head.^f And therefore it is most likely, that he, and not Alexander, was first meant by *The two-horned* in the Arabic name of this era: for it was from him,

^c Vide Golii Notas ad Alfraganum, p. 57, 58, et Alfraganum ipsum, c. 1, sect. De Æris, p. 6.

^f In Syriacis editionis Folliane Amstelodami, p. 201.

and not from Alexander, that it had its origin. It is, in the books of the Maccabees,^g called *The era of the kingdom of the Greeks*, and they both of them compute by it. But, whereas the first book of the Maccabees begins the years of this era from the spring, the second begins them from the autumn following, and so did the Syrians, Arabs, and Jews. and others that anciently did, or now do use this era, excepting the Chaldeans. For they, not reckoning Seleucus to be thoroughly settled in the possession of Babylon, till the spring in which Demetrius made that retreat from thence, which we shall speak of in the next year following, they began not this era till from that spring, and, for the same reason, reckoned the beginning of all the years of it from that season also. So that whereas all other nations that computed by this era, began it from the autumn of the year before Christ 312, it had not its commencement among the Chaldeans till from the spring of the year next after following.

In the interim, Ptolemy having again made himself master of all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cœlo-Syria, sent Cilles, one of his generals, to take possession of the Upper Syria also, and drive Demetrius thence, who was then retreated thither.^h But Cilles, out of contempt of the baffled enemy he had to deal with, making his encampments negligently and loosely, Demetrius, on his having an account hereof from his spies, by a long and speedy march, came upon him before he was aware, and surprising him in the night, got an absolute victory over him, taking his camp, and making him and seven thousand of his men prisoners of war; which equalling the defeat he had before received at Gaza, again balanced the matter between him and Ptolemy; and also put it in the power of Demetrius (for the sake of which he most valued this victory) to make a return to Ptolemy of the kindness he had before received from him: for, after this victory he sent back unto him Cilles, and all his friends, without ransom, in the same manner as Ptolemy had before sent back to him all his friends after the victory which he had gotten over him at Gaza.

Antigonus receiving an account at Celenæ in Phrygia, (where he then resided) of this victory of his son's over Cilles, hastened thence into Syria, to prosecute there the advantages of it; and having passed Mount Taurus, joined his son in the upper Syria:ⁱ whereon Ptolemy, finding himself not strong enough to encounter the joint forces of the father and son together, dismantled Ace, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza,

g 1 Maccabees i. 10.

h Diodor. lib. 19. Plutarch. in Demetrio.

i Diodor. et Plutarch. ib.

and retreated again into Egypt, carrying with him most of the riches, and a great number of its inhabitants of the country. Whereon all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cœlo-Syria, returned again under the power of Antigonus.

The inhabitants of those countries, whom Ptolemy carried with him into Egypt on his retreat, followed him thither rather voluntarily, and out of free choice, than by compulsion :^k for he being a person of a very benign temper, and having always shown great clemency and humanity to all under his government, this so far captivated the hearts of those people to him, that they rather chose to follow him into a strange country, than tarry the coming of Antigonus in their own (from whom they expected a contrary treatment;) and that especially since they had terms of great advantage offered them by Ptolemy, to invite them to this removal; for his mind being then much set upon the making of Alexandria to be the capital of Egypt, was glad of all that he could get to come thither to inhabit the place, and offered great privileges and immunities to draw them thither. And here Ptolemy planted all those that followed him in this retreat; among whom were a great number of the Jews. Alexander had planted several of that nation there before; and Ptolemy, after his first eruption into Judea, had brought from thence many more of them thither, where they enjoyed the benefit of a plentiful country, a secure protection, and many other advantages.^l The report whereof coming into Judea, excited in many others there a desire to follow them; and accordingly many did so on this occasion: for Alexander had, on his first building this city, given them, for their encouragement to plant there, the same privileges and immunities with his Macedonians; and Ptolemy had continued the same to them. By which means the Jewish quarter in that city increased to the number of several thousand families; and many Samaritans, as well as Jews, upon the like encouragement, became inhabitants of this place, and there multiplied to a great number.^m

Among those that followed Ptolemy into Egypt on this occasion, one was Hezekias, a person of eminent note among that people, and one of their chief priests.ⁿ Hecataeus, the historian, being then with Ptolemy, makes particular mention of him, as a person of great wisdom and prudence, a powerful speaker, and one that thoroughly understood the world, being then about sixty years old. And farther, he saith, that he having contracted an acquaintance with him, they had fre-

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 1. et contra Apion. lib. 1, 2.

^l Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 2.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 1.

ⁿ Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 1.

quent conferences together; and that in them he learned from him what was the religion, policy, and manner of living of the Jews, wherein they differed from other nations; all which, he saith, this Hezekias had with him written in a book; which book, no doubt, was the book of the law of Moses. And I doubt not it was by this person that he was induced to have so favourable an opinion of the Jews and their religion; and that it was from him that he received the information of most of that which he wrote of them: for he composed a particular history of the Jews, therein treating of them from Abraham down to his time;^o in which he speaks so honourably of them, and their religion, that Origen tells us,^p Herennius Philo,^q an heathen writer, who flourished about the time of Trajan, the Roman emperor, did, for this reason, raise a doubt, whether it were the genuine work of Hecataeus or not; making this inference from hence concerning it, that either it was composed by some Jew under the name of Hecataeus, or else, if he were the true author of it, he was corrupted to the Jewish religion when he wrote it. If one of these two must be the truth (though I see no necessity for it,) the latter is as possible as the other. This Hecataeus was of Abdera, a Grecian city in Thrace, which had been famous for the birth of Democritus, Protagoras, and other learned men.^r He was bred up with Alexander, and followed him in all his wars, and, after his death put himself under the protection of Ptolemy, and lived with him in Egypt; where having, from the conversation which he had with this learned Jew, and others of that nation, who followed Ptolemy thither, fully informed himself of their laws, customs, and religion, he wrote that history of them, which I have mentioned: out of which Josephus hath extracted several passages in his writings, especially in his first book against Apion. But the book itself is not now extant. There was another very noted historian of the same name; but he was a Milesian, and lived long before in the time of Darius Hystaspes.

Josephus tells us of another Jew, called Mosollam, who, about this time, followed Ptolemy, and had listed himself an horseman in his army; and, out of the same Hecataeus gives us a very remarkable story of him.^s The words of Hecataeus are as followeth: "As I was travelling towards the Red Sea, there was in company with us a certain Jew, called Mosollam, one of a Jewish troop of horse that was sent to

^o Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1, c. 8, & contra Apion. lib. 1.

^q Vide Vossium de Hist. Gr. lib. 2, c. 10.

^r Vide Vossium de Hist. Gr. lib. 1, c. 10.

^s Contra Apionem, lib. 1.

be our convoy, a very valiant man; and remarkable for his great skill in archery, in which he excelled even all the Greeks and barbarians of his time. As several of us were travelling on in this journey together, a certain sooth sayer, who took upon him to foretell the fortune of our journey, bade us all stand still, and we did so. Whereon this Jew asked us what we stood for. Look ye, answered the cunning man, and showed him a bird. If that bird stands, said he, ye are to stand; and if he riseth and flies on, ye are to go forward too; but if the bird takes its flight the contrary way, you must all go back again. The Jew hereat, without speaking a word, lets fly an arrow, and kills the bird; whereon the diviner, and some of the company, had great indignation, and fell on him in most outrageous terms. Why certainly, saith the Jew to them, are ye not all mad to make such a bustle about a foolish bird? How could that poor wretched creature pretend to foreshow us our fortune, that knew nothing of its own? If this bird could have foretold good or evil to come, it would have kept out of this place, for fear of being slain by the arrow of Mosollam the Jew." Thus far Hecatæus, who, it is plain, tells this story on purpose to expose and condemn the superstition of the heathens, which then obtained concerning such matters, and to commend and extol the wisdom of the Jews, in rejecting and despising all those follies.

Antigonus, having thus recovered all Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea, out of the hands of Ptolemy, sent Athenæus, An. 311. Alexander Egus 6. one of his lieutenants, with an army, against the Nabathæan Arabs.^t They, being a clan of thieves, had made inroads upon the countries now under his command, and carried off much plunder from them, and, to be revenged of them for it, Antigonus sent these forces against them. The chief city of those Arabs was Petra; which, standing on an high rock in the deserts, was from thence called by the Greeks Petra, by the Hebrews Sela,^u and, by the Arabs, Hagar:^x for Hagar signifieth the same in Arabic, that Sela doth in Hebrew, and Petra in Greek, that is, a *rock*, and hence it is that St. Paul calls Mount Sinai Hagar;^y for that was all a rocky mountain, which, beginning at the Red Sea, runs a great way into Arabia; and on part of it the city of Petra was built. There being a certain mart at stated seasons held in the neighbourhood, the Nabathæans having left their wives, children, and aged, with their goods, under a guard at Petra, were gone to this mart.^z Athenæus craftily laying

^t Diod. Sic. lib. 19.

^x Vide Bocharti Geograph. Sacram, part 1, lib. 4, c. 27.

^y Galatians iv. 25.

^u Isa. xvi. 1. 2 Kings xiv. 7.

^z Diod. Sic. lib. 19.

hold of this opportunity, by long marches, got to Petra in their absence, and, having surprised the place, slew the guards, and carried off all the plunder that he found in the place, and then marched back with as much speed as he came; and when he had gotten at such a distance, that he thought himself out of the reach of the enemy, he stopped to refresh his men with rest, now tired out with so long a march; but, not taking sufficient care to secure his encampment, the enemy, having gotten early notice of what he had done, made a speedy pursuit after him, and, falling upon him in the night, while his men were all drowned in sleep and weariness, they cut off all of them, excepting only fifty horsemen that escaped, and recovered the whole booty. After this, returning to Petra, they from thence wrote letters to Antigonus in the Syriac language, accusing Athenæus of the wrong he had done them. To which Antigonus, temporizing with the present necessity, returned such an answer as disowned the enterprise of Athenæus, and allowed the revenge as just which they had taken of him. But, as soon as he had gotten more forces ready, he sent his son Demetrius with them to execute that vengeance upon those robbers which the other failed of.^a Who, having received his orders, marched with all the haste he could, hoping to be upon them before they should know of his coming. But, his march being discovered, notice was given of it by fires all over the country; which immediately brought them all together to Petra, where they having left a strong garrison, and divided the booty between them, which had been there laid up, fled with it into the deserts, driving all their flocks and herds with them. So that Demetrius, on his coming thither, finding the place too well provided to be taken, made peace with those people upon the best terms he could, and returned; and, after a march of three hundred furlongs (which is about thirty-six of our miles,) he came to the lake Asphaltites, and there encamped. This was also called by some the Sea of Sodom, by others the Dead Sea, and in Scripture the Salt Sea.^b It was called the Sea of Sodom, because there Sodom once stood; the Dead Sea, because it is a stagnated water without any motion, and in which no living creature is said to be found; the Salt Sea, because of its exceeding saltness; and Asphaltites from the Greek word Asphaltus,^c which signifieth *bitumen*;^d which it produceth in great quantities, and the best that can any where be found. And this last is the name by which the Greeks and Latins called it. At present, the adjacent inha-

^a Plutarch. in Demetrio. Diod. Sic. lib. 19.

^b Gen. xiv. 3. Numb. xxxiv. 3. 12. Deut. iii. 17. Josh. iii. 16.

^c Ασφαλτος.

^d Plin. lib. 5, c. 16.

bitants call it the Lake of Lot.^e It extends, from north to south, about seventy of our miles in length, and is about eighteen miles over in the broadest place.^f On the east side of it anciently lay the land of Moab, and on the west side that part of the land of Canaan which was the portion of the tribe of Judah; and, towards the south, it abutted upon the land of Edom. The rivers Jordan and Arnon run into it at the north end, and are there lost. For nothing runs out of it again; but, like the Caspian Sea, it receives brooks and rivers into it, and emits none out; wherein it is of a contrary nature to the sea or lake of Tiberias (called the sea of Galilee,^g and the lake of Genesareth^h in the gospels,) on which our Saviour was so conversant; for that, as it receiveth the river Jordan at one end, so emits it again at the other. But when it falls from thence into the lake Asphaltites, it is there absorbed, and no more heard of. Demetrius, on his encamping on this lake,ⁱ observing the nature of it, and that a good revenue might be made of the bitumen which it yielded, gave Antigonus an account of it on his return. Antigonus, though noway pleased with the peace which he had made with the Nabathæans, whom he sent him to destroy, yet applauded him for the discovery he had made of a way for the augmenting of his revenue by the bitumen of this lake, and immediately sent thither Jerom the Cardian to take care of it. But when he had, according to his instructions, gotten ready several boats fit for the purpose, and was gathering into them all the bitumen of the lake to carry it all to one place, there to be disposed of for the benefit of Antigonus, the Arabs, to the number of six thousand men, fell upon him, and, having destroyed his boats, and slain most of his men employed in them for this work, drove him thence, and thereby put an end to this project. This Jerom,^k being a fellow-citizen of Eumenes, followed his party to the time of his death; but, being then taken prisoner by Antigonus, he after that entered into his service, and was appointed by him to this employment. Many years after this, he was governor of Syria for Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus;^l for he lived to a great age,^m being one hundred and four years old at the time of his death; and his eminent skill in all affairs, both of the

^e Baudrandi Geographia. sub voce Asphaltites.

^f See Maundrel's Journey to Jerusalem, p. 83, 84. Thevenot's Travels, part 1, book 2, c. 41.

^g Matt. iv. 18; xv. 29. Mark i. 16. John vi. 1.

^h Luke v. 1.

ⁱ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 19.

^k Vide Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 1, c. 11.

^l Josephus contra Apion. lib. 1. Where observe, the translators here put Antigonus instead of Antiochus, by a wrong variation from the Greek text.

^m Lucianus de Longævis.

camp and cabinet, recommended him to the favour and first respects of the princes under whom he served. He wrote the history of Alexander, and his successors, and their posterity, down to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and beyond it; but though he had lived long in Syria and Phœnicia, first under Antigonus, and afterward under Seleucus, and Antiochus his son, and therefore was well acquainted with the state and affairs of the Jews, and had many occasions in his history to make mention of them; yet he passeth them over in a total silence, not speaking as much as one word of them; for which he is faulted by Josephus,ⁿ as if this his neglect of them proceeded from his malice and envy towards those people.

Antigonus, receiving an account from Nicanor of the successes of Seleucus in the East,^o sent Demetrius his son with an army to Babylon to drive him thence, and recover that province out of his hands. In the interim, he himself marched towards the maritime parts of Lesser Asia, to suppress the power of the three confederated princes, which was there growing against him, and appointed a time for his son to come thither to him, after he should have executed the commission on which he sent him to Babylon. Demetrius, according to his father's order, having gathered together his forces at Damascus, marched thence to Babylon; and, Seleucus being then absent in Media, he entered that city without opposition. For Patrocles, whom Seleucus had left his lieutenant in that place, finding himself not strong enough to encounter Demetrius, had retreated with those forces he had with him into the fens; where, being surrounded with rivers, ditches, and morasses, he there protected himself by the inaccessibleness of the place, and ordered all the rest to flee out of the city; whereof some passing the Tigris, and others retreating into the deserts, and others in other places of safety, thereby saved themselves till the enemy was again retired. Demetrius, finding the city deserted, laid siege to the castles; for there were two of them in that city, well garrisoned, and of large extent. These were the two palaces which I have above described; of which one stood on the one side of the Euphrates, and the other on the other side, just over against it. One of these he took, and, having expelled the garrison of Seleucus, placed one of his own in it of seven thousand men. The other held out till the time limited to him by his father for his return. And therefore, leaving Archelaus, one of his principal commanders, with one thousand horse, and five thousand foot, to continue the siege, he

ⁿ Lib. 1, contra Apion.

^o Diod. lib. 10. Plutarchus in Demetrio.

marched back with the rest of his army into Lesser Asia, to the assistance of his father, having first plundered the whole province of Babylon of all he could lay his hands on in it; by which he absolutely alienated the hearts of all the people from Antigonus, and firmly united them to Seleucus and his interest ever after. For even those who had till then been for Antigonus, concluding that his forces would never have used them so, had there been any intentions for their returning to them again, took this act of depredation to be a declaration of their resolutions to desert them for the future; and therefore they made their peace with Seleucus, and all went, without any farther reserve, entirely over to his interest. So that, on his returning to Babylon, after the retreat of Demetrius, he soon expelled the forces he had there left, recovered the castle which he had garrisoned, and thenceforth settled his interest in those parts upon so firm a foundation, that it could be never after any more shaken. And therefore from this year the Babylonians began the epocha of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Asia placed its commencement in the year before, as I have already observed.

Demetrius, on his return into Lesser Asia, having raised the siege of Halicarnassus, which was besieged by Ptolemy, this brought on a treaty of peace between the confederated princes and Antigonus; in which it was agreed, that Cassander should have the command of all in Macedonia, till Alexander, the son of Roxana, should be grown up; that Lysimachus should have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt, and the adjacent parts of Libya and Arabia; and Antigonus all Asia; and that all the Grecian cities should enjoy their liberties.^p But this agreement did not last long; for many infractions of it being pretended on both sides, as soon almost as it was made, this brought them all again into the war. But the true reason was the great power of Antigonus; and the daily growing of it was a continual terror to the other three, and therefore they could not sit quiet till they had suppressed it.

Alexander, the son of Roxana, being grown up to the fourteenth year of his age, Cassander thought it not consistent with his ambitious designs to let him live any longer; for, he being resolved to seize the kingdom of Macedon for himself, it was necessary for him first to make away with the true heir; and therefore sent to the castle of Amphipolis, where he had for several years shut him up, and his mother, and caused them both to be there privately murdered.^q However, Ptolemy, in his canon, continues to reck-

An. 310.
Alexander
Ægus 7.

p Diodorus lib. 10. Plutarch. in Demetrio.
q Diodorus lib. 19. Pausanias in Bæoticiis.

on the years of his reign in the same manner as if he were alive, till at length those who had divided the empire of Alexander among them, after having long usurped the regal authority, took also the regal style, and declared themselves kings, each in the particular countries which they had taken possession of.

Polysperchon, who governed in Peloponnesus, hearing of the death of Roxana and her son,^r laid hold of this occasion to make loud exclamations against Cassander for the fact, accusing him every where for the villany of it, that he might thereby excite the odium of the Macedonians against him. All this he pretended to do out of his zeal and affection for the house of Alexander ; and, to make the greater show hereof, he sent for Hercules, the other son of Alexander, which he had by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, and, having gotten him and his mother to him from Pergamus, where hitherto he had been brought up, he proposed to the Macedonians the instating of him in his father's kingdom ; which very much terrifying Cassander, soon brought him to an agreement with him on his own terms. and, when he had gained those terms, having obtained all that he proposed for the better securing of himself in the possession of them, he was easily induced by Cassander to cut off this son of Alexander's also. And therefore, the next year following, he caused him and his mother to be put to death in the same villanous manner as Cassander had the other son and his mother before. And thus each acted his part in destroying the heirs, that, after their death, they might with the better safety share the inheritance between them.

Ptolemy having renewed the war against Antigonus, for the reason I have mentioned, took by his lieutenants several cities from him in Cilicia and elsewhere. But Demetrius soon dispossessed him again of all in Cilicia ; and other of Antigonus's lieutenants had the same success against him in other places.^s Only in Cyprus, Ptolemy having, by cutting off Nicocles, king of Paphos, extinguished all the interest that Antigonus had in that island, thereby secured it wholly to himself.

This year Epicurus, being thirty-two years old, first began to poison the world with his impious philosophy.^t He first taught it at Mitylene in the isle of Lesbos, and afterward at Lampsachus on the Hellespont, and after that at Athens, of which city he originally was. He returned thither, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and there kept his school in a

^r Diodorus, lib. 20. Pansanias in Bœoticis.

^s Diodorus, *ibid.*

^t Laertius in Vita Epicuri. See Stanley's History of Philosophy, part 13.

garden, till the sixty-third year of his age, in which he died. According to him, all things were first made, and have ever since subsisted, by chance. For he denied that the world was created by the power of God, or is at all governed by his providence. He held also, that there is no future state ; but that this world is every man's all, and that the highest felicity attainable here, is the highest good that man is capable of ; and this he placed in indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind ; but held that virtue and morality were the only true means of attaining thereto. And therefore, though our modern infidels build their impious doctrines upon Epicurus's philosophy, yet they cannot their immoral and wicked lives. For if virtue alone be the only true way whereby to attain that indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind, in which, according to this scheme, the highest felicity of man doth consist, it must certainly be every man's highest wisdom to practise it. Out of this impious school have sprung the Sadducees of the Jews, the Zendichees of the Arabs, and the Deists of the present age. The first of those, it is to be acknowledged, went no farther than to the denial of angels, spirits, and a future state ; for they acknowledged the world to be created by the power of God, and to be governed by his providence ; and therefore they received the law of Moses, but with the expectation of none other, than of temporal blessings for the reward of keeping it ; but the other two go through-stitch with the whole of this impious scheme, excepting only that part of it which recommends a virtuous life.

Ptolemy, to make himself amends for his losses in Cilicia, invaded Pamphylia and Lycia, and other maritime parts of Asia, and divested Antigonos of Phaselis, Caunus, Mindus, and several other cities which he before held on those coasts.^u

And then, sailing into the Ægean Sea, now called the Archipelago, he took in the island of Andrus ; and from thence passing to the continent, there possessed himself of Sicyon, Corinth, and several other places.^u

While he was in those parts, he entertained a correspondence with Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander. She was the same that was married to Alexander king of Epirus, at the time when her father Philip was slain, and had ever since the death of her husband (who fell in his wars in Italy) lived a widow, and, for several years past, had her residence at Sardis in Lydia ; but being there ill used by Antigonos, under whose power that city was, Ptolemy took that opportunity to draw her over to his party, and invited her to him,

An. 309.
Alexander
Ægus 8.

An. 308.
Alexander
Ægus 9.

hoping to make her presence with him turn to his advantage in his war with Antigonus. But, when she had put herself upon the journey to go to him, Antigonus's lieutenant, who governed for him at Sardis, stopped her on the road ; and having brought her back thither again, caused her, a little after, by the order of Antigonus, privately to be put to death. Whereon Antigonus, coming himself to Sardis, condemned to death those women of her retinue by whose hands the murder was committed, and then celebrated the funeral of the dead lady in a very solemn and sumptuous manner, thinking thereby to avoid the odium and infamy of the fact ; whereas such hypocritical devices do most an end prove those facts which they are contrived to disown, and rather increase than prevent the detestation that is due to the authors of them. But this was not the only vile fact he committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy built their interest upon the clemency and justice of their government, whereby they established to themselves lasting empires, which continued in their families for many generations after. But Antigonus, being a man of a quite contrary disposition, acted all by violence, sticking at nothing that he thought would promote his interest, how wicked and vile soever ; and therefore, according to his rule of proceeding, every thing, and every person, was to be removed, that stood in the way of his designs, without any regard had either to justice or humanity ; and thus he proceeded to support himself by force only, till, at length, that failing, he lost both his empire and his life with it : and may such be the fate of all others that follow the same courses.

Ophellas, prince of Libya and Cyrene, being slain by Agathocles king of Sicily, Ptolemy again recovered those provinces.^y Ophellas was a soldier of Alexander's, and, after his death, followed the fortune of Ptolemy, and went with him into Egypt. From thence he was sent by him to reduce Libya and Cyrene to his obedience, these being provinces assigned to Ptolemy, as well as Egypt and Arabia, on the division of the empire ; in which expedition having succeeded, and being thereon made governor for Ptolemy of these countries, he seized them for himself ; and Ptolemy's other engagements, against Antigonus and Demetrius, not giving him leisure to look that way, he continued undisturbed in the possession of them till this year. But Agathocles being now in Africa making war against the Carthaginians, and finding he wanted more strength to carry it on, invited Ophellas into an alliance with him, promising

An. 370.
Alexander
Ægus 10.

him no less than the empire of all Africa for the reward of the undertaking. This bait was readily swallowed by Ophellias; and therefore having gotten together an army of twenty thousand men, after a long march, he joined Agathocles with them in the territories of the Carthaginians. But the wicked tyrant, when strengthened by so great a reinforcement, having gained all that he intended, treacherously cut off Ophellias, and used his army only for his own interest. How this succeeded with him, I shall not here relate. All that is to my purpose is, to show how Ptolemy after this again recovered the provinces of Libya and Cyrene: for Ophellias being thus slain, and this ill-projected expedition having drained those countries of all their forces, they forthwith fell again under the power of Ptolemy, without opposition, and he and his successors continued to hold them as provinces of the kingdom of Egypt for several ages after. And, under the protection of those princes, the colony of the Jews, which had been there planted by this first Ptolemy (as hath been above mentioned) increased, and grew to a great number. For in the time of Vespasian, no fewer than three thousand of them were put to death in that country for one mutiny;^z and yet, within a few years after, under the reign of Trajan, they mastered the whole province, and slew of the other inhabitants of it above two hundred thousand persons; which could not have been done, had not they been a great number that effected it.^a This Ophellias had for his wife Eurydice, a fair Athenian lady, of the descendants of Miltiades.^b On the death of her husband, she returned to Athens, where Demetrius, meeting her the next year after, fell in love with her, and took her to wife.

For Demetrius came thither in the beginning of that year, to restore, as he pretended, the liberties of that and the other cities of Greece; but in reality to expel thence the garrison of Cassander, and depress his power in those parts; which having fully effected by driving Demetrius Phalereus out of that city, he returned again to his father.^c

This Demetrius Phalereus had governed Athens under Cassander ten years.^d And never were the Athenians under a more just government, or enjoyed greater peace and happiness than while he presided over them;^e and, in acknowledgment hereof, they erected for him as many statues in

z Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7, c. 31.

a Xephilin in Trajano.

b Plut. in Demetrio.

c Diod. Sic. lib. 20. Plut. in Demet.

d Laertius in Vita Demet. Phalerei. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

e Sic. de Legibus, lib. 2. & in Oratione pro Rabirio. Ælian. Hist. Var. lib. 3, c. 17.

that city, as there were days in the year;^f and than this a greater honour was never done to any citizen of that place: and of all this, and much more, was he well deserving: for he was not only a learned philosopher, but also a person of great wisdom, justice, and probity, and these virtues he exercised in a very eminent degree through all the acts of his government. On his now being dispossessed of it, he retired to Cassander, and, after his death, went into Egypt to Ptolemy, and is said there to have had the chief management of Ptolemy's library, and to have procured for it that translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek which we now call the Septuagint;^g of which we shall treat hereafter in its proper place, where we shall have occasion to speak more of him.

Demetrius, on his return from Athens, was sent by his father with a great fleet and army, to dispossess Ptolemy of the island of Cyprus;^h and therefore, sailing thither, he made a descent upon it at Carpasia; and, having taken that city and Urania, he marched to Salamine, the capital of the whole island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who was then chief commander for him in Cyprus, being at that time with most of his forces in Salamine, went forth on his approach to that place, and gave him battle; but, being overborne by the number and valour of the enemy, he was forced to retreat into the city, with the loss of one thousand of his men slain, and three thousand taken prisoners, and there prepare for the bearing of a siege. From whence Ptolemy, having an account sent him of his misfortune, got ready a great fleet with all the expedition he was able, and sailed thither for his succour. This brought on a great fight at sea between the contending princes; in which Demetrius having obtained the victory, Ptolemy was forced to take his flight back into Egypt with eight ships only, leaving all behind him in the power of the conqueror: whereon the whole island of Cyprus, with all the forces, shipping, and magazines, that Ptolemy had therein, fell into his hands. The prisoners at land amounted to about seventeen thousand men, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. Menelaus the brother, and Leontiscus the son of Ptolemy, being among the captives, Demetrius sent them both home, with their friends and dependents, without ransom, in remembrance of the like kindness shown him by Ptolemy after the battle of Gaza. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces; so that

^f Laer. *ibid.* Plin. lib. 34, c. 5. Strabo, lib. 9. Corn. Nep. in Miltiade. Plut. in Libro de Reipublicæ Gerendæ Præceptis.

^g Arist. Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 12, c. 2.

^h Plut. in Demet. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 20. Just. lib. 15, c. 2.

hereby he very much increased his military strength both by sea and land, as well as enlarged his father's dominions, by adding this large and rich island to them.

Antigonus, on the news of this victory, being very much elated by it, thenceforth assumed the title of king, and wore a crown, and sent another crown to Demetrius, and gave the title of king to him also; and from this time they both used it in all their epistles, orders, decrees, and other writings: which the Egyptians hearing of, that Ptolemy, to whom they bore great affection, might not seem lessened by his misfortunes, they gave him also the same title.ⁱ This example being followed by Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, they also about the same time assumed the title of kings, each in their respective territories; in which they had all along before usurped the regal authority.

By this time Seleucus was grown very great in the East.^k

For, having slain Nicanor in battle, who was sent against him by Antigonus, he not only secured to himself hereby Media, Assyria, and Babylon, but, carrying his arms farther, reduced under him Persia, Bactria, Hyrcania, and all the other provinces on this side the Indus, which Alexander had before made himself master of.

Antigonus, to pursue the blow which Demetrius had given Ptolemy in Cyprus, drew together into Syria an army of near one hundred thousand men for the invading of Egypt, hoping there to get as easy a victory over him as he had at Cyprus, and so dispossess him of that country also.^l While he marched thither with his bulky army, Demetrius his son coasted him with as great a fleet at sea, till they came both to Gaza; where, having concerted matters between them, Demetrius sailed to make a descent upon the country at one of the mouths of the Nile, while Antigonus invaded it by land. It was not without great difficulties that Antigonus passed the deserts that lay between Palestine and Egypt, and, when he was arrived in Egypt, he found much greater. And Demetrius met with no less at sea; for storms had much shattered his fleet, and Ptolemy had so well guarded all the mouths of the Nile, that he could find no access to put on shore at any of them. Neither could Antigonus make any better progress with his army at land; for Ptolemy had so carefully provided against him in all places, and so strongly guarded all passes and avenues, that he could make no impression upon him any where, and (what afflicted him most)

ⁱ Plutarch. in Demetrio. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 20. Justin. lib. 15, c. 2. 1 Maccab. i. 9.

^k Appian. in Syriacis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19, 20. Justin. lib. 15, c. 4.

^l Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarch, in Demet.

great numbers of his men daily deserted from him to the enemy. For Ptolemy having sent boats to several places on the river, where Antigonus's soldiers came for watering, caused it to be there proclaimed from those boats, within their hearing, that whoever should come over to him from Antigonus's army, if he were a common soldier, he should have two minas,^m and, if a commander, a talent;ⁿ whereon great numbers of them, as well commanders as private soldiers, especially of the mercenaries, went over to him, and that not only for the sake of the reward, but especially out of the greater liking they had to Ptolemy; for Antigonus being a crabbed old man, and very haughty, morose, and severe,^o Ptolemy, by reason of the benignity of his temper, and his humane and courteous carriage, to all he had to do with, had the affections of all men much beyond him. Antigonus, therefore, after he had in vain hovered over the outskirts of Egypt, till all his provisions were spent, finding he could gain no advantage on Ptolemy, but that his army daily diminished by sickness and desertions, and he could no longer subsist the remainder in that country, was forced to return back into Syria with baffle and disgrace, having lost great numbers of his men at land, and many also of his ships at sea, in this unsuccessful expedition. Hereon Ptolemy wrote to Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, of his success; and, having renewed his league with them against this their common enemy, he became thenceforth firmly settled in his kingdom, and was never after any more disturbed in it. And therefore Ptolemy the astronomer here placeth the beginning of his reign, and from hence reckoneth the years of it in his chronological canon. Therein, till now, he continued to compute by the years of Alexander Ægus, though he had been slain five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of Ptolemy, and the firm settlement which he obtained hereby in the throne, gave him a new epocha after that to go by, which took its beginning from the seventh day of November, nineteen years after the death of Alexander.

The Rhodians, subsisting chiefly by their trade with Egypt, for this reason adhered to the interest of Ptolemy; and, when sent to by Antigonus for the assistance of some of their shipping in the Cyprian war, they refused to aid him with any for that undertaking.^p Antigonus, therefore, as soon as the Egyptian expedition was over, sent Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to reduce that

An. 301.
Ptolemy
Soter 1.

^m About six pounds five shillings sterling.

ⁿ About one hundred and eighty pounds sterling.

^o He was now about eighty years old.

^p Diodorus Siculus, lib. 20. Plutarch. in Demetrio

island to his obedience. But, after a year's time spent in the siege of Rhodes, the chief city in it, not being able to take the place, he was content to make a peace with them upon terms, that they should associate with Antigonus in all his wars, except only against Ptolemy. For it being chiefly by the assistance of Ptolemy that they were enabled to sustain so long a siege, and were at length so happily delivered from it, they would make no peace which should oblige them to act any thing against him; and when the enemy was gone, in acknowledgment of the aid which he had given them in this dangerous war, having, for the greater solemnity, first consulted the oracle of Jupiter Hammon about it, they consecrated unto him a grove, and for his greater honour, made it a very sumptuous work; for, it being a furlong square, they surrounded it with a most stately portico on every side, and, from his name called it the Ptolemæum; and there, according to the impious flattery of those times, they paid divine honours unto him; and, in commemoration of their being thus saved by him in this war, they gave him the additional name of Soter, that is, the saviour;^a by which he is commonly called by historians, to distinguish him from the other Ptolemys that after reigned in that country.

Seleucus, having secured himself in the possession of all the countries from the Euphrates to the river Indus,^r made war upon Sandrocottus, for the making of himself master of India also. This Sandrocottus^s was an Indian by birth, and of a very mean original; but giving out that he would deliver his country from the tyranny of foreigners, under this pretence, got together an army, and, by degrees, having increased it to a great number, took the advantage, while Alexander's successors were engaged in war against each other, to expel the Macedonians out of all those Indian provinces which Alexander had conquered, and seized them to himself. To recover these provinces, Seleucus marched over the Indus; but, finding that Sandrocottus had by this time brought all India under his power, and from the several parts of it drawn into the field an army of six hundred thousand men, and had in it a vast number of elephants managed for the war, he thought not fit to run the hazard of engaging so great a power; and therefore, coming to a treaty with him, he agreed, that on his receiving from Sandrocottus five hundred of his elephants, he should, on that consideration, quit to him all his pretensions in India; and on

An. 503.
Ptolemy
Soter 2.

^a Pausan. in Atticis.

^r Diodor. Sic lib. 20. Justin. lib. 15, c. 4. Appian. in Syriaeis.

^s Justin. Diodor. Appian. ibid. Plutarch. in Alexandro. Strabo, lib. 16. Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri. lib. 5.

these terms peace was made between them. And Seleucus, having thus settled this matter, marched back into the western parts to make war against Antigonus; the necessity whereof was one main cause that hastened this peace with Sandrocottus.

For Demetrius, after he had ended his war with the Rhodians, sailed a second time with a great fleet and army into Greece, under the same pretence of freeing the Grecian cities, but in reality to weaken and suppress the power of Ptolemy and Cassander in those parts, and there dispossessed Ptolemy of Sicyon. Corinth, and most of the other places which he held in Greece; and pressed so hard upon Cassander, that he was forced to sue to him for peace.^t But when he found that none could be had, but upon the terms of resigning himself absolutely to the will and pleasure of Antigonus, he and Lysimachus, having had consultation hereupon, agreed both of them to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, with a representation of the case; by which it being made to appear, that the designs of Antigonus were to suppress all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself, it was thought time for them all to unite together against him, for the bringing down of his overgrowing power. And therefore Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, having confederated together for this purpose, this hastened Seleucus out of India back again into Assyria, there to provide for the war. The first operations of it began on the Hellespont. For Cassander and Lysimachus having concerted matters together on that side, it was agreed between them, that, while the former remained in Europe to make a stand against Demetrius in those parts, the other, with as many forces as could be spared from both their territories, should make an invasion upon the provinces of Antigonus in Asia. And accordingly Lysimachus passed the Hellespont with a great army; and partly by force, and partly by desertions and revolts, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and most of the countries from the Propontis to the river Meander, under his power. Antigonus was at Antigonia, a new city built by him in the Upper Syria, and was there celebrating solemn games which he had appointed in that place, when the news of this invasion was first brought to him. On his hearing hereof, and the many revolts which had been made from him, he immediately broke up his sports, and, dismissing the assembly, forthwith set himself to prepare for a march against the enemy; and, as soon as he had gotten all the forces to-

An. 302.
Ptolemy
Soter 5.

^t Diodorus Siculus, lib. 20. Plutarch. in Demet. Justin. lib. 15, c. 4.

gether which he had in those parts, he hastened with them over Mount Taurus into Cilicia ; and having, at Quinda, in that province, taken out of the public treasury (which was there kept) what money he thought necessary, he therewith recruited and augmented his forces to a number sufficient for his purpose, and then marched directly against the enemy, retaking in his way many of those places which had revolted from him. Lysimachus, not finding himself strong enough to encounter Antigonus, stood upon the defensive only, till Seleucus and Ptolemy should come up to his assistance ; and in this manner wore out the year's war, till both sides were forced to go into winter quarters.

In the beginning of the next year, Seleucus, having gotten together a great army at Babylon, marched thence into Cappadocia, for the pursuing of the war against Antigonus.^a Of which Antigonus having notice, sent for Demetrius out of Greece to his assistance ; who, immediately obeying his father's orders, transported himself to Ephesus, and recovered again that city to Antigonus, and many other adjacent places, which, on the coming of Lysimachus into Asia, had revolted from him.

Ptolemy, on Antigonus's leaving Syria, took the advantage of his absence to invade that country, and soon recovered again all Phœnicia, Judea, and Cælo-Syria, excepting only Tyre and Sidon, which, being well garrisoned, held out against him for Antigonus. For the reduction of them, he first laid siege to Sidon ; but, as he was carrying of it on, being informed that Antigonus had beaten Seleucus and Lysimachus, and was marching against him for the relief of the place, he suffered himself to be imposed on by this false report ; and therefore, forthwith making a truce with the Sidonians for five months, raised the siege, and returned into Egypt.

In the mean time, the forces of the confederated princes being got together, under the command of Seleucus and Lysimachus on the one hand, and Demetrius having joined Antigonus on the other, the controversy between them was soon brought to a decisive issue in a fierce battle, wherein they engaged with their whole forces against each other, near a city in Phrygia called Ipsus ; in which Antigonus being slain, and his army broken and defeated, the confederates gained an absolute victory. Antigonus was past eighty years old, some say past eighty-four, when he thus fell. Demetrius, finding the battle lost, and his father slain, made his escape to Ephesus with five thousand foot, and four thousand horse, which were all the remains which he could pick up of near

An. 301.
Ptolemy
Soter 4.

^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarch. in Demet. Appian. in Syriacis.

ninety thousand men, with which he and his father entered the field of battle. With these he went on board his fleet, which he had there left on his coming out of Greece ; and, shifting from place to place, sometimes met with good fortune and sometimes with bad ; and, although he still retained some territories in Greece and elsewhere, and afterward, for some years, reigned in Macedonia, yet he could never recover his father's empire ; but, for the seventeen years which he afterward lived, met with disappointments in all attempts which he made towards it, till at length, falling into the hands of Seleucus, he died in the prison which he confined him to. Among the territories which he retained for some time after this battle, were Tyre and Sidon, and the island of Cyprus.

After the death of Antigonus, the four confederated princes divided his dominions between them ; and hereby the whole empire of Alexander became parted, and settled into four kingdoms.^x Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cælo-Syria, and Palestine ; Cassander, Macedon and Greece ; Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia, and some other of the provinces beyond the Hellespont, and the Bosphorus ; and Seleucus all the rest. And these four were the four horns of the he-goat mentioned in the prophecies of the prophet Daniel, which grew up after the breaking off of the first horn.^y That first horn was Alexander, king of Grecia, who overthrew the kingdom of the Medes and Persians ;^z and the other four horns were these four kings,^a who sprung up after him, and divided his empire between them. And these also were the four heads of the leopard, spoken of in another place of the same prophecies.^b And their four kingdoms were the four parts, into which, according to the same prophet, the *kingdom of the mighty king* (that is, of Alexander) *should be broken, and divided towards* (that is, according to the number of) *the four winds of heaven*, among those four kings, *who should not be of his posterity*, as neither of the four above mentioned were. And therefore, by this last partition of the empire of Alexander, were all these prophecies exactly fulfilled. There were indeed former partitions of it into provinces among governors, under the brother and son of Alexander. But this last only was a partition of it into kingdoms among kings ; and therefore of this only can these prophecies be understood. For it is plain, they speak of the four successors of Alexander, as of four kings ;^c where they are represented by four horns, they are expressly called so ;^d

x Diodorus Siculus, lib. 20. Plutarch. in Demetrio. Appian. in Syriacis. Polybius, lib. 5.

y Dan. viii.

z Dan. viii. 21 ; xi. 3.

a Dan. viii. 22 ; xi. 4.

b Dan. vii. 6.

c Dan. viii. 21, 22 ; xi. 4.

d Dan. viii. 21.

and where they are represented by four heads, the very symbol speaks them so.^e For who are heads of kingdoms, but the kings that reign over them? The leopard in that prophecy was the empire of the Macedonians, and the four heads were the four kings that after Alexander divided it into four kingdoms, and as kings reigned over them. But none of Alexander's successors were kings, till about three years before this last division of his empire was made. At first, indeed, there were five kings of these successors: but Antigonus, not being king above three years, and his kingdom being absolutely extinguished in his death, for this reason, these prophecies take no notice of him, but confine the succession of the great horn to these four only who conquered him. And it is farther to be observed, that though Antigonus and the other four called themselves kings three years before the battle of Ipsus, which produced this last partition, yet it was till then only a precarious title, which each assumed by his own authority only. But, after this battle, there being a league made between the four survivors who conquered in it, whereby each of them had their dominions set out to them into so many kingdoms, and each of them was authorized by the consent of all to govern them as kings independent of all superiors; from this time only can their respective divisions be truly and properly reckoned as kingdoms, and they as kings to preside over them. And in all their contests which they or their successors afterward had about the limits of their several kingdoms, they always appealed to this league, as the original charter by which they held their kingdoms, and that regal authority by which they reigned over them. And therefore, from the making of this league only, can they properly and in the truest sense be called kings; and they were four only, that is, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, that were so by virtue of it. And to these four do the prophecies refer.

Onias, the first of that name, high-priest of the Jews, being dead, he was succeeded in the high-priesthood by Simon his son, who, from the holiness of his life, and the great righteousness which shone forth in all his actions, was called Simon the Just.^f He was the first of that name that was high-priest, and lived in that office nine years.

Seleucus, after his victory over Antigonus, having seized the Upper Syria,^g there built Antioch on the river Orontes,

^e Dan. vii. 6.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 2. Chron. Alexand. Euseb. Chron. Syn-cellus ex Africano.

^g Johan. Antiochenus Malela. Strabo, lib. 16, p. 749, 750, &c. Appian. in Syriacis. Just. lib. 15, c. 4. Diod. lib. 20. Julian. in Misopogone.

which afterward for many ages became the queen of the East. For here the Syrian kings had the seat of their empire; and here the Roman governors who presided over the affairs of the East had their residence; and, when Christianity prevailed, it became the see of the chief patriarch of the Asian churches. It was situated on the river Orontes, at the distance of about twenty miles from the place where it falls into the Mediterranean Sea. It is reckoned to be in the midway by land, between Constantinople and Alexandria in Egypt, and to be about seven hundred miles distant from each.^b He called it Antioch, say some, from the name of his father, others, from the name of his son, and others from that of both. For Antiochus was the name of his father, as well as of the son that succeeded him in his kingdom. He built sixteen other cities, which he called by the same name, whereof one was in Pisidia, of which mention is made in Scripture.ⁱ But Antioch on the Orontes was the most remarkable of them. Antigonus had not long before built a city in the neighbourhood, which, from his name, he called Antigonía, and intended to have made it the chief seat of his empire.^k This Seleucus razed to the ground, and, having employed the materials to build this new city, transplanted all the inhabitants thither. These cities having both stood on the Orontes, and very near each other, the benefit of the river, and the smallness of the distance, made the transportation the more easy. He built also several other cities in that country, whereof there were three of especial note; one of them he called Seleucia, from his own name; another Apamia, from Apama his wife, the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; and the third, Laodicea, from Laodice his mother. Apamia and Seleucia stood upon the same river with Antioch, the former above it, and the other fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the sea; and upon the same coast towards the south, lay Laodicea. For the sake of these four cities, the country in which they stood had the name of *Tetrapolis*, that is, *the country of the four cities*: not but that there were several other cities in it, but these being of more eminent note, and making four distinct governments, on which all the rest were dependents, from hence they gave occasion for the name to that country: and, indeed, it was no more than an occasional name given it for this reason. The true name of it was Seleucis: this Seleucus gave it from his own name; and it extended southward as far as Cœlo-Syria: for Syria was divided into three parts,

^h Baudrandi Geographia de Antiochia Magna.

ⁱ Acts iii. 14.

^k Strabo, et Diod. Sic. *ibid*

^l Strabo, *ibid*.

Syria properly so called, Cælo-Syria, or the Hollow Syria, and Syria Palestina. The first of these, which I call the Upper Syria, contained Commagena, Cyrrhæstica, Seleucis, and some other small districts, and extended from the mountain Amanus on the north, to the mountain Libanus on the south, and was afterward called Syria Antiochena. The second reached from Libanus to Anti-Libanus, including Damascus and its territories, which consisting mostly of deep valleys between high mountains, it was for this reason called Cælo-Syria, that is, the Hollow Syria, from Anti-Libanus to the borders of Egypt, was Syria Palestina; and the maritime parts of the two latter, from Aradus to Gaza, was that which the Greeks called Phœnicia. But not only Seleucis, but Antioch itself, was also called Tetrapolis, but from another reason, that is, because it consisted of four quarters, as of so many cities; the first of them only was built by Seleuces; the second by those who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the Syro-Macedonian empire; the third by Seleucus Callinicus; and the fourth by Antiochus Epiphanes. Each of these quarters had its proper wall, whereby it was separated from the rest, and were also enclosed by one common wall encompassing the whole. The place where it stood was very liable to earthquakes, and it often suffered exceedingly by them. However, it continued for near sixteen hundred years to be the chief city of the East, till at length, A. D. 1265, it was taken from the western Christians by Bibars, sultan of Egypt, and utterly destroyed by him.^m Since that, Aleppo hath succeeded, in its stead, to be the metropolis of those eastern parts. All the walls are still remaining, that is, the walls of each quarter, as well as those which surround the whole;ⁿ but all being desolated within excepting some few houses, which make only a small and contemptible village, those four quarters of the city look only as so many fields within their enclosures. It is now called Anthakia; but is remarkable for nothing else but its ruins. The patriarchal see, which once adorned it, hath since its desolation been translated to Damascus.ⁿ But he that hath at present the title of patriarch of Antioch in that place scarce reacheth the figure formerly borne by the meanest deacon of that church: to so low a condition is the state of Christianity now sunk in those parts.

Daphne^o was reckoned a suburb of this city, though at the distance of about four or five of our miles from it. There Seleucus planted a grove, which was ten miles in

^m Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 281.

ⁿ Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 280.

^o Strabo, lib. 16, p. 750.

compass, and in the middle of it built a temple, and consecrated both to Apollo and Diana, making the whole an asylum. This was the same to Antioch, that Baiæ was to Rome, and Canopus to Alexandria, that is, the place where the inhabitants resorted for their pleasures, for which it was excellently fitted. For it had most delicious fountains and rivulets of the best water, most pleasant walks of cyprus-trees in the grove, and the purest air, and every thing else that nature could afford for pleasure and delight;^p which being farther improved by all the arts of luxury, whatsoever could any way administer to a voluptuous enjoyment was there to be had in the utmost excess;^q and the Antiochians, as their corrupt inclinations led them, there resorted for it. So that though the place had been consecrated to Apollo and Diana, it was by the Antiochians in reality wholly devoted to Bacchus and Venus; which made it so infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere*, i. e. to live after the manners of Daphne, grew into a proverb, to express the most luxurious and dissolute way of living; and all that had any regard to their reputation for virtue and modesty avoided to go thither. And Cassius, the Roman general, on his coming to Antioch, by public proclamation prohibited all his soldiers from going to that place, under the penalty of being cashiered, that they might not be corrupted by the luxury and debaucheries of it. It was so noted a place, that to distinguish this Antioch, near which it lay, from the many other cities that were of the same name elsewhere, as it was sometimes called Antioch on the Orontes, so was it as often called Antioch ἐπὶ Δαφνῇ,^r that is, Antioch near Daphne.

Lysimachus, to strengthen himself in his kingdom, made a strict alliance with Ptolemy, and, for the firmer cementing of it, took to wife Arsinoe, one of his daughters, and some time after married another of them to Agathocles his son.^s Seleucus following this example, contracted the like alliance with Demetrius, and married his daughter Stratonice, which he had by Phila the sister of Cassander. She being a very beautiful lady, Seleucus, on the fame of it, desired her in marriage; and Demetrius, being then in a low condition, was glad of so potent an ally, and therefore readily laid hold of the proposal, and forthwith sailing from Greece, where he had still some towns, carried her with the whole fleet that he had then remaining, into Syria. In his way thither, he made a descent upon Cilicia, which was then held by Plistarchus, brother

An. 229.
Ptolemy
Soter 6.

p Procopius Persicorum, lib. 2.
r Strabo, lib. 15, p. 719.

q Chrys. Sermo in Babylam Martyrem.
s Plutarchus in Demetrio.

of Cassander, by the gift of the four kings after the death of Antigonus. Hereon Plistarchus went to Seleucus to complain of the wrong, and to expostulate with him for making an alliance with the common enemy, without consent of the other kings, which he apprehended to be contrary to the league that was made between them. Demetrius, having intelligence hereof, marched immediately to Quinda, where the public treasury of the country was kept, and having seized all the money he found in it, which amounted to twelve hundred talents, hastened back to his fleet with the prey, and putting it all on board, sailed to Orassus, a maritime town in Syria, where he met Seleucus, and delivered to him his bride; and after some days there spent in nuptial feasts, and mutual treats and entertainments, he sailed back again into Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province, and then sent Phila his wife to Cassander her brother, to excuse the matter.

By this means the power of Demetrius began again to grow in those parts. For he had there on this acquisition all the province of Cilicia, the whole island of Cyprus, and the two strong and wealthy cities of Tyre and Sidon in Phœnicia; which making Seleucus jealous of his neighbourhood, he would have bought him out of Cilicia for a large sum of money, which he offered him for the purchase.^t But Demetrius not accepting the bargain, he would have picked a quarrel with him about Tyre and Sidon, demanding them of him in great anger, as cities belonging to Syria, of which he was king. To which Demetrius returned as angry an answer, telling him, that though he should be vanquished a thousand times over, he would never buy a son-in-law at such a rate; and immediately hereon sailed to both those cities, and having strengthened the garrisons he had in them with more forces, and furnished them with all things necessary for their defence, he defeated for the present the design which Seleucus then had of taking them from him. So that Seleucus got nothing hereby but an ill name: for he was generally blamed and reflected on for his unsatiable greediness, in that having so large an extent of dominion, as reached from the river Indus to the Mediterranean Sea, he would not let his father-in-law quietly enjoy these poor remains of his broken fortunes.

About this time flourished Megasthenes, who wrote an history of India.^u For he was a confidant of Seleucus; and having been employed by him in his transactions with San-

^t Plutarchus in Demetrio.

^u Vide Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 1. c. 11.

drocottus king of India, and resided with him some time in that country, and gone over a great part of it, he then gathered up those materials out of which he afterward composed his book.^x Some fragments of it are preserved by Josephus^y and Eusebius,^z wherein he makes mention of Nebuchadnezzar, and the greatness of his power; and he is often quoted by Strabo,^a and other ancient writers, as Athenæus, Arrian, Cicero, Pliny, and Solinus. But the book itself is not now extant. Annias, a lying monk of Vertibo in Italy, who was born A. D. 1437, and flourished towards the end of that century, counterfeited several books under old names, of which number were Manetho, Berosus, and Megasthenes, whom he called Metasthenes out of a mistake, which he was led into by Ruffinus's Latin version of Josephus; and this first gave occasion for the discovery of the cheat. Those books he published with a comment upon them, and for some time they went for the genuine works of the authors whose names they bore; but are now exploded every where as fictions, framed of purpose to impose a cheat upon the world. And of the same stamp are Inghiramius's Etruscan Antiquities, and Jeffrey of Monmouth's British History. For all these are none other than the fictions of the first editors. They framed them to perpetuate their names by the publication; and they have truly done so; for they are still remembered for it; but no otherwise than under the style of infamous impostors.

Cæssauder, having governed Macedon from the death of his father nineteen years, died of a dropsy, leaving behind him, by Thessalonice his wife, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great, three sons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander. Philip, who succeeded him in the kingdom, dying soon after, left the crown to be contested for between his two brothers that survived.^b

Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, being in Egypt, there married Antigone out of Ptolemy's family.^c He, having been kept out of his kingdom by Neoptolemus an usurper, followed Demetrius in his wars while very young, and fought valiantly in his cause in the battle of Ipsus, and after that continued with him till the marriage of Seleucus with Stratonice. Then, by the interposition of

An. 297.
Ptolemy
Soter. 8.

^x Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5, & de Rebus Indicis.

^y Antiq. lib. 10, c. 11, et contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^z Præp. Evan. ex Abydæno. lib. 9.

^a Lib. 15, p. 687, where he quotes out of Megasthenes the same passage concerning Nebuchadnezzar (whom he calls Navocodrosor) that Josephus doth.

^b Dexippus et Porphyrius in Chronico Eusebii, p. 57, 59, 63.

^c Plutarch. in Pyrr. Pausan. in Atticis.

Seleucus, peace and reconciliation having been made between Demetrius and Ptolemy, Pyrrhus was delivered to Ptolemy as an hostage on the part of Demetrius for the performance of the articles, and carried by him into Egypt; where, having by his generous and noble deportment gained much upon the favour of that prince, he gave him in marriage Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, his best beloved wife. Ptolemy had another wife called Eurydice, who was the daughter of Antipater, and sister to Cassander. When Antipater sent this lady into Egypt to be married to Ptolemy, he sent with her for a companion Berenice, she being then the widow of one Philip a Macedonian, newly deceased, by whom she had this Antigone. On her arrival in Egypt, she soon grew so much into the liking of Ptolemy, that he married her also, and loved her much more than any other wife he had. And therefore, on Pyrrhus's having married her daughter, she prevailed with Ptolemy to assist him with a fleet and money; by means whereof he recovered his kingdom, and from this beginning grew up to be the most eminent person of the age in which he lived.

Demetrius from Tyre made an inroad upon the Samaritans, and wasted Samaria; so saith Eusebius:^d and it is certain that at this time Demetrius was in possession of Tyre and Sidon; but it is more likely that this was done by Demetrius's lieutenants in those parts, than by Demetrius himself in person: for, according to all other histories, Demetrius's wars in Greece detained him there all this year, and also the next.

An. 296.
Ptolemy
Soter 9.

For the Athenians having revolted from Demetrius, after the reduction of the Messenians (which had been the work of the former year,) he employed a whole year in the siege of Athens, and, at length, by famine forced them to a surrender.^e

After Demetrius had settled his affairs at Athens, he formed a design for the subduing of the Lacedemonians, and, having overthrown them in two battles, would certainly have succeeded in the enterprise, but that when he was going to make an assault upon the city of Lacedemon, and must in all likelihood have taken it, a message came to him, that Lysimachus, having with a great army invaded his territories in Asia, had taken from him all the cities which he had in those parts; and immediately after that another, that Ptolemy had made a descent upon Cyprus, and taken from him all that island, except only the city of Salamine, into which his mother, his wife, and children, were retired, and that he pressed that place with an hard siege.^e All these

d In Chronico.

e Plutarchus in Demetrio.

grievous tidings coming one upon the back of the other, drew back Demetrius from Lacedemon to look after his other affairs, when he was just ready to have taken that city. And not long after he had an account that Salamine was also lost. But Ptolemy was so generous, that, on his mastering the place, he sent him his mother, and his wife and children, without ransom, with all the persons, equipage, and effects, that belonged to them, adding also several magnificent presents, and all manner of honour at their dismissal. And when Ptolemy had thus made himself master of Cyprus, then most likely was it, that Tyre and Sidon fell into his hands also, it not being possible that, after the loss of Cyprus, Demetrius could any longer keep them.

At the same time, it seems most likely, Demetrius also lost Cilicia to Seleucus ; for from this time we find the latter only in the possession of this province, and all the cities in it ; and no time seems more proper for Seleucus to have seized it, than when this declension of Demetrius's fortunes in those eastern parts had put it out of his power any longer to defend it against him.

The contest going on between Antipater and Alexander, the sons of Cassander, about the kingdom of Macedon, and Thessalonice, the mother of both, favouring the youngest son, this so exasperated Antipater, the eldest of them, against her, that, in an impious rage, he fell upon her, and slew her with his own hands, notwithstanding she earnestly supplicated to him, by the breasts with which she had nourished him, to spare her life.^f This accident gave a favourable turn to the fortunes of Demetrius. For Alexander, the other brother, to be revenged on Antipater for this horrid fact, called in Demetrius to his assistance ; which opened him a way to the throne of Macedon. For the wicked parricide of Antipater, in murdering his mother, having created a general detestation of him, by that time Demetrius had with his army reached the borders of Macedon, he was deserted of all men, and forced to fly into Thracia, where he soon after perished in banishment.—Alexander, being thus rid of his brother, desired to be rid of Demetrius also ; in order whereto he laid a design to cut him off ; which Demetrius having notice of, was beforehand with him, and first cut off Alexander, by slaying him at an entertainment, in the same manner as Alexander had laid the plot to have slain him, and thereon got the kingdom of Macedon in his stead, where he reigned seven years, till another cross turn of fortune threw him again out of that

An. 334.
Ptolemy
Soter 11.

^f Plutarch. in Demet. & Pyrrho. Just. lib. 16, c. 1. Pausan. in Bæot.

kingdom, and a while after he was cast out of every thing else that he had been possessed of.

By the death of Thessalonice and her two sons, the whole royal family of Philip king of Macedon was utterly extirpated, as that of Alexander had been before in the death of Alexander Ægus and Hercules, his sons. And so these two kings, who by their oppressive and destructive wars, had made many tragedies in other princes' families, had them all at length, by the just ordination of Providence, brought home to their own, both Philip and Alexander, their wives, and all that were descended of them, dying violent deaths.

About this time Seleucus built Seleucia on the Tigris, at the distance of forty miles from Babylon.^g It was placed on the western side of that river, over against the place where now Bagdad stands on the eastern side, which soon grew to be a very great city. For Pliny tells us it had in it six hundred thousand inhabitants,^h and there are not much above one hundred thousand more in London, which is now (waiving the fabulous account which is given of Nankin in China) beyond all dispute the largest city in the world. For, by reason of the breaking down of the banks of the Euphrates, the country near Babylon being drowned, and the branch of that river, which passed through the middle of the city, being shallowed and rendered unnavigable, this made the situation of Babylon by this time so very inconvenient, that, when this new city was built, it soon drained the other of all its inhabitants. For it being situated much more commodiously, and by the founder made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the Euphrates, and the place of his residence, whenever he came into those parts, in the same manner as Antioch was for the other provinces which were on this side that river, for the sake of these advantages, the Babylonians in great numbers left their old habitations, and flocked to Seleucia. And, besides, Seleucus having called this city by his own name, and designed it for an eminent monument thereof in after ages, gave it many privileges above the other cities of the East, the better to make it answer this purpose: and these were a farther invitation to the Babylonians to transplant themselves to it. And by these means, in a short time after the building of Seleucia, Babylon became wholly desolated, so that nothing was left remaining of it but its walls. And therefore Pliny tells us, "That it was exhausted of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation, by the neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator built there

An. 293.
Ptolemy
Soter 12.

on purpose for this end.”ⁱ And Strabo saith the same;^k as doth also Pausanias in his *Arcadics*, where he tells us, “That Babylon, once the greatest city that the sun ever saw, had in his time (that is, about the middle of the second century) nothing left but its walls.”^l These remained long after. For the space within being made a park by the Parthian kings, for the keeping of wild beasts in it for their hunting, the walls were kept up to serve for a fence to the enclosure; and in this state it was in Jerome’s time, who lived in the fourth century. For he tells us, “That, excepting the walls, which were repaired for the enclosing of the wild beasts that were there kept, all within was desolation:”^m and, in another place, “That Babylon was nothing else, in his time, but a chace for wild beasts, kept within the compass of its ancient walls, for the hunting of the king,”ⁿ that is, of Persia. For after the Parthians, there reigned in Jerome’s time, over those countries, a race of Persian kings, and continued there to the time of the Saracen empire, by which they were extinguished. When or how those walls became demolished is nowhere said, no writer for several hundred years after Jerome’s time speaking any more of this place. The first after him that makes mention of it is Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Navarre, who, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote near six hundred years since (for he died in the year of our Lord 1173,) tells us, that he was upon the place where this old city formerly stood, and found it then wholly desolated and destroyed; only he saith, “some ruins of Nebuchadnezzar’s palace were then still remaining, but men were afraid to go near them, by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that were then in the place.”^o Texeira, a Portuguese, in the description of his travels from India to Italy, tells, “That there was nothing then remaining of this old and famous city, but only some few footsteps of it; and that there was no place in all that country less frequented than that tract of ground whereon it formerly stood.”^p And Rawolf, a German traveller, who passed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, tells us the same thing. His words are as followeth: “The village of Elugo lieth on the place where formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldea, did stand. The harbour lieth a quarter of a league off, whereunto those use to go that intend to travel by land to the famous city of Bagdad, which is situated farther to the east,

i Lib. 6, c. 26.

k Lib. 16, p. 738.

l For he lived in the time of Adrian and Antonius Pius. Vide Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 2, c. 14.

m Comment. in Esaia, cap. xiv.

n Comment. in Esaia, cap. xiii.

o Benjaminis Itinerarium, p. 76.

p Cap. 8.

on the river Tigris, at a day and a half's distance. This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much whether this potent and powerful city (which once was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Sinar) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its situation, and several ancient and delicate antiquities, that still are standing hereabout in great desolation. First, by the old bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining, built of burnt brick, and so strong, that it is admirable. Just before the village of Elugo is the hill whereon the castle did stand, in a plain, whereon you may still see some ruins of the fortification, which is quite demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and pretty near to it, did stand the tower of Babylon. This we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but is so mightily ruined and low, and so full of venomous reptiles, that have bored holes through it, that one may not come near it within half a mile, but only in two months in the winter, when they come not out of their holes. Among these reptiles, there are chiefly some in the Persian language called Eglo by the inhabitants, that are very poisonous; they are bigger than our lizards,^q &c. All which ruins, here mentioned by Rawolf, are no doubt the same which Benjamin of Tudela saith were the ruins of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, that is, the old palace, which stood on the eastern side of the river: for it is of that only that Benjamin and Rawolf speak. Of the ruins of Babylon on the western side, where the new palace stood which Nebuchadnezzar himself built, neither of them do take any notice. All this put together shows how fully and exactly hath been fulfilled all that which the prophet Isaiah prophesied of this place. For his words concerning it are as followeth: (Isaiah xiii. 19—22,) *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures: and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces; and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.* Thus far Isaiah: and, besides this, there are several other

q See Mr. Ray's edition of these Travels in English, part. 2, chap. 7.

prophecies in the other prophets to the same purpose, which have already been taken notice of. It must be acknowledged, that there is mention made of Babylon, as of a city standing long after the time where I have placed its desolation, as in Lucan,^r Philostratus,^s and others. But in all those authors, and wherever else we find Babylon spoken of as a city in being after the time of Seleucus Nicator, it must be understood, not of old Babylon on the Euphrates, but of Seleucia on the Tigris.^t For as that succeeded in the dignity and grandeur of old Babylon, so also did it in its name. At first it was called Seleucia Babylonia, that is, the Babylonian Seleucia, or Seleucia of the province of Babylon, to distinguish it from the other Seleucias which were elsewhere, and after that Babylonia simply,^u and at length Babylon.^x That Lucan, by his Babylon, in the first book of his *Pharsalia*, means none other than Seleucia, or the new Babylon, is plain. For he there speaks of it as the metropolis of the Parthian kingdom, where the trophies of Crassus were hung up after the vanquishing of the Romans at Carrhæ; which can be understood only of the Seleucian or new Babylon, and not of the old. For that new Babylon only was the seat of the Parthian kings, but the old Babylon never. And in another place, where he makes mention of this Babylon (that is, book vi. verse 50,) he describes it as surrounded by the Tigris in the same manner as Antioch was by the Orontes: but it was the Seleucian or the new Babylon, and not the old, that stood upon the Tigris. And as to Philostratus, when he brings his Apollonius (the Don Quixote of his romance,) to the royal seat of the Parthian king, which was at that time at Seleucia, then called Babylon, he was led by that name into this gross blunder, as to mistake it for the old Babylon; and therefore, in the describing of it, he gives us the same description which he found given of old Babylon, in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and other writers.^y But it is no unusual thing for romancers often to make blunders and mistakes in geography of the places

^r Lib. i, v. 10.

^s Lib. 1, c. 17—19.

^t Plutarch, indeed, in the life of Crassus, speaks of Babylon and Seleucia, as of two distinct cities then in being. For in a political remark, he reckons it as a great error in Crassus, that, in his first irruption into Mesopotamia, he had not marched directly on to Babylon and Seleucia, and seized those two cities. And Appian, in his *Parthics*, says the same thing. But Plutarch was mistaken herein, taking for two cities then in being, what were no more than two names then given to one and the same place; that is, Seleucia. For as to old Babylon, it appears from the authors I have mentioned, that it was desolated long before the time of Crassus. And as to Appian, he doth no more than recite the opinion of Plutarch; for he writes word for word after him as to this matter.

^u Plin. lib. 6, c. 26.

^x Stephanus Byzantinus in *Βαβυλων*.

^y Lib. 1, c. 18.

where they lay the scenes of their fables; and that the whole story of Apollonius 'Tyaneus, as written by Philostratus, is no more than a romance and a fable is well known. And perchance the giving of the name of Babylon to Seleucia was that which gave rise to the present vulgar error, that Bagdad is now situated in the very place where formerly old Babylon stood. For when Bagdad was first built, it truly was upon the same plot of ground where formerly Seleucia or new Babylon stood.^z For as old Babylon was exhausted by Seleucia, so afterward was Seleucia by Ctasephon and Almadayen, and these two again by Bagdad; it being the humour of the princes of those ages, to build new cities to be monuments of their names, and to desolate old ones in the neighborhood for the peopling of them. By this means Seleucia being reduced to a desolation, as well as Babylon, at the time when Abu Jaafar Almansur, calif or emperor of the Saracens, begun his reign (which was in the year of our Lord 754.) it had nothing upon it but the cell of a Christian monk, called Dad, and a garden adjoining to it: from whence it had the name of Bagdad, that is, in the language of that country, *the garden of Dad*. And upon this place was the city first built, which hath ever since been called by this name of Bagdad.^a For the same Almansur being resolved, out of dislike to Hashemia, where his predecessor before resided, to build him a new city, to be the capital seat of his empire, chose that place for it where this garden lay; and there, in the year of our Lord 762, erected this city upon the very foundations on which formerly Seleucia had stood, on the west side of the Tigris. But, not long after, it was translated over to the otherside, and there it at present stands, about three miles above the place where Ctasephon was formerly situated on the same side of the river, that is, on the eastern side; and that which was first built on the western side is now no more than a suburb to it. This city, from the reign of Almansur, was for many years the capital of the Saracen empire, and still remains a place of great note in the East. But they are much mistaken who think it the same with old Babylon; for that was upon the Euphrates, but Bagdad is upon the Tigris, at the distance of forty miles from the place where that old city stood.

Seleucus built many other cities, both in the Greater and Lesser Asia; sixteen of which he called Antioch, from the

^z Bocharti Geographia Sacra, part 1, lib. 1, c. 8. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 121, 122. Sionitæ Descriptio Bagdadi ad Calcem Geographiæ Nubiensis, c. 2.

^a Elmecini Hist. Saracennica, sub anno Heg 145. Abul Pharagii Hist. Dynastiarum, editionis Pocockianæ, p. 141. Eutychiei Annales, tom. 2, p. 399. Geographia Nubiensis, p. 204.

name of Antiochus, his father ; nine, Seleucia, from his own name ; six, Laodicea, from the name of Laodice, his mother ; three, Apamea, from Apama, his first wife ; and one Stratonicea, from Stratonice, his last wife ;^b in all which he planted the Jews, giving them equal privileges and immunities with the Greeks and Macedonians, especially at Antioch in Syria ; where they settled in great numbers, and became almost as considerable a part of that city as they were at Alexandria.^c And from hence it was that the Jews became dispersed all over Syria and the Lesser Asia. In the eastern countries beyond the Euphrates they had been settled before, ever since the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities, and there multiplied in great numbers. But it was Seleucus Nicator that first gave them settlements in those provinces of Asia which are on this side the Euphrates. For they having been very faithful and serviceable to him in his wars, and other trusts and interests, he, for this reason, gave them these privileges through all the cities which he built. But it seems most likely that they were the Babylonish Jews that first engaged him to be thus favourable to this people. For the Jews of Palestine being under Ptolemy, were not in capacity to be serviceable to him. But Babylon being the place where he laid the first foundations of his power, and the Jews in those parts being as numerous as the Jews of Palestine, if not more, it is most likely, that they unanimously adhered to his interest, and were the prime strength that he had for the advancement of it ; and that for this reason he ever after showed so much favour to them : and it is scarce probable, that any thing less than this could be a sufficient cause to procure such great privileges from him, as he afterward gave to all of that nation.

Simon the Just, high-priest of the Jews, dying, after he had been nine years in that office, left behind him a son called Onias ;^d but he being an infant, and therefore incapable of succeeding in the high-priesthood, Eleazar the brother of Simon, was substituted high-priest in his stead. This Simon, as he had by the uprightness of his actions, and the righteousness of his conversation, both towards God and man, merited the surname of the Just ; so also was he in all respects a very extraordinary person ; which the character given of him in the fiftieth chapter of Ecclesiasticus sufficiently shows. There, many of his good works, for the benefit both of the church and state of the

An. 292.
Ptolemy
Soter 13.

b Appianus in Syriacis, p. 201. editionis Tollianæ.

c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 13, & contra Appionem, lib. 2, Euseb. in Chronico.

d Euseb. in Chronico.

e Josephus Antiq. lib. 12, c. 2.

Jews, are mentioned with their due praise. But his chiefest work was the finishing of the canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament. What was done herein by Ezra hath been above related. The books afterward added, were the two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Malachi. That these could not be put into the canon by Ezra, is plain : for four of those books are, upon just grounds, supposed to have been written by himself (that is, the two books of Chronicles, and the books of Ezra and Esther,) and the book of Nehemiah was written after his time, and so most likely was the book of Malachi also ; and therefore a later time must be assigned for their insertion into the canon, and none is more likely than that of Simon the Just, who is said to have been the last of the men of the great synagogue.^f For what the Jews call the great synagogue were a number of elders amounting to one hundred and twenty, who, succeeding some after others, in a continued series, from the return of the Jews again into Judea, after the Babylonish captivity, to the time of Simon the Just, laboured in the restoring of the Jewish church and state in that country ; in order whereto the holy Scriptures being the rule they were to go by, their chief care and study was to make a true collection of those Scriptures, and publish them accurately to the people. Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue that lived in his time, completed this work as far as I have said. And as to what remained farther to be done in it, where can we better place the performing of it, and the ending and finishing of the whole thereby, than in that time where those men of the great synagogue ended that were employed therein, that is, in the time of Simon the Just, who was the last of them ? And that especially, since there are some particulars in those books which seem necessarily to refer down to times as late as those of Alexander the Great, if not later. For, in the third chapter of the first book of Chronicles, we have the genealogy of the sons of Zerubbabel, carried down for so many descents after him, as may well be thought to reach the time of Alexander : and, in Nehemiah (xii. 22,) we have the days of Jaddua spoken of, as of days past ; but Jaddua outlived Alexander two years. I acknowledge these passages to have been interpolated passages, both put in after the time of Ezra, and after the time of Nehemiah (who were the writers of those books,) by those who completed the canon. To say they were inserted by those holy men themselves, who wrote the books, the chronology of their history will not bear ; for then they must have

^f See Maimonides and the rest of the Rabbies, who all say, that the men of the great synagogue were one hundred and twenty persons, and that Simon the Just was the last of them.

lived down beyond those times which those passages refer us to ; but this is inconsistent with what is written of them. And to say that they were put in by any other than those, who, by the direction of the Holy Spirit of God, completed the canon of the Scriptures, will be to derogate from their excellency ; and therefore we must conclude, that, since Simon the Just was the last of those that were employed in this work, it was by him that the last finishing hand was put thereto, and that it was in his time, and under his presidency, and chiefly by his direction, that the canon of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, by which we now receive them, was perfected, and finally settled in the Jewish church. And thus far having brought down this history through the Scripture times, till the canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament was fully perfected, I shall here end the first part of it. After this followed the Mishnical times, that is, the times of traditions.^g Hitherto the Scriptures were the only rule of faith and manners which God's people studied : but thenceforth traditions began to be regarded, till at length they overbore the word of God itself, as we find in our Saviour's time. The collection of those traditions they call the Mishnah, that is, the second law, and those who delivered and taught them were styled the Mishnical doctors. From the death of Simon the Just their time began, and they continued to be known by that name, till Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh collected all those traditions together, and wrote them into the book which they call the Mishnah ; which was done about one hundred and fifty years after Christ, as hath been above related. The ages in which they flourished, till the time of Christ, shall be the subject of the second part of this history.

^g See David Gantz in *Zemach David*, and the rest of the Jewish writers, by whom all those, who living after the men of the great synagogue, are quoted in the Mishnah for any tradition, are called the Mishnical doctors.

CONNEXION
OF THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

PART THE SECOND.



*To the Right Honourable DANIEL, Earl of
Nottingham.*

MY LORD,

HAVING now, by God's assistance, finished this Second Part of the Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testaments, which I promised your Lordship when I presented you with the First Part, I humbly offer it to your acceptance, hoping it may be received with the same favour and candour as the former; which I humbly pray from your Lordship: and am.

My Lord,

Your most obedient, and

Most obliged humble Servant,

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

PREFACE.

THE SECOND PART of this history, which I now offer to the public, completes the whole of what I intend. My first purpose was to have concluded at the birth of our Saviour, and to have left what thenceforth ensues to the ecclesiastical historian of the Christian church, to whom it properly belongs. But since what is to connect the Old Testament with the New will there best end where the dispensation of the Old Testament endeth, and that of the New begins, and since that was brought to pass in the death and resurrection of our Saviour, I have drawn down this history thereto. For then the Jewish church was abolished, and the Christian erected in its stead; then the law of Moses ceased, and that of Christ and his gospel commenced, and therein the accomplishment of all the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the person of the Messiah, which began at his birth, was fully perfected. And therefore, here I have thought it properest to fix the conclusion of this work. But to avoid encroaching too far upon the Christian ecclesiastical historian, I have from the time of Christ's birth treated but in a very brief manner of what afterward ensued to his death; and have passed over the whole time of the public ministration both of him and his forerunner. For all things that were done therein being fully related in the four gospels, which are, or ought to be, in every one's hands, barely to repeat them here would be needless, and all that can be done beyond a bare repetition, is either to methodize them according to the order of time, or to explain them by way of interpretation; but the former belonging to the harmonist, and the latter to the commentator, they are both out of the province I have undertaken.

I having, in the preface to the First Part of this history, recommended to the reader, for his geographical guidance in the reading of it, the maps of Cellarius, the bookseller hath, in the third edition of that part, inserted into it as many maps out of him as may be useful for this purpose. And there hath also been added, in the same edition, a map of the temple of Jerusalem, which had been drawn and published by me in a single sheet, some years before. All these may serve for the Second Part, as well as for the First.

Perchance there may be some, who will think the history which I give of the Jewish cycle of eighty-four years, and of the other cycles, which, as well as that, have been made use of for the fixing of the time of Easter, to be too long a digression from that which is the main subject of this work. And therefore I think it necessary to acquaint the reader, that I have been led hereto by these following inducements. First, To give him an account of the controversies which happened among Christians about the time of celebrating Easter, during the use of this eighty-four years cycle among them. Secondly, To explain one important part of our ancient English history, by showing upon what foot that dissension about Easter stood, which was here carried on between our British and Saxon ancestors on the account of the same Jewish cycle, during the whole seventh and eighth century, which hath nowhere else, that I know of, had a thorough and clear account given of it. And, lastly, To open the way to a better understanding of the modern dispute, which our Dissenters have here set on foot among us upon the same argument. For they allege it as one reason of their dissension, that Easter is put wrong in the calendar before the Common Prayer-book, and that therefore they cannot give their assent and consent thereto.

It is a very odd thing that this sort of people, who are against keeping any Easter at all, should raise any quarrel about the time of its observance. But since they are pleased so to do, I will here apply what is written in the ensuing history, about the time of this festival, to the present case, and endeavour thereby to give them full satisfaction in it. In order whereto I shall lay down, first, The rule in the calendar, against which the objection is made ; secondly, The objection itself that is urged against it ; and then, in the third place, I shall give my answers thereto.

I. The words of the rule in the calendar, as they lie in the page next after the months of the year, are these following, "Easter-day is always the first Sunday after the first full moon, which happens next after the one and twentieth day of March. And if the full moon happens upon a Sunday, Easter-day is the Sunday after."

II. The objection urged against this rule is, that if we take the common almanacks, in which the new moons and full moons are set down as they are in the heavens, it will seldom be found that the first Sunday after the first full moon, which happens next after the one and twentieth day of March, is the Easter-day, which is appointed to be observed, according to the tables in the Common Prayer-book ; and that therefore, if the rule be true, the tables must be false. And

this, the Dissenters think, is reason enough for them to deny their assent and consent to the whole book.

III. I answer hereto, first, That it must be acknowledged, this objection would be true, were it the natural full moon that is meant in the rule. But besides the natural full moon, that is, that which appears in the heavens, when the sun and moon are in direct opposition to each other, there is also an ecclesiastical full moon, that is, a full moon day so called by the church, though there be no natural full moon thereon. To explain this by a parallel case—it is in the same manner, as there is a political month, and a political year, different from the natural. The natural month is the course of the moon, from one new moon to another; the political month is a certain number of days, which constitute a month according to the political constitution of the country where it is used. And so a natural year is the course of the sun from a certain point in the Zodiac, till it come about again to the same; but the political year is a certain number of months or days, which constitute a year, according to the political constitution of the country where it is used. And so, in like manner, there is a natural new moon day, and an ecclesiastical new moon day. The natural new moon day is that on which the natural new moon first appears, and the fourteenth day after is the natural full moon day. And the ecclesiastical new moon day is that which, by the ecclesiastical constitutions, is appointed for it, and the fourteenth day after is the ecclesiastical full moon day. And the primes, that is, the figures of the golden numbers, which are in the first column of every month in the calendar, are there placed to point out both, that is, the ecclesiastical new moon day first, and then, by consequence from it, the ecclesiastical full moon day, which is the fourteenth day after. This order was first appointed from the time of the council of Nice;^a and then the natural new moon and full moon, and the ecclesiastical new moon and full moon, fell exactly together. And had the nineteen years' cycle, called the cycle of the moon (which is the cycle of the golden numbers,) brought about all the new moons and full moons exactly again to the same point of time in the Julian year, as it was supposed that it would, when this order was first made, they would have always so fallen together. But it failing hereof by an hour and almost an half, hereby it hath come to pass, that the ecclesiastical new moon and full moon have overshot the natural new moon and full moon an hour and near an half in every nineteen years, which, in the long process of time that hath happened

^a This council was held A. D. 325

since the council of Nice, hath now made the difference between them to amount to about four days and an half ; and so much the ecclesiastical new moons and full moons do at this time, in every month, overrun the natural. However, the church still abiding by the old order, still observes the time of Easter, according to the reckoning of the ecclesiastical moon, and not according to that of the natural. And therefore it is of the ecclesiastical full moon, and not of the natural, that this rule is to be understood, and consequently what the Dissenters object against it from the full moon in the heavens, is nothing to the purpose. But if it be still objected, that this ecclesiastical full moon, different from the natural, is the product of error, for that it hath its original from astronomical mistake in the church's falsely supposing that the new moons and full moons would, after every nineteen years, all come over again to the same point of time in the Julian year, as in the former nineteen years, whereas they do not so by an hour and an half, and that therefore, there is still an error in this matter ; the answer hereto is, that it would be so, were the feast of Easter, and the time of observing it, appointed by divine institution : but since both are only by the institution of the church, wherever the church placeth it, there it is well and rightly observed. But,

Secondly. Were it truly the natural full moon, and not the ecclesiastical, that is meant in the rule, yet since in this supposal it would be only an astronomical, and not a theological error, this rule may be used without sin ; and the use of it is all that the declaration of assent and consent obligeth to, as it is more than once plainly expressed in the act that enjoins it.

Thirdly. But it seems to me that neither the calendar, nor this rule belonging thereto, is within that declaration, and therefore no error in either can be urged as a reason against it. For the assent and consent required to be given by the act of uniformity is "To the book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in churches, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons ;" but neither the calendar, nor this rule belonging to it, can be brought under any of these particulars ; and therefore cannot be contained within that declaration at all. If it be said, that the words *rites* and *ceremonies* include the calendar, and with it all the rules belonging thereto ; my answer is, that the astronomical calculations, and the appointing thereby the times of the moveable feasts, concerning which our whole present

dispute is, cannot be called either rites or ceremonies. If it be further urged, that both the calendar and the rule are in the book; the reply hereto is, so are several acts of parliament, but no one will say, that by the declaration any assent or consent is given unto them. But,

Fourthly. Supposing all to be in this case as the Dissenters object, to make such a trifle to be a reason of breaking communion, and separating from the church, is what men of common sense or common integrity may be ashamed of. They may as well urge the errata of the press against this declaration. For these afford as good a reason against it as the other. This shows how hard they are put to it to find reasons for their separation, when they urge such a wretched and frivolous one for it as this.

Thus much of the objection as far as the Dissenters have urged it. But there being something that may be further said on the same argument, with much more plausible appearance of reason, which the Dissenters have taken no notice of, I shall do it for them, that so by answering it I may clear this whole matter, and thereby fully justify the usage of our church herein. For it may be objected, that allowing the full moon in the rule of the calendar above mentioned to be the ecclesiastical full moon, and not the natural, yet the making of Easter-day to be the next Sunday after that full moon, is contrary to the rule which all other churches have gone by till pope Gregory's reformation of the calendar, and contrary also to the present usage of our own.^b For, 1st. It is contrary to the rule which all other churches have gone by till the said reformation of pope Gregory; because, till then, from the time of the council of Nice, their rule hath been, that Easter-day is always to be the first Sunday after the first fourteenth moon which shall happen after the one and twentieth of March, which fourteenth moon is therefore called the Paschal term: but the full moon never happens till the fifteenth day of the moon; and therefore to put Easter-day on the first Sunday after the said full moon, will be to make the first fifteenth moon after the said one and twentieth of March to be the Paschal term instead of the fourteenth, which no church in the whole Christian world hath ever yet done. And, 2dly. It is contrary to the present usage of our own church. For, in the tables subjoined to the said calendar, Easter-day is every where put on the Sunday next after the first fourteenth moon after the one and twentieth day of March, and never otherwise. And therefore, should Easter-day be always put, according to the rule above mentioned,

^b This reformation was made, A. D. 1582, and gave birth to what we call the New Style.

on the next Sunday after the full moon of that rule, seeing no full moon can ever happen till the fifteenth day of the moon, Easter-day would sometimes fall on a Sunday different from that where it is placed in the tables ; as, for example, A. D. 1668, the placing of Easter on the first Sunday after the fifteenth day of that moon, would make it fall on the twenty-ninth of March, but the tables place it on the twenty-second of March, which was the Sunday before, and then it was accordingly observed. And, A. D. 1678, the placing of Easter on the first Sunday after the fifteenth day of that moon, would make it fall on the seventh of April, but the tables place it on the last of March, which was the Sunday before, and there it was accordingly observed. And so it will be found in many other instances. And, therefore, if the rule by which all other churches, till pope Gregory's reformation of the calendar above mentioned, observed their Easter, be right, and if the tables whereby our church keeps that festival be right, then the rule which is in our Common Prayer-book must be false, and consequently cannot be assented to as true. Thus far the objection.

The answer hereto is, that there is a twofold reckoning of the moon's age, the astronomical and the vulgar ; the astronomical reckoning is from the conjunction of the moon with the sun, the vulgar from its first appearance, which is never till the next day after the conjunction. The Jews followed the vulgar reckoning, and, according thereto, accounted that to be the first day of the moon which was the first day of its appearance, as I have already shown in the preface to the First Part of this history, and by this reckoning settled the times of their Paschal festival;^c which usage the ancient Christians borrowing from them did the same in their settling the feast of Easter, and so it hath continued to be done ever since.^d The first day therefore of the moon, which is marked out by the prime in the calendar of our Common Prayer-book, is not the day of its conjunction with the sun, but the day of its first appearance, which is always the day after ; and the fourteenth day from thence is the fifteenth from its conjunction ; on which fifteenth day the full moon happens, being applied to the Paschal moon, solves the whole difficulty of this objection. For the fourteenth day of that moon, as reckoned from its first appearance, will be from its conjunction the fifteenth day on which the full moon happens. And

^c Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Selden De Anno Civili Veterum Judæorum.

^d The ancient Christians appointed their Easter by the same rule by which the Jews appointed their Passover, and the Asian churches for a long while observed it on the same day with them.

therefore this fourteenth day of the moon being the same with the full moon, and both the same with that which hath ever been the Paschal term, the first Sunday after which is Easter-day, the said Paschal term may be expressed by either of them: and therefore this rule in the calendar of our Common Prayer-book, in that it expresseth it by the full moon, doth the same, as if it had expressed it by the fourteenth day of the moon, and consequently it is not to be charged with any fault or error in this matter. And thus having opened the cause in all its points, I shall leave the further prosecution of it to those who shall think fit to contend about it. All that I propose hereby is only to give such light into it, that neither side may, like the Andabataë, fight in the dark, as both in the handling of this particular seem hitherto to have done.

In the compiling of this history I have taken all the helps that the Jewish writers could supply me with: but these, I must confess, are very poor ones. Of the succession of the presidents and vice-presidents of their sanhedrim, by whom they say their traditions were handed down from Simon the Just, and the men of the great synagogue, I have given their names as far as this history goes. But, besides their names, there being scarce any thing related of them, but what carries with it a manifest air of improbability and fable, I have forbore troubling the reader with such trash. Only about Hillel and Shammai I have enlarged; for their followers constituting two opposite sects among the Jews, in the same manner as the Scotists and Thomists among the schoolmen, their names run through both their Talmuds and all their Talmudic writings, and they are of all that have been in that station within the compass of this history, of the most eminent note and fame among them, and have had more said of them than all the rest. And therefore I have given as full an account of them as the Jewish writers can afford me within the limits of a just credibility.

But nothing can be more jejune and empty than the histories which the rabbinical Jews give of themselves. Josephus's History in Greek is a noble work, but they disown and condemn it, and instead of it would obtrude upon us an Hebrew Josephus, under the name of *Jossipon Ben Gorion*. This, they say, is the true and authentic Josephus, but ours, that is, the Greek Josephus, a false one. There is a Josephus Ben Gorion mentioned in Josephus's History of the Jewish War, who is there said to have been one of the three to whose conduct that war was first committed.^e This per-

son, the impostor who composed this book, mistaking for Josephus the historian, set forth that spurious work under his name, intending thereby to quash the credit of the true Josephus, which we have in Greek, as if that were the imposture, and this in Hebrew the only true and authentic work of that historian. But the book itself proves the fraud. For there is in it mention made both of names and things, which had no being till many hundreds of years after the time in which it is pretended the book was written, neither was it heard of, or ever quoted by any author, till above a thousand years after that time.^f Solomon Jarchi, a French Jew, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1140, is the first that makes mention of it. After that it is quoted by Aben Ezra, Abraham Ben Dior, and R. David Kimchi, who all three lived in the same century. After this it became generally owned by the Jews, and hath obtained that credit and esteem among them, as to be held, next the sacred writings, a book of principal value among them; and was one of the earliest of their books that hath been published in print by them. For it was printed at Constantinople in the year of our Lord 1490, which was within fifty years of the first invention of that art; and hereon it became so generally received and valued by that people, that, twenty years after, there came out another edition of it from the same place, and after that a third edition at Venice, A. D. 1544. What Munster hath published of it is no more than an epitome of this author; but the whole of it is in the Constantinopolitan and Venice editions. It is divided into six books and ninety-seven chapters. The best that can be said of it is, that it is written in an elegant Hebrew style, and therefore on this account is very fit for the use of young students in the Hebrew language. But, as to the subject matter, it is every where stuffed with apocryphal and Talmudic fables; most of that, which is not of this sort, is taken from the true Josephus; but it is to be observed, that what the impostor takes from him is from the Latin version of Ruffinus, and not from the Greek original, which leads him into several blunders. But who this author was, or where or when he wrote his book, is uncertain. Scaliger conjectures, that he was a Jew of Tours in France;^g but his reason for it being only, that he speaks more of the places about Tours, than of any other parts of France, this doth not prove the thing. But it be-

^f For in that book there is mention made of Lombardy, France, England, Hungary, Turkey, &c. which are all modern names, and never heard of till several hundred years after the time, in which it is pretended this book was written.

^g In Elencho Trihær. Nicolai Serrarii, cap. 4.

ing sufficiently proved, that the book is an imposture, it is of no moment to know who was the true author of it, or where or when he lived. Mr. Gagnier, a French gentleman now living in Oxford, hath lately given a very accurate Latin version of this work, according to the best edition of it. It is to be wished that his learned pains had been employed about a better author.

For several hundred years after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, where Josephus ends, no other Jew hath written any history of the affairs of that people, till about the tenth century after Christ. But the sect of the Karaites (who, adhering only to the written word, rejected all traditions) then prevailing and often pressing the Rabbinites, their antagonists in this controversy, to make good the succession through which they pretended to have received their traditions, this did put several of the learned men upon the hunt for it; and they having raked through both their Talmuds, and from them gotten together some historical scraps to serve for this purpose, with these poor materials have endeavoured to compose something like an history of their nation, giving an account therein, how their traditions were delivered down from Moses to the prophets, and from the prophets to the men of the great synagogue, and from the men of the great synagogue to the doctors, who afterward, in a continued series, handed them down from one to another, through after generations. Of this sort they have some few historical composures among them, but such as are very mean and contemptible. They all begin from the creation of the world, and, as far as the Scriptures of the Old Testament go, they write from them, but often interpose fabulous glosses and additions of their own. From the time where the Old Testament Scriptures end, the two Talmuds supply them, and from the time where the Talmuds end, they are supplied from the traditions that were afterward preserved among them. And an account of their doctors, and the succession of them in their chief schools and academies in Judea, Babylonia, and elsewhere, is the main subject which, after the scriptural times, they treat of. And of these historical books there are but seven in all, that I know of, among them, and they are these following: 1. *Seder Olam Rabbah*; 2. *Teshuvoth R. Sherira Gaon*; 3. *Seder Olam Zeutah*; 4. *Kabbalah R. Abraham Levita Ben Dior*; 5. *Sepher Juchasin*; 6. *Shalsheth Haccabbalah*; 7. *Zemach David*. The four first are the ancientest, but all of them have been written since the beginning of the ninth century, and are very short. The three last are much larger, but of a very modern composure, being all of them written since the time of

our king Henry VIII. I will here give an account of each of them in their order.

I. *Seder Olam Rabbah*, i. e. *the Larger Chronicon*, is so called, in respect to *Seder Olam Zeutah*, i. e. *the Lesser Chronicon*, which was afterward composed. However, notwithstanding this great name, it is but a short history, and treats mostly of the scriptural times. Buxtorf tells us it reached down to the time of Adrian the Roman emperor, and his vanquishing Ben Chuzibah the impostor, who did then set up for the Messiah.^h I have not seen any copy of that history which reacheth down so far, but no doubt that great and learned man did, otherwise he would not have told us so. The author is commonly said to have been R. Jose Ben Chaliptha, who flourished a little after the beginning of the second century after Christ, and is said to have been master to R. Judah Hakkadosh, who composed the Mishna. But R. Azarias, the author of *Meor Enaim*, in the third part of that book (which he calls *Imre Binach*), tells us, that he had seen an ancient copy of this book, in which it was written, that the author lived seven hundred and sixty-two years after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, which refers his time to the year of Christ 832. It was most certainly written after the Babylonish Talmud; for it contains many fables and dotages taken from thence.

II. *Teshuvoth R. Sherira Goan*, i. e. *the answers of R. Sherira*, *sublime doctor*, is an historical tract written by way of questions and answers by him whose name it bears. It is a very short piece, and is usually inserted with some other historical fragments in the editions of Juchasin. He was *Æchmalotarch* in Babylonia, and head of all the Jewish schools and academies in that country, which dignity he obtained, A. D. 967, and continued in it thirty years, that is, till the year 997, when he resigned it to R. Haia his son, who was the last that bore the title of *Gaon* or *sublime doctor*. For, in his time, that is, A. D. 1037, the Mahometan king that then reigned over Babylonia expelled the Jews out of all those parts,ⁱ and thereon all their schools and academies which they had there, were dissolved, and all the degrees and titles of honour, which on the account of learning used to be conferred in them, utterly ceased, and no learned man hath since that time, among the Jews, assumed any higher name or title of honour in respect of his learning than that of Rabbi.^k

^h Bibliotheca Rabbinica, p. 386.

ⁱ On this expulsion out of the East, they flocked into the West, and from that time Spain, France, England, and Germany, were filled with them.

^k The chiefest of their academies were Naherda, Sora, and Pompedita, towns in Babylonia.

III. *Seder Olam Zeutah*, i. e. *the Lesser Chronicon*, is so called in respect to *Seder Olam Rabbah*, or *the Greater Chronicon*. This book was written, as it is therein expressed, ten hundred and fifty-three years after the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, that is, in the year of our Lord 1123. Who was the author of it is not known. It is, agreeable to its name, a very short chronicon, and is carried down from the beginning of the world to the year 452, after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, that is, to the year of our Lord 522. Eight generations after are named in it, but nothing more than their names is there mentioned of them.

IV. *Sepher Kabbalah R. Abraham Levita Ben Dior*,¹ i. e. *the book of tradition*, by Rabbi Abraham the Levite, the son of Dior, is an historical tract, chiefly intended to give an account of the succession of those, by whom the traditions of the Jews, as they pretend, from the time of Moses, were handed down to them from generation to generation. It begins from the creation of the world, and ends at the year of Christ 1160. The author of it was R. Abraham the Levite, whose name it bears in the title. He flourished in the time where his book ends. He writes much from Josippon Ben Gorion, and was one of the first that gave credit to that spurious book.

V. *Sepher Juchasin*, i. e. *the Book of Genealogies*, is an history of the Jews, much larger than all the four above mentioned put together. It begins from the creation of the world, and is continued down to the year of our Lord 1500. In the process and series of it an account is given of the succession of the Jewish traditions from Mount Sinai, and of all their eminent doctors teaching and professing them, down to the time where the book ends. The author of it was R. Abraham Zacuth, who first published it at Cracow, in Poland, in the year of our Lord 1580.

VI. *Shalsheth Haccabbalah*, i. e. *the Chain of Tradition*, is an historical book of the same contents with *Sepher Juchasin*. The author of it was Rabbi Gedaliah Ben Jechajah, who first published it at Venice in the year of our Lord 1587.

VII. *Zemach David*, i. e. *a Branch or Sprout of David*, is an history treating of the same subject as the two last preceding. It begins, as they do, from the creation of the world, and is continued down to the year of Christ 1592, in which year it was first published at Prague in Bohemia. The author was Rabbi David Gantz, a Bohemian Jew. There is extant a Latin version of this book, composed by William Henry Vorstius, the son of Conrad Vorstius, and published by him at Leyden, A. D. 1644.

¹ Others call him R. Abraham Ben David, but by mistake, for that R. Abraham was another person. See Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, p. 403.

By this it may be seen how little light into ancient times is to be gotten from histories of so modern and mean a composition, neither can any thing better be expected from their other writings. If any thing of ancient history be found any where in them more than what is scriptural, it is either taken from one of the histories which I have here given an account of, or from the Talmud, which is the common fountain from which they all draw. For this is the best authority they have, and how mean this is I have already shown.

My living at a distance from the press hath deprived me of the opportunity of correcting the errors of it ; but this defect hath been supplied by my very worthy friend Mr. Brampton Gurdon, who hath been pleased to take on him the trouble of correcting the last revise of every sheet ; and I know no one more able to correct the errors, not only of the printer, but also of the author, wherever I may have been mistaken in any particular contained in this book, he being a person eminently knowing in all those parts of literature, that are treated of through the whole of it, and otherwise of that worth and learning, as may justly recommend him to every man's esteem.

I shall be glad if this Second Part of my history may be as acceptable to the public as the former hath been. I must confess it hath been written under greater disadvantages, by reason of the decays which have since grown upon me. It hath always been the comfort, as well as the care of my life, to make myself as serviceable as I could, in all the stations which I have been called to. With this view it hath been, that I have entered on the writing of any of those works that I have offered to the public ; and I hope I have by all of them in some measure served my generation. But being now broken by age, and the calamitous distemper mentioned in the preface to the former part of this history, I find myself superannuated for any other undertaking, and therefore must, I fear, spend the remainder of my days in a useless state of life, which to me will be the greatest burden of it. But, since it is from the hand of God, I will comport myself with all patience to submit hereto, till my great change shall come, and God shall be pleased to call me out of this life into a better. For which I wait with a thorough hope and trust in his great and infinite mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory, honour, and praise, for ever and ever.

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.

NORWICH, Jan. 1, 1717-18.

Chronicon Alexandrinum.
e Juchasin, Shalsheth Haccabbalah, and Zemach David. R. A. Levita
in Historica Cabbala.



THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK I.

ELEAZAR, the brother of Simon the Just,^a succeeded him in the high-priesthood at Jerusalem, and there executed this office fifteen years.^b But whereas Simon the Just had been also president of the sanhedrim, or national council of the Jews, he was in this last charge succeeded by Antigonus of Socho, to which he was recommended by his great learning.^c For he was an eminent scribe in the law of God, and a great teacher of righteousness among the people. And he being the first of the Tannaim or Mishnaical doctors, from his school all those had their original who were afterward called by that name. And these were all the doctors of the Jewish law from the death of Simon the Just to the time that Rabbi Judah Hak-kadosh composed the Mishna, which was about the middle of the second century after Christ, as hath been before observed. In the gospels, they are sometimes called scribes, sometimes lawyers, and sometimes those that sat in Moses's seat. For those different appellations all denote the same profession of men, that is, those who, having been brought up in the knowledge of the law of God and the tradition of the elders concerning it, taught it in the schools and synagogues of the Jews, and judged according to it in their sanhedrims. For out of the number of the doctors were chosen all such as were members of those courts, that is, either of the great Sanhedrim of seventy-two, which was for the whole nation, or of the Sanhedrim of twenty-three, which was in every city in Judah. And such were Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, and Gamaliel; and in

Au. 231.
Ptolemy
Soter 14.

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 2. Chronicon Alexand. Eusebii Chronicon.
^b Chronicon Alexandrinum.
^c Juchasin, Shalshelath Haccabbalah, and Zemach David. R. A. Levita in Historica Cabbala.

respect hereof is it that they are called elders, counselors, and rulers, because, being of the number of those who were chosen into these councils, they did there declare and execute those laws, by which they ruled and governed the people.

The Jews tell us great things of this Simon the Just, and speak of great alterations that happened on his death in some parts of their divine worship, and the signs of the divine acceptance, that had till then appeared in the performance of them. For it is said in the Jerusalem Talmud, that "All the time of Simon the Just, the scape-goat had scarce come to the middle of the precipice of the mountain, from whence he was cast down, but he was broken into pieces: but, when Simon the Just was dead, he fled away alive into the desert, and was eaten of the Saracens.^d While Simon the Just lived, the lot of God in the day of expiation went forth always to the right-hand; but Simon the Just being dead, it went forth sometimes to the right-hand, and sometimes to the left. All the days of Simon the Just, the little scarlet tongue looked always white; but when Simon the Just was dead, it looked sometimes white, and sometimes red. All the days of Simon the Just, the west light always burnt; but, when he was dead, it sometimes burnt, and sometimes went out.^e All the days of Simon the Just, the fire upon the altar burnt clear and bright, and, after two pieces of wood laid on in the morning, they laid on nothing else the whole day after; but, when he was dead, the force of the fire languished in such a manner, that they were forced to supply it all the day. All the days of Simon the Just, a blessing was sent upon the two loaves,^f and the show-bread;^g so that a portion came to every priest, to the quantity of an olive at least; and there were some who did eat, and there were others to whom something remained after they had eaten their fill; but when Simon the Just was dead, that blessing was withdrawn, and so little remained to each priest, that those who were modest withdrew their hands, and those who were greedy still stretched them out." For the explication hereof, it is to be observed that, on the great day of expiation, which was a most solemn fast among

^d Mishna & Gemara Hierosol. in Yoma.

^e That is, the most western of the seven lamps of the golden candlesticks which stood in the holy place in the temple.

^f That is, the two wave-loaves offered in the feast of Pentecost, of which see Lev. xxiii. 15—21.

^g That is, the twelve loaves of show-bread, which were placed upon the show-bread table in the holy place every Sabbath, and taken away the next Sabbath after, and divided among the priests that then officiated. See Lev. xxiv. 5—10.

the Jews, kept by them every year on the tenth day of their month Tizri (which answers to our September,) two goats were brought into the inner court of the house of the Lord, and there, on the north side of the altar, presented before the high-priest, the one to be the scape-goat, and the other to be sacrificed to the Lord.^b And in order to determine which of them should be for each purpose, lots were cast to decide the matter; the manner of which was as followeth.ⁱ The goats being put one before the right-hand of the high-priest, and the other before the left-hand, an urn was brought, and placed in the middle between them, and two lots were cast into it, (they might be of wood, silver, or gold, but under the second temple they were always of gold.)^k On the one of these was written *For the Lord*, and on the other *For the scape-goat*; which being well shaken together, the high-priest put both his hands into the urn, and with his right-hand took out one lot, and with his left-hand the other, and according to the writing on them were the goats appointed, as they stood on each hand of the high-priest, either for the Lord, to be sacrificed to him, or to be the scape-goat, to be let escape into the wilderness; that is, if the right-hand lot were *For the Lord*, then the goat that stood before him at the right-hand was to be sacrificed, and the other to be the scape-goat; but if the left-hand lot were *For the Lord*, then the goat that stood at the left-hand was to be sacrificed, and the other to be the scape-goat. And therefore, whereas it is said, that the lot of God, till the death of Simon the Just, went first always to the right-hand, the meaning is, that the high-priest always drew out with his right-hand the lot *For the Lord*, and with his left that *For the scape-goat*; but afterward with each hand sometimes one lot, and sometimes the other. As soon as the goats were thus appointed each to their proper use, the high-priest bound upon the head of the scape-goat a long piece (they call it a tongue) of scarlet. And this is that scarlet tongue, which, the Talmud saith, looked always white till the death of Simon the Just, but afterward sometimes white, and sometimes red. And the change of red into white being here spoken of as a sign of God's accepting of the expiation of that day, hither may be referred what is said in Isaiah i. 18, *Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool*; or rather to this text may be referred the foundation of all that they say of this matter. After the goat for the Lord was offered up in sacrifice to him, the scape-goat was brought before the high-priest,

^h Mishna in Yoma. Maimonides in Yom. Haccipurum.

ⁱ Lev. xvi. 8

^k Mishna & Maimonides, *ibid*.

who laying both his hands upon his head, confessed over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, and all their sins ; by that ceremony putting them all upon the head of that goat ; and then sent him away by a fit person into the wilderness. The place where they led him was a rock or precipice at the distance of twelve miles from Jerusalem, where he was to be let escape, to carry away the sins of the children of Israel with him far out of sight. Till the time of Simon the Just, the Talmud saith, this goat was always dashed in pieces in the fall, on his being let loose over the precipice ; but that afterward he always escaped, and, flying into Arabia, was there taken and eaten by the Saracens.

Demetrius having, as he thought, thoroughly settled his affairs in Greece and Macedon, made great preparations to recover his father's empire in Asia ; for which purpose he got together an army of one hundred thousand men, and a fleet of five hundred sail of ships, which was a greater force, both by sea and land, than had been gotten together by any prince since the time of Alexander the Great.^l

This alarming Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, they all three entered into a confederacy together for their mutual defence against his designs, and also drew in Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to join with them herein.^m And therefore, while Lysimachus invaded Macedonia on the one side, Pyrrhus did the same on the other. This drew Demetrius out of Greece (where he was then attending his preparations for the Asian expedition) back into Macedonia for the defence of that country. But before he could arrive thither, Pyrrhus having taken Berœa, a great city in Macedonia, where many of Demetrius's soldiers had their families, friends, and effects, the news hereof no sooner got into the army, but it put all into disorder and mutiny, many declaring, that they would follow him no farther, but return home to defend their friends, families, and fortunes, in their own country ; whereon Demetrius, seeing his interest absolutely lost among them, fled in the disguise of a private soldier into Greece ; and all his army revolted to Pyrrhus, and made him their king. Demetrius, on his return into Greece, having there ordered his affairs in the best manner his present circumstances would admit, committed the care of all he had in those parts to Antigonus his son, and, with all the remainder of his forces that could be spared from thence (which amounted to about eleven thousand men,) went on board his

An. 268.
Ptolemy
Soter 17.

An. 267.
Ptolemy
Soter 18.

^l Plutarch, in Demetrio & Pyrrho. Justin. lib. 16, c. 2.

^m Plutarch, & Justin. *ibid*.

fleet, and sailed into Asia, there in a desperate manner to seek his fortunes. On his arrival at Miletus, he took that city, and there married Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy. She was brought to him thither by Eurydice her mother, the wife of Ptolemy, and sister of Phila, Demetrius's former wife, who died a little before of a dose of poison, which she desperately took on her husband's flight out of Macedonia, to avoid the calamity which she thought would follow that declension of his fortune. However, this did not hinder Ptolemy from marrying his daughter to him, and of this marriage was born Demetrius, who afterward reigned in Cyrene.

From Miletus, Demetrius invaded Caria and Lydia, and having taken many cities from Lysimachus in those provinces, and there much augmented his forces with new recruits, at length made himself master of Sardis.^a But on the coming of Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, with an army against him, he was forced again to quit all that he had taken, and marched eastward. His intentions in taking this route were to pass into Armenia, and Media, and seize these provinces. But Agathocles, having coasted him all the way in his march, reduced him to great distress for want of provisions and forage, which brought a sickness into his army, that destroyed a great number of them, and, when he attempted to pass Mount Taurus with the remainder, he found all the passes over it seized by Agathocles; whereby being obstructed from proceeding any further that way, he marched backward to Tarsus in Cilicia, a town belonging to Seleucus, and from thence signifying to that prince the calamitous condition he was reduced to, earnestly prayed relief and assistance from him for the subsisting of himself and the forces that followed him. Seleucus, being moved with this representation of his doleful case, at first took compassion on him, and ordered his lieutenants in those parts to furnish him and his forces with all things necessary. But afterward, being put in mind of the valour and enterprising genius of this prince, and of his great abilities in all the arts and stratagems of war, and his undaunted boldness for the attempting of any design he should have an opportunity for, he began to think, that the setting up of such a man again might tend to the endangering of his own affairs, and therefore, instead of helping him any further, he resolved to lay hold of this opportunity absolutely to crush him, and accordingly marched against him with an army for this purpose; of which Demetrius having received intelligence, he seized on those fastnesses of Mount Taurus where he could best defend himself, and from thence sent again to Seleucus, entreating him

that he would permit him to pass into the East, that there seizing some country of the barbarous nations, he might therein pass the remainder of his life in quiet and repose ; or otherwise, if he liked not this, that he would at least allow him quarters for that winter, and not in the rigorous season of the year, drive him out in a naked and starving condition into the very jaws of his enemies, to be devoured and destroyed by them. But Seleucus not at all liking his design of going into the East, this first part of his request served only to increase his jealousy, and therefore all that he would grant him was, to take winter quarters in Cataonia (a province confining upon Cappadocia,) for two months during the severity of the winter, and after that to be gone. And then he immediately put guards on all the passes of the mountains leading from Cilicia into Syria, to obstruct his coming that way. Demetrius finding himself hereby pent up and beset, that is, by Agathocles on the one side, and by Seleucus on the other, was necessitated to betake himself to force for the extricating of himself, and therefore falling upon Seleucus's forces, that guarded the passes of the mountains into Syria, he drove them thence, and entered through them into that country.

But when he was ready to have proceeded further on some bold enterprise for the restoring of his affairs, An. 286. Ptolemy Soter 19. he was taken with a dangerous sickness, which lasted forty days.^o In the interim most of his men deserted ; whereby finding himself, on his recovery reduced to the utmost necessity, he resolved to make a desperate attempt upon Seleucus, by storming his camp in the night, with that small handful of his forces that still remained with him. But his design being discovered by a deserter, and thereby disappointed just as he was ready to have put it in execution, and many more of his soldiers deserting from him hereon, he attempted to make a retreat back over the mountains, and, that way, if possible, again reach his fleet. But finding all the passes there seized against him, he was forced to take shelter in the woods ; but being there ready to be starved, he was brought at length to the necessity of surrendering himself into the hands of Seleucus, who having caused him, under a strong guard to be carried to the Syrian Chersonesus near Laodicea, there kept him a prisoner till he died. He allowed him there the freedom of a park to hunt in, and all other accommodations both for the pleasures, as well as the necessaries of life. Whereon giving himself wholly up to eating, drinking, gaming, and laziness, he passed away the remainder of his life in those voluptuous and idle

enjoyments, till at length, having fed up his body hereby to an excessive fatness, and filled it with gross and noxious humours, he fell into that sickness, of which he died in this confinement, after he had passed in it three years, and had lived to the fifty-fourth year of his age.

All the time of his confinement Seleucus frequently sent him kind messages, with promises of a release from his captivity, assuring him that as soon as Antiochus and Stratonice should be returned again to court, the articles of his restoration should be settled by them to his content. This Stratonice was the daughter of Demetrius, and had been first married to Seleucus (as hath been above related.) but was then, by an unparalleled example, become the wife of Antiochus his son. The manner how it came to pass is thus related: Stratonice being a very beautiful lady, Antiochus fell in love with her; but not daring to own his passion, he silently languished under it, and at length, through the violence of it, fell desperately sick.^p Erasistratus, an eminent Greek physician, having the care of him in his sickness, soon found out what the distemper was, but to discover who was the person that had kindled this flame in him, was the difficulty; for the finding of this out, he carefully attended his patient, when visited by any of the court ladies, and observing, that whenever Stratonice came into his chamber, great alterations were made in his pulse, in his countenance, in his behaviour, and in every thing else about him which the passion of love could reach; and that nothing of this happened, when any other lady came to make him a visit, he hereby fully discovered that Stratonice was the sole object of that violent love, which caused his sickness; and finding that nothing else could cure him of it, but the enjoyment of the person beloved, for the bringing of this about, he thus craftily managed the matter: the next time that Seleucus inquired of him about his son's sickness, he told him, that his disease was love, and that he must necessarily die of it, because he could not have the person he loved, and he could not live without her. Seleucus being surprised at this account, asked, why he could not have the person he loved; because, saith the physician, he is in love with my wife, and I cannot part with her. How! not part with her, replied Seleucus, to save my beloved son's life; how then can you pretend to be my friend? Sir, said the physician, pray, make it your own case; would you, I pray, part with your wife Stratonice for the sake of Antiochus? And if you, who are his most tender father, will not do it for a most beloved son, how can

^p Plutarch. in Demetrio. Appian. in Syriacis. Valerius Maximus, lib. 5, c. 7. Lucianus de Dea Syria. Julianus in Lisopogone.

you expect it from any other? Oh, replied Seleucus, would to God the safety of my son were put upon this issue, I would then gladly part with Stratonice, or any thing else, to effect his recovery. Why, then, said Erasistratus, you are the only physician that can cure him, for it is the love of Stratonice that hath cast him into this disease, which he languisheth with, and nothing can restore him but the giving of her to him to wife. Hereon Seleucus, having easily enough prevailed with Stratonice to accept of a young prince for her husband instead of an old king, she was given to him to wife, after she had borne children to his father, and they being thereon crowned king and queen of Upper Asia, were sent thither to govern those provinces, and there they were all the time that Demetrius was in his confinement in Syria. And from this abominable incestuous marriage (the like whereof was not heard of among the Gentiles in St. Paul's time^q) sprung all that race of Syrian kings, who so grievously persecuted, vexed, and oppressed God's people in Judah and Jerusalem, as will be hereafter related.

Ptolemy Soter having reigned in Egypt twenty years from the time of his assuming the title of king, and thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, placed Ptolemy Philadelphus, one of the sons which he had by Berenice, on the throne, and made him king in copartnership with him.^r He had several sons by other wives, one of which was Ptolemy, surnamed Ceraunus, or the Thunderer, who being born to him by Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and the elder of the two, expected the crown after his father, as due to him before the other, by virtue of his birth-right. But Berenice, who came first into Egypt only as companion to Euridice, when she first married Ptolemy, having also become his wife, and by reason of her beauty, been exceedingly beloved by him, she gained hereby such an ascendant over him above all his other wives, that she carried it for her son.^s And therefore being now past eighty, and apprehending the day of his death not to be far off, he determined to put the crown upon his head, while he yet lived, that so there might be no war nor contention about it after his death. Whereon Ptolemy Ceraunus, not bearing this preference of his younger brother before him, fled first to Lysimachus, whose son Agathocles went to Seleucus, who received him with great kindness, which he repaid with the most villanous treachery, as will be hereafter related.^t

An. 285.
Ptolemy
Soter 20.

q 1 Cor. v. 1.

r Pausan. in Atticis. Justin. lib. 16, c. 2. Diog. Laert. in Demet. Phal.

s Vide Theocriti Idylium 17.

t Appian. in Syriacis. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium.

In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (which was the first year of the 124th Olympiad) was finished the great tower or light-house in the island of Pharos, over against Alexandria, commonly called the tower of Pharos, which hath been reckoned among the seven wonders of the world.^u It was a large foursquare pile of building, all built of white marble, and had always fires maintained on the top of it for the direction of seamen. It cost in the building eight hundred talents. This, if computed by Attic talents, amounts to one hundred and sixty-five thousand pounds of our sterling money; but if by Alexandrian talents, it will come to twice as much. The architect, who built it, was Sostratus of Cnidus, who craftily endeavoured to usurp the honour of it with posterity to himself by this fraudulent device. The inscription ordered to be set on it being [*King Ptolemy to the Gods the Saviours for the benefit of those who pass by sea*] instead of Ptolemy's name, he craftily engraved his own in the solid

An. 284.
Ptolemy
Philadelph. 1.

^u Plin. lib. 36, c. 12. Strabo, lib. 17, p. 791. Eustathii Comment. in Dionysii Periegesin. Suidas in *φάρος*. Eusebii Chronicon, p. 66. Stephanus Byzantinus. Geographia Nubiensis. Vetus Scholiastes in Lucianum. This old Greek scholiast is at the end of Grævius's edition of Lucian's works, published at Amsterdam, A. D. 1687. That which I quote it for, is a passage taken out of it by Nicholas Lloyd in his Geographical Lexicon, where under the word Pharos, he tells us in the words of that scholiast, that this tower was τετραγωνος σαδαιος την πλευρην επι πολυ τε αερος ανεχων ως απο ρ σραβαις μυλιας, i. e. *That it was a square of a furlong (i. e. six hundred feet) on every side, and ascended up so high into the air, that it might be seen at a distance of an hundred miles.* Though this determines the breadth to a certain measure, yet it doth not the height, but in an uncertain manner. But this defect is supplied by Eben Adris, an Arabic author, in his book called by the Latin translator Geographia Nubiensis. For there he tells us (Clim. 3, part 3,) that this tower or light-house of Pharos was three hundred cubits, (i. e. four hundred and fifty feet) high. But both these accounts are very improbable, and the former is contradicted by what Josephus tells us of it, (De Bello Judaico, lib. 6, p. 914,) for, speaking of the tower of Phasaelus at Jerusalem, which he describes to be a square building of forty cubits (i. e. sixty feet) on every side, and ninety cubits (i. e. one hundred and thirty-five feet) high, saith of it, that it was like the tower of Pharns near Alexandria; *τη περιουχιδε πολυ μαιζων ην*, i. e. *But as to its circumference it was much larger.* And Josephus, having often seen both these towers, could not be mistaken herein. Were the tower of Pharos of the breadth of six hundred feet on every side, and of the height of four hundred and fifty feet, it would within thirty feet be as high as the great pyramid, and stand upon altogether as much ground in a direct perpendicular building, as that doth in a pyramidal; which would render it, beyond all other buildings in the world, very prodigious; and, were it so, Josephus could not have said in reference to it the words above recited. But against Josephus, as to this matter, it may be objected, that if the tower of Pharos were so much less than the tower of Phasaelus at Jerusalem, how came it to be ever reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world? It would be an answer to this objection if we could say the words of Josephus, as above recited, were to be referred to the tower of Pharos, and not to that of Phasaelus, but the grammatical construction will not admit it. If any one shall say, that in the place cited *μεινω* (i. e. lesser) should be read instead of *μειζων* (i. e. larger,) I should readily agree to this emendation, could it be justified from any authentic copy.

marble, and then filling up the hollow of the engraved letters with mortar, wrote upon it what was directed. So the inscription, which was first read, was according as it was ordered, and truly ascribed the work to king Ptolemy its proper founder; but, in process of time, the mortar being worn off, the inscription then appeared to be thus: [Sostratus the Cnidian, son of Dexiphanes, to the Gods the Saviours for the benefit of those who pass by sea] which being in lasting letters deeply engraved into the marble stones, lasted as long as the tower itself. This tower hath been demolished for some ages past. There is now in its place a castle called Farillon, where a garrison is kept to defend the harbour, perchance it is some remainder of the old work.^x Pharos was at first wholly an island, at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent, and had no other passage to it but by sea. But it hath many ages since been turned from an island into a peninsula, by being joined to the land, in the same manner as Tyrus was, by a bank carried through the sea to it, which was anciently called in Greek the *Heptastadium*, that is, *the seven furlong bank*, because seven furlongs was the length of it.^y This work was performed by Dexiphanes, the father of Sostratus, about the same time that Sostratus finished the tower, and seems to have been the more difficult undertaking of the two. They, being both very famous architects, were both employed by Ptolemy Soter in the works which he had projected for the beautifying, adorning, and strengthening the city of Alexandria: the father having undertaken the *Heptastadium* at the same time that his son did the tower, they finished both these works at the same time, that is, in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Those who attribute the making of the *Heptastadium* to Cleopatra follow Ammianus Marcellinus, whose relation concerning it cannot be true:^z for it contradicts Cæsar's Commentaries, and many other authors, that are better to be credited in this matter.

Towards the end of this year died Ptolemy Soter,^a king of Egypt, in the second year after his admitting of his son to sit on his throne with him, being at the time of his death eighty-four years old.^b He was the wisest and best of his race, and left an example of prudence, justice, and clemency, behind him, which none of his successors cared to follow. During the forty years in which he governed Egypt,

x Thevenot's Travels, part 1, book 2, chap. 1.

y Strabo, lib. 17, p. 792. Plin. lib. 5, c. 31, & lib. 13, c. 11. Cæsar's Comment. de Bello Civili, lib. 3. Pomponius Mela, lib. 2, c. 7.

z Lib. 22, cap. 16.

a Pausanias in Atticis. Eusebii Chronicon

b Lucianus in Macrobiis.

from the death of Alexander, he had brought that country into a very flourishing condition, which, administering great plenty to his successors, this administered to as great luxury in them, in which they exceeded most that lived in their time.

A little before his death, this very same year, was brought out of Pontus to Alexandria the image of Serapis, after three years sedulous endeavour made for the obtaining of it ; concerning which we are told, that, while Ptolemy, the first of that name that reigned in Egypt, was busying himself in fortifying Alexandria with its walls, and adorning it with temples and other public buildings, there appeared to him in a vision of the night a young man of great beauty, and of more than human shape, and commanded him to send to Pontus and fetch from thence his image to Alexandria, promising him, that his doing this should make that city famous and happy, and bring great prosperity to his whole kingdom, and then, on his saying this, ascended up into heaven in a bright flame of fire out of his sight.^c Ptolemy, being much troubled hereat, called together the Egyptian priests to advise with them about it ; but they being wholly ignorant of Pontus, and all other foreign countries, could give him no answer concerning this matter ; whereon, consulting one Timotheus an Athenian, then at Alexandria, he learnt from him, that in Pontus, there was a city called Sinope, not far from which was a temple of Jupiter, which had his image in it, with another image of a woman standing nigh him, that was taken to be Proserpina. But, after a while, other matters putting this out of Ptolemy's head, so that he thought no more of it, the vision appeared to him again in a more terrible manner, and threatened destruction to him and his kingdom, if his commands were not obeyed ; with which Ptolemy being much terrified, immediately sent away ambassadors to the king of Sinope to obtain the image. They being ordered in their way to consult Apollo at Delphos, were commanded by him to bring away the image of his father, but to leave that of his sister. Whereon they proceeded to Sinope, there to execute their commission in the manner as directed by the oracle. But neither they, with all their solicitations, gifts, and presents, nor other ambassadors that were sent after them with greater gifts, could obtain what they were sent thither for, till this last year. But then the people of Sinope, being grievously oppressed by a famine, were content, on Ptolemy's relieving them with a fleet of corn, to part with their god for it, which they could not be induced to do before. And so the image was brought to Alexandria, and there set

^c Tacitus Histor. lib. 4, cap. 83, 84. Plutarchus de Iside & Osiride. Clemens Alexandrinus in Protreptico.

up in one of the suburbs of that city called Rhacotis, where it was worshipped by the name of Serapis; and this new god had in that place, a while after, a very famous temple erected to him, called the Serapeum: and this was the first time, that this deity was either worshipped or known in Egypt; and therefore it could not be the patriarch Joseph, that was worshipped by this name, as some would have it. For, had it been he that was meant hereby, this piece of idolatry must have been much ancients among them, and must also have had its original in Egypt itself, and not been introduced thither from a foreign country. Some of the ancients indeed had this conceit, as Julius Firmicus,^d Rufinus,^e and others; but all the reason they give for it is, that Serapis was generally represented by an image with a bushel on its head, which they think denote the bushel wherewith Joseph measured out to the Egyptians his corn in the time of the famine; whereas it might as well denote the bushel with which Ptolemy measured out to the people of Sinope the corn, with which he purchased this god of them. However, this same opinion is embraced by several learned men of the moderns,^f and for the support of it against what is objected from the late reception of Serapis among the Egyptian deities, they will have Serapis to have been an ancient Egyptian god, and the same with their Apis, and that Serapis was no other than Apis *ἐν Σόρῳ*, that is, *Apis in his coffin*, and for this they quote some of the ancients.^g Their meaning is, that, while the sacred bull, which the Egyptians worshipped for their great god, was alive, he was called Apis, and that, when he was dead, and salted up in his coffin, and buried, he was called Serapis, that is, *Apis in Soro* (that is, *in his coffin*,) from whence, they say, his name was at first Soroapis, made up of the composition of these two words, Soros and Apis put together, and that, by corruption from thence, it came to be Serapis. But what is there, that, after this rate, learned men may not tenter any thing to? But the worst of it is, the ancient Egyptians did not speak Greek. The Ptolemies first brought that language among them; and therefore, had Serapis been an ancient god worshipped in that country before the Ptolemies reigned there, his name could not have had a Greek etymology. Much more might be said to show the vanity of this conceit, were it worth the reader's while to be troubled with it. It is certain Serapis was not originally an Egyptian deity anciently worshipped

^d In Libro de Errore Prophanarum Religionum.

^e Hist. lib. 2, c. 23.

^f Vossius, Ouzelius, Spencerus, aliique.

^g Nymphiodorus, Elem. Alexandr. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10, c. 12. Rufin. ibidem.

in that country, (as he must have been, had it been Joseph that was there worshipped under that name,) but was an adventitious god brought thither from abroad about the time which we now treat of. The ancient place of his station, Polybius tells us, was on the coast of the Propontis, on the Thracian side, over against Hierus, and that there Jason, when he went on the Argonautic expedition, sacrificed unto him.^h From thence, therefore, the people of Sinope had this piece of idolatry, and from them the Egyptians, in the manner as I have related; and till then this deity was wholly unknown among them. Had it been otherwise, Herodotus, who is so large in his account of the Egyptian gods, could not have escaped taking notice of him: but he makes not the least mention of him as worshipped in that country, neither doth any author that wrote before the times that the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt. And, when his image was first set up in Alexandria, Nicocreon, then king of Cyprus, as having never heard of him before, sent to know what god he was, which he would not have done had he been a deity anciently worshipped by the Egyptians.ⁱ For then Nicocreon, who was a very learned prince, must necessarily before that time have had full knowledge of him. And Origen, who was an Egyptian, speaks of him as a god not long before received into that country.^k And it is to be observed, that, as he was a new god, so he brought in with him among the Egyptians a new way of worship. For, till the time of the Ptolemies, the Egyptians never offered any bloody sacrifices to their gods, but worshipped them only with their prayers and frankincense.^l But the tyranny of the Ptolemies

^h Lib. 4, p. 307.

ⁱ Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. 1, c. 20.

^k Contra Celsum, lib. 5.

^l Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. 1, cap. 7. Verba ejus sunt: Nunquam fas fuit Ægyptiis pecudibus aut sanguine, sed precibus et thure solo placare deos. This was true of the ancient Egyptians. For, among the ancients, Porphyry tells us (De Abstinencia, lib. 2, sect. 59,) that the sacrifices with which they worshipped their gods were cakes and the fruits of the earth; and he tells us in the same book (lib. 4, sect. 15,) of the Syrians, who were next neighbours to the Egyptians, and agreed in many things with them, that they offered no living creatures in sacrifice to their gods. But this could not be true of the Egyptians in Herodotus's time. For it appears from him, that they then offered some animals in sacrifices to their gods but those were very few; much the greatest number of them were excepted, till the Ptolemies, with the Grecian gods, brought in the Grecian way of worshipping them with all manner of sacrifices; and of this, perchance, may be understood what Macrobius tells us of this matter. Alexander Sardus, in his book De Moribus et Retibus Gentium, (lib. 3, cap. 15,) hath these words: "Dicebat Pythagoras se aliquando concilio deorum interfuisse, et didicisse eos Ægyptiorum sacrificia probare, quæ libationibus constant, thure, et laudibus; non placere animantium cædes; quæ tamen postea immolarunt Ægyptii, ut Soli gallum, cygnum, taurum; Veneri columbam; et syderibus, quæ cum syderibus similitudinem habent." This makes fully for what I have said. Sardus had it from some ancient authority, but doth not name his author.

having forced upon them the worship of two foreign gods, that is, Saturn and Serapis, they in this worship first brought in the use of bloody sacrifices among that people. However, they continued always so averse hereto, that they would never suffer any temple to be built to either of those gods within any of the walls of their cities; but, wherever they were in that country, they were always built without them in their suburbs. And they seem only to have been the Egyptians of the Greek original who conformed hereto, and not those of the old race. For they still retained their old usage in all their old temples, and could never be induced to offer the blood of beasts in any of them; for this was always an abomination unto them from the beginning. And therefore, when the children of Israel desired leave of Pharaoh to go three days' journey into the wilderness, to offer sacrifice unto the Lord,^m they gave this for the reason of it, that their religion obliging them to offer to their God the bloody sacrifices of sheep and oxen,ⁿ and other living creatures, they durst not do this in the sight of the Egyptians, lest they should stone them, because such sort of sacrifices were an abomination to that people; and therefore they desired that they might go to the distance of three days' journey from them to perform this part of their worship unto their God, that, being thus far out of their sight and observation, they might give them no offence, nor provoke them by it to any mischief against them.

In that place, in the suburb Rhacotis, where the image of Serapis, which Ptolemy brought from Sinope, was set up, was afterward built a very famous temple to that idol, called the Serapeum, which, Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, did, in the magnificence and ornaments of its buildings, ex-

^m Exod. viii. 26, 27.

ⁿ The chief cause of this abomination was, that many of those living creatures which the Jews offered in sacrifice, were worshipped as gods by the Egyptians. and therefore were never slain by them, nor could they bear the slaying of them by others; of which Diodorus Siculus gives us a sufficient instance, (lib. 1, p. 75, edit. Hanov.) where his words are as followeth: Such a superstition towards those sacred animals was ingenerated in their minds, and every one of them was in his affections so obstinately bent to pay honour and veneration to them, that at a time when Ptolemy their king was not yet declared a friend of the Romans, and all the people studied to court and pay observance to all that came out of Italy, out of fear of the Romans, that they might not give them any cause of displeasure, or reason for war against them, a Roman then in Egypt happening to have slain a cat, the multitude, immediately running together, beset the house where the Roman was, and neither the nobles sent by the king to deprecate their rage, nor the fear of the Romans, could withhold them from punishing this man with death, though it was by chance, and not wilfully, that he did the fact. Thus far Diodorus. But sheep and cows, which the Jews sacrificed, were in a higher degree sacred among the Egyptians than their cats; and for this reason they could not have borne the Jewish sacrifices among them.

ceed all other edifices in the world, next that of the capitol at Rome.^o Within the verge of this temple there was also a library, which was of great fame in after ages, both for the number and value of the books it was replenished with.^p Ptolemy Soter being a learned prince, as appeared by the history of the life of Alexander, written by him, (which was of great repute among the ancients,^q though not now extant,) out of the affection he had for learning, founded at Alexandria a museum or college of learned men for the improving of philosophy, and all other knowledge,^r like that of the Royal Society at London, and the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. And, for this use he got together a library of books, which, being augmented by his successors, grew afterward to a very great bulk.^s Ptolemy Philadelphus, the son of Soter, left in it, at the time of his death, an hundred thousand volumes.^t Those that reigned after him of that race, still added more to them, till at length they amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes.^u Their method in the collecting of them was thus :^x They seized all the books that were by any Greek or other foreigner brought into Egypt, and, sending them to the museum, caused them there to be written out by those of that society whom they there maintained, and then sent the transcripts to the owners, and kept the originals to lay up in the library. And particularly it is said of Ptolemy Euergetes, that, having thus borrowed of the Athenians the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æschylus, he sent them back the copies, which he had caused very fairly to be transcribed, and retained the originals for his library, giving them fifteen talents over and above for the same.^y The museum being placed in the region of the city called Bruchium, near the king's palace, there the library was at first placed also, and had great resort made to it :^z but afterward, when it was filled with books to the num-

^o Lib. 22, cap. 26, p. 343.

^p Marcellinus, *ibid.* Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Tertullianus in Apologetico, cap. 18.

^q Arrianus in Præfatione ad Historiam de Expeditione Alexandri. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 9, c. 8.

^r Strabo, lib. 17, p. 793. Plutarchus in libro quo probat non posse jucunde vitam agi ex Epicuri Præceptis.

^s Constat ex Suida Zenodo, tum Ephesium præfuisse Bibliothecæ Alexandrinæ sub Ptolemæo primo.

^t Euseb. in Chronico, p. 66. Syncellus, p. 271. Cedrenus.

^u Amm. Marcellinus, lib. 22, cap. 16. A. Gellius, lib. 6, cap. 17. Isidor. Orig. lib. 6, cap. 3.

^x Gellenus in Comment. 2. in tertium librum Hippocratis, de Moribus Vulgaribus.

^y This amounts to three thousand ninety-three pounds, and fifteen shillings sterling money.

^z Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Strabo, lib. 17.

ber of four hundred thousand volumes, the other library within the Serapeum was erected by way of supplement to it,^a and it was therefore called the daughter of the former;^b and that grew up to have three hundred thousand volumes placed in it: and these two put together, made up the number of seven hundred thousand volumes in the whole, of which the royal libraries of the Ptolemean kings at Alexandria were said to consist. When Julius Cæsar waged war against the Alexandrians,^c it happened that the library in Bruchium was burned, and the four hundred thousand volumes that were laid up in it were all consumed.^d But that in the Serapeum^e still remained, and there, we may suppose, it was that Cleopatra laid up the two hundred thousand volumes of the library of Pergamus, which Antony gave unto her;^f with which, and other books there deposited, the later Alexandrian library being much augmented, soon grew up to be larger, and of more eminent note, than the former: and although it had sometimes been rifled on the commotions and revolutions that happened in the Roman empire (as Orosius^g particularly complains it had been in his time,) yet it was as often repaired and replenished again with its full number of books, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and use in those parts, till at length it underwent the same fate with the other, and was also burned and finally destroyed by the Saracens, on their making themselves masters of that city. This happened A. D. 642,^h in the manner as followeth: Johannes Grammaticus, the famous Aristotelian philosopher, being then living at Alexandria, when the city was taken, and having much ingratiated himself with Amrus Ebnol, the general of the Saracen army, and, by reason of his great learning, made himself acceptable unto him, he begged of him the royal library of Alexandria: to this Amrus replied that this was not in his power, but was wholly in the disposal of the caliph or emperor of the Saracens; but he promised that he would send to him his request; and accordingly he wrote to Omar, the then caliph, about it. His answer hereto was, that, if those books contained what was agreeing with the Alcoran, there was no need of them, for the

a Epiphan. *ibid.* Tertullian. in *Apologetico*, cap. 18. Chrysostomus contra Judæos, lib. 1.

b Epiphan. *ibid.*

c Plutarchus in *Julio Cæsare*. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 22, c. 16. Dion Cassius, lib. 42, p. 202.

d Livius apud Senecam de *Tranquillitate*. Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 15.

e Tertullian, Chrysostomus, Epiphanius, Orosius, and others of the ancients, speak of this library in the Serapeum as still remaining in their time.

f Plutarchus in *Antonio*.

g Orosius, lib. 6, cap. 15. This author wrote his history about A. D. 417.

h Abulfaragius in *Historia Dynastiæ Nonæ*. p. 114.

Alcoran alone was sufficient of itself for all truth ; but if they contained what was disagreeing with the Alcoran, they were not to be endured : and therefore he ordered, that, whatsoever the contents of them were, they should all be destroyed : whereon being distributed among the public baths, they served as fuel, for six months time, to heat all the baths of Alexandria, which shows how great the number of them was. And in this manner was that inestimable treasure of learning wholly destroyed. According to Tertullianⁱ and St. Chrysostom,^k the Alexandrian library, in which the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, called the Septuagint, was laid up, was that in the Serapeum ; but, according to Epiphanius,^l it was that in the Bruchium, and they were only the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, that were deposited in the Serapeum. The museum which stood in the Bruchium, still lasted, after the library adjoining to it had been consumed, till, at length, that whole quarter of the city was destroyed in a war which they had with Aurelian the Roman emperor. For Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, that, till then, it had been for a long time the habitation of excellent men, meaning the society of those learned men who had been there maintained for the advancement of human knowledge.^m Strabo, in the description of this museum, tells us, that it was a large building adjoining to the palace, and standing near the port ; that it was surrounded with a portico or piazza, wherein the philosophers walked and conversed together ; that the members of the society, which were there admitted, were under the government of a president, whose office was of that consideration and dignity, that, during the reign of the Ptolemies, he was always appointed by those kings, and afterward by the Roman emperors ; and that they had within this building a common hall, where they did eat together, being there plentifully provided for at the public charge.ⁿ For this museum, from its first erection, had been endowed with large revenues for this purpose ; and therefore Timon the Phliasian, who was contemporary with Ptolemy, the first founder of it, called it *ταλαρον*,^o because there the philosophers were maintained with plenty of food, like birds (as he said) fattened in a coop ; for that word in Greek signified a vessel used to put victuals into. However, to this museum it was owing, that Alexandria, for a great many ages together, was the greatest school of learning in all those parts of the world, and a great many men of very excellent literature were bred in it, and particularly,

i In Apologetico, cap. 18.

l De Ponderibus et Mensuris.

n Lib. 17, p. 793.

k Contra Judæos, lib. 1.

m Lib. 22, c. 16, p. 343.

o Athenæus, lib. 1, p. 22

the Christian church received out of it some of the most eminent of its doctors, as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anatolius, Athanasius, and others ; for all these had their education in that city.

Demetrius the Phalerean seems to have been the first president of this museum. For the library being a part of that college, and instituted chiefly for the use of it, it is most likely that he that had the government of the college had the government of the library also, and that they always went thus both together. And therefore, since, according to Aristæas, Demetrius had the latter, it is very obvious to infer, that he had the former also. But if, where Aristæas saith this, he be understood as if he meant thereby, that Demetrius was made the king's library keeper, to look after and take care of the books, they who argue from hence against the authority of that author, argue right ; for that was too mean an office for so great a man ; for he had been prince of Athens, and governed that state with absolute authority ten years together, and was also a great lawgiver, and a great philosopher, and in these respects was reputed one of the eminentest men of the time in which he lived. The emperor Antoninus^p ranks him with the greatest princes of that age, even with Philip and Alexander the Great. And therefore, to tend the king's library as his library keeper, and there look after and take care of the books in it, was an office below the eminency and dignity of such a person. Besides, we find another in it, Zenodotus of Ephesus. For he,^q it is said, was library keeper to Ptolemy Soter, and also to Philadelphus his son, and, being by profession a grammarian, he was the most proper for this work, such being usually employed in the keeping and looking after libraries. However, it might not be below Demetrius, when received by Ptolemy among his friends and counsellors, to assist him in what he did so much set his heart upon, that is, the setting up of his museum, and the library belonging to it. Demetrius being a great philosopher, and as eminent for his learning as he was for his dignity and other great qualifications, it is most likely it was he that did first put Ptolemy upon both these projects ; and who then could be more proper to assist him in the carrying on of both, by taking upon him the superintendency and direction of the whole matter ? That he first directed Ptolemy Soter to get together a collection of books relating to policy and government, is well attested ; for Plutarch tells us so ;^r his words are, “ Demetrius Phalereus persuaded king

^p Lib. ix. c. 29, de seipso.

^r Apothegm. Regum.

^q Suidas in Ζηνοδοτος.

Ptolemy to get together books which treated of the government of kingdoms and states, and read them; for in those he would find such good advice as none of his friends would dare to give him." And when the king, upon having this good counsel given him, and approving thereof, was upon the pursuit of getting all such books together, it is easy to suppose this might lead him further, to the collection of all other sort of books for the making of the library mentioned; and it was not below the dignity of any of his counsellors to be assisting to him herein; and to be one of his prime counsellors was the highest station that Demetrius could be in about him; and in this station we are told he was. And this, we acknowledge, must have put him above the mechanical employment and servile attendance of keeping and looking after a library, but not above that of having the superintendency and chief direction over it. For we find at Rome one of the prime cardinals always in this office, at the pope's library. And lately in France, the archbishop of Rheims, who is by his place primate of the Gallican church, and first peer of the whole realm, thought it an honour to be in the same office, as to the king's library. That, therefore, which we may suppose in this case, and which I think was the truth of the matter, is, that Demetrius being a great scholar, as well as a great statesman and politician, did, on his coming to Ptolemy, put him upon the founding of the museum at Alexandria, for the advancement of learning, and the erecting of his great library there for the use of it, and that, on his prevailing with the king to hearken to these two projects of his proposal, he undertook the charge of carrying on both of them under him. How this great man came to Ptolemy hath been above related in the former part of this history. After he had been driven out of Athens by the prevailing power of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, he retired to Cassander his friend, and lived under his protection till his death;^s but after that, fearing the brutal ferocity of Antipater his son, who had murdered his own mother, he withdrew into Egypt, where he was received with great favour and honour by king Ptolemy Soter, and became his chief counsellor, whom he advised with above all others concerning his most important affairs, as especially he did in the matter of settling the succession of his crown.^t For he had sons by two wives, who were then both alive, Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, and Berenice, an inferior Macedonian lady, who came into Egypt in the retinue of Eurydice, but having gotten to

^s Diogenes Laertius in Demetrio. Plutarchus in Demetrio Poliorcete.

^t Diogenes Laertius, *ibid.* Cicero de Finibus, lib. 5. Strabo, lib. 9, p. 298. Ælian, *Histor. Var. lib.* 3, c. 17.

be his wife also, and, by reason of her beauty, gained the first place in his affection, and the greatest ascendant over him, she prevailed with him to disinherit the sons of Eurydice, who were the firstborn, and place the crown on the head of Philadelphus her son, as hath been already said. Demetrius, on Ptolemy's proposing this to him for his advice,^u earnestly dissuaded him from it, being moved hereto, not only by what he thought was in justice due to the children of Eurydice, by reason of their birthright, but also by the affection which he bore to them, for the sake of Cassander, his deceased friend, whose sister Eurydice was. This exceedingly provoked Berenice, and her son Ptolemy Philadelphus, against him; and therefore, when he came to be king, although he expressed not his displeasure against him as long as his father lived, yet he was no sooner dead, but he let loose all his wrath against him, for the ill offices he knew he had endeavoured to do him in respect of the succession. And therefore, having ordered him to be taken into custody, he sent him under a strong guard to a remote fortress of his kingdom, there to be kept in prison, till he should determine what further to do with him. But in the interim, being bitten by an asp, while he slept in his prison, he there died of it: and so ended the life of this great man.^x But this did not put an end to those laudable designs, which he had put Ptolemy Soter upon, either as to the museum or the library. For king Ptolemy Philadelphus carried on both of them, especially that of the library, which he very much augmented. And his successors after him continued to do the same, till it at length grew up to the bulk I have mentioned.

After the death of Ptolemy, two of Alexander's captains still survived, Lysimachus and Seleucus. But they in their old age (being each of them about eighty) making war upon each other, opened thereby a way to both their destructions. The occasion of it was thus:^y After Lysimachus had married his son Agathocles to Lysandra, one of Ptolemy's daughters, he took another of them called Arsinoe to wife to himself, and had several children by her. Hereon great emulation happened between the two sisters, each striving to secure the best interest they could for themselves and families, against the death of Lysimachus, whenever that should happen; and they being sisters by different mothers (for Lysandra was born of Eurydice, and Arsinoe of Berenice) this conduced to heighten the contention that was between them. On the coming of

An. 263.

Ptolemy
Philadelph. 2.

^u Diogenes Laertius in Demetrio.

^x Cicero in Oratione pro C. Rabirio.

^y Justin. lib. 17. Appianus in Syriacis. Pausanias in Atticis

Ptolemy Ceraunus to the court of Lysimachus, who was brother to Lysandra by both parents, Arsinoe feared his conjunction with Agathocles and Lysandra might make them too strong for her, and enable them to destroy hers and her children's interest on the death of Lysimachus, and therefore to prevent this, she plotted the death of Agathocles, and effected it. For having infused jealousies into the head of the old king her husband, as if Agathocles were laying plots against his life and crown, she induced him by these false accusations to cast him into prison, and there put him to death. Hereon Lysandra with her children, and Ptolemy Ceraunus her brother, fled to Seleucus, and excited him to make war against Lysimachus, and many of Lysimachus's captains and chief followers did the same. For revolting from him out of the abhorrence they had of him for the death of his son, and other cruelties which he had committed upon it, they went over to Seleucus, and joined with Lysandra, for the persuading of Seleucus to this war; and they the easier prevailed herein, because on other accounts he was then of himself inclined to it.

And therefore Seleucus, having prepared a great army, marched with it out of the East into Lesser Asia, and having there brought all under him, that be-
An. 282.
Ptolemy
Philadel. 3.
 belonged to Lysimachus as far as Sardis, he laid siege to that city,² and, having taken it, made himself master of all the treasure of Lysimachus, that was laid up in that place.

Lysimachus, on his having an account of this invasion, made ready an army to repel it, and, passing over
An. 281.
Ptolemy
Philadel. 4.
 the Hellespont, came to a battle with Seleucus at a place called Corupedion in Phrygia, in which he was vanquished and slain; whereby Seleucus became master of all his dominions.³ But that which most pleased him was, that he was now the survivor of all Alexander's captains, and had made himself by this victory the conqueror of the conquerors, and in this he much vaunted himself; and upon this account may he seem to have acquired the best title to the name of Nicator (that is, the conqueror,) though he had assumed it before, and is commonly called so by historians, to distinguish him from others of the same name who afterward reigned in Syria.

But this triumph of his did not last long, for within seven months after, as he was marching into Macedonia to take possession of that kingdom, where he purposed
An. 280.
Ptolemy
Philadel. 5.
 to pass the remainder of his life, he was in the march

² Polyænus, lib. 4, c. 9, sect. 4.

³ Justin. lib. 17, c. 1. Appian. in Syriacis. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium, c. 9. Pausanias in Atticis. Orosius, lib. 3, c. 23.

treacherously slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus, whom he had received with great kindness into his court on his flight thither, and there maintained him in a princely manner, and carried him with him in this expedition, with purpose, on having finished it with success, to have employed his forces for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom.^b But this wicked traitor, having no sense of gratitude for these favours, conspired against his benefactor, and basely murdered him. The manner of it is thus told. Seleucus having passed the Hellespont in his way to Macedonia, as he marched on from thence towards Lysimachia, (a city which Lysimachus had built near the Isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus) he stopped at a place, where he observed an old altar had been erected, and being told that it was called Argos, this made him very inquisitive about it. For he had been warned, it seems, by an oracle, to have a care of Argos, which he understood of the city of Argos in Peloponnesus. But while he was asking several questions about it, and how it came to be called by that name, the traitor came behind him, and thrust him through, and then getting the army to declare for him, seized the kingdom of Macedon. Those who were the soldiers and friends of Lysimachus, looking on him as a revenger of his death, on this account at first had a kind liking unto him, and stuck by him; but he soon gave reason to make them otherwise affected to him. For his sister Arsinoe, with her children still surviving,^c he thought himself not safe in the possession of Lysimachus's dominions, as long as any of his children remained alive, and therefore, pretending to take Arsinoe to be his wife, and to adopt her two sons which she had by Lysimachus, and having by this means gotten them into his power, he murdered them both on the very feast of the nuptials, and after that, having stripped Arsinoe of all that she had, he sent her to Samothracia into banishment, with two maids only to wait upon her. But Providence did not suffer all those wickednesses to go long unpunished.

For the next year after,^d Ptolemy waging war against the Gauls, who had invaded Macedonia, he was taken prisoner in the battle, and afterward on being known, was torn by them in pieces, which was a death he sufficiently deserved. For what is above related of him fully shows him to have been a man of a most perfidious and wick-

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Ptolemy
Philadelph.

^b Justin. lib. 17, c. 2. Appian. in Syriacis. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium, c. 13. Pausanias in Atticis.

^c Justin. lib. 24, c. 2. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium, c. 15.

^d Justin. lib. 24, c. 5. Memnonis Excerpta, c. 15. Pausanias in Phocis Eclogæ Diodori Siculi, lib. 22.

ed temper of mind, and the knowledge which his father had of this, no doubt, was that which most prevailed with him to exclude him from the succession of his crown, and settle it on his younger brother. After his death, Arsinoe retired into Egypt to Ptolemy Philadelphus her brother, who falling in love with her,^e after he had divorced another Arsinoe,^f the daughter of Lysimachus, whom he had married immediately on his first accession to the throne, took this sister of his to be his wife, according to the corrupt usage of the Persians and Egyptians, who, from the time of Cambyses, had these incestuous marriages in practice among them, and we have frequent instances of it among the Ptolemean kings, as well as among those that succeeded Cyrus in the kingdom of Persia. How Cambyses first gave the ill example for it, hath been afore related in the former part of this history. The reason why Ptolemy divorced Arsinoe his first wife was, he had convicted her of being in a plot against his life. For, on the coming of Arsinoe the sister to him, Arsinoe the wife finding that he was fallen in love with her, and that she was thereon neglected, out of a furious jealousy and passion of revenge together, she entered into a conspiracy with Chryssippus her physician and others to cut him off. But the treason being discovered, she was thereon sent into the Upper Egypt as far as the confines of Ethiopia, there to end her days in banishment after she had brought him two sons and a daughter, the eldest of which was that Ptolemy, who, by the name Euergetes, succeeded him in the throne. And after this removal of her was it, that Ptolemy took the other Arsinoe, his sister, to be his wife in her stead. And although she was now past child-bearing, yet she had such charms to engage his affections, that he never took any other wife as long as he lived, and when she died did not long survive her. In the epistle which, according to Aristæas, Eleazar the high-priest of the Jews wrote to him, she is named as his queen and his sister.

On the death of Seleucus,^g Antiochus, surnamed Soter, his son by Apama, the daughter of Artabazus, a Persian lady, succeeded him in the empire of Asia, and reigned over it nineteen years. As soon as he had heard of his father's death, and secured himself of his dominions in the East, where he then was, he sent Patrocles, one of his generals, with an army over Mount Taurus into Lesser Asia, to take care of his affairs in those parts.^h On his first arrival he marched against the Heracleans, a colony of the Greeks,

^e Theocriti Scholiastes.

^f Pausanias in Atticis.

^g Appian in Syriacis. Eusebii Chronicon.

^h Memnonis Excerpta, c. 16.

lying on the Euxine Sea, in the country of Pontus, and then a potent state. But matters between them being made up by a treaty, he turned all his force against the Bithynians, and invaded that country; but being drawn into a snare by a stratagem of the enemy's, he and his whole army were there all cut off to a man. Zipætēs was then king of Bithynia, an aged prince that had reigned there forty-eight years, and was then seventy-six years old, who being overborne with the joy of this victory, soon after died, leaving behind him four sons, the eldest of which was Nicomedes, who succeeding him in the kingdom, to secure himself the better in it, forthwith caused two of his brothers to be cut off;ⁱ but the youngest, called also Zipætēs from his father's name, escaping his power, seized on some part of his father's dominions, and there maintained a long war with his brother.^k From this Nicomedes were descended the Bithynian kings, of whom we find so frequent mention in the Roman histories. At the same time that he had war with his brother, being threatened with another from Antiochus, who was preparing a great army, to be revenged of him for the death of Patrocles, and the loss of his army with him, he called in the Gauls to his assistance, and on this occasion was it that the Gauls first passed into Lesser Asia.^l The whole history of this expedition of these barbarous people into those parts is thus related.

In the beginning of this year, it being (as Polybius tells us)^m the next year after Pyrrhus's first passing into Italy, the Gauls being overstocked at home, sent out a vast number of their people to seek for new habitations.ⁿ These dividing themselves into three companies, took three several ways. The first company, under the command of Brennus and Acichorius, marched into Pannonia, the country now called Hungary. The second, under the command of Cerethrius, went into Thrace, and the third, under the command of Belgis, invaded Illyrium and Macedonia; and by these last was it that Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain. But, after this victory, they having dispersed themselves to plunder the country, Sosthenes, a Macedonian, getting forces together, took the advantage of this disorder to fall upon them, and, having cut off great numbers of them, forced the rest to retreat out of

i Memnonis Excerpta, c. 21.

k Memnonis Excerpta, c. 18. Livius, lib. 38.

l Memnon. c. 19, 20, 21. Livius, lib. 38. Justin. lib. 25, c. 2.

m Lib. 1. p. 6.

n Pausanias in Phocicis. Justin. lib. 24, 25. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium. Eclogæ Diodori Siculi, lib. 22. Livius, lib. 38. Callimachi Hymnus in Delum, et Scholiastes ad eundem. Suidas in Γαλοται. From these authorities is collected all that is said under this and the following years, of the inundation of these barbarous people, made at this time upon Greece, Macedon, Thrace, and the adjacent countries.

the country; whereon Brennus and his company came into Macedonia in their stead. This Brennus (being of the same name with him, that some ages before sacked Rome) was the chief author of this expedition, and therefore was one of the prime leaders in it. On his hearing of the first success of Belgius, and the great prey which he had got by it, he envied him the plunder of so rich a country, and therefore resolved to hasten thither, to take a part in it; which resolution, after his hearing of the defeat of Belgius, he was much more eagerly excited to, out of a desire of being revenged for it. What became of Belgius and his company is not said, there being after this no more mention made of either. It is most likely he was slain in the overthrow given him by Sosthenes, and that his company after that joined themselves to those that followed Brennus. But however this matter was, Brennus and Acichorius, leaving Pannonia, marched with one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, into Illyrium, in order to pass from thence into Macedonia and Greece. But there a sedition happening in the army, twenty thousand of their men deserted from them, and, under the command of Leonorius and Lutarius, two prime leaders in this expedition, marched into Thrace, and there joining those whom Cerethrius had led there before, seized on Byzantium and the western coasts of the Propontis, and there made all the adjacent parts tributary to them.

However, Brennus and Acichorius were not discouraged by this desertion, from proceeding in their intended expedition, but having, by new recruits raised among the Illyrians, as well as by others sent them from Gallia, made up their army to the number of one hundred and fifty-two thousand foot, and sixty-one thousand two hundred horse, marched directly with them into Macedonia, and having there overborne Sosthenes with their great numbers, and ravaged the whole country, passed on to the straits of Thermopylæ, to enter through them into Greece. But, on their coming thither, they were stopped for some time by the forces which they found the Grecians had posted there for the guard and defence of that pass, till they were shown the same way over the mountains by which the forces of Xerxes had passed before; whereon the guards retiring to avoid being surrounded, Brennus marched on with the gross of the army towards Delphos, to plunder the temple in that city, of the vast riches which were there laid up, ordering Acichorius to follow after with the remainder. But he there met with a wonderful defeat. For, on his approaching the place, there happened a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which destroyed great numbers of his men, and, at the same

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Ptolemy
Philad. 7.

time, there was as terrible an earthquake, which rending the mountains in pieces, threw down whole rocks upon them, which overwhelmed them by hundreds at a time ; by which the whole army being much dismayed, they were the following night seized with such a panic fear, that every man, supposing him that was next to him to be a Grecian enemy, they fell upon each other, so that, before there was daylight enough to make them see the mistake, one half of the army had destroyed the other. By all this the Greeks, who were now come together from all parts to defend their temple, being much animated, fell furiously on them, and, although now Acichorius was come up with Brennus, yet both their forces together could not stand the assault, but great numbers of them were slain, and great numbers were wounded, and among these last was Brennus himself, who had received several wounds, and, although none of them were mortal, yet seeing all now lost, and the whole expedition which he had been the author of thus ending in a dismal ruin, he was so confounded at the miscarriage, that he resolved not to outlive it; and therefore calling to him as many of the chief leaders as could be got together amidst that calamitous hurry, he advised them to slay all the wounded, and with the remainder make as good a retreat backward as they could ; and then, having guzzled down as much wine as he could drink, he run himself through, and died. After his death, Acichorius taking upon him the chief command, made as good a retreat as he could towards Thermopylæ in order to repass those straits, and carry back what remained of this broken army into their own country ; but being to make a long march thither all the way through enemies' countries, they were as they passed, so distressed for want of provisions, which they were every where to fight for, so incommoded at night, by lodging mostly upon the ground in a winter season, and in such a manner harassed and fallen upon wherever they came, by the people of those countries through which they passed, that what with famine, cold, and sickness, and what with the sword of their enemies, they were all cut off and destroyed ; so that of the numerous company which did first set out on this expedition, not as much as one man escaped the calamitous fate of miserably perishing in it. Thus was God pleased, in a very extraordinary manner, to execute his vengeance upon those sacrilegious wretches, for the sake of religion in general, how false and idolatrous soever that particular religion was, for which that temple at Delphos was erected. For to believe a religion true, and offer sacrilegious violences to the places consecrated to the devotions of that religion, is absolute im-

piety, and a sin against all religion, and there are many instances of very signal judgments with which God hath punished it, even among the worst of heathens and infidels, and much more may they expect it, who, having the truth of God established among them, shall become guilty hereof.

In the interim, Leonorius and Lutarius parting from the other Gauls, who had settled themselves on the Propontis, marched down to the Hellespont, and seizing on Lysimachia, made themselves masters of all the Thracian Chersonesus; but there another sedition arising among them, the two commanders parted their forces, and separated from each other, Lutarius continuing on the Hellespont, and Leonorius with the greater number returned again to Byzantium, from whence he came.

But afterward Leonorius passing the Bosphorus, and Lutarius the Hellespont, into Asia, they both there again united their forces by a new confederacy, and jointly entered into the service of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who having by their assistance, the year following, conquered Zipætes, his brother, and fixed himself thereby in the thorough possession of all his father's dominions, he assigned them that part of Lesser Asia to dwell in, which from them was afterward called by those Gallo-Græcia, and by others Galatia; which last name afterward obtaining from the other, those people, instead of Gauls, were there called Galatians, and from them were descended those Galatians to whom St. Paul wrote one of his canonical epistles.

An. 277.
Ptolemy
Philadel. 8.

The rest of those Gauls that remained in Thrace, afterward making war upon Antigonus Gonatas, who, on the death of Sosthenes, reigned in Macedonia, they were almost all cut off and destroyed by him. The few that escaped either passed into Asia, and there joined themselves to their countrymen in Galatia, or else scattered themselves in other parts, where they were no more heard of. And thus ended this terrible inundation of those barbarous people, which threatened Macedonia and all Greece with no less than an absolute destruction.

Within the compass of this year^o archbishop Usher placeth the making of that Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, which we call the Septuagint. And here all else must place it, who with him believe that history to be genuine, which is written of it under the name of Aristæas, and will hold what is consistent with it herein. For, according to that author, they cannot place it later, because then it would not fall within the time of Eleazar, who is therein said

to have been the high-priest of the Jews, that sent the seventy-two elders to Alexandria to make this translation; for he died about the beginning of the next year after. And they cannot place it sooner, because then it would be before Ptolemy Philadelphus married Arsinoe, his sister, whom Eleazar, in his epistle, which that author makes him to have written to this prince, calls his queen and his sister. Without entering into long critical discourses concerning this translation, I shall first historically relate the different accounts which are given of it, and then, as briefly as I can, lay down that which appears to me to be the truth of this whole matter.

The ancientest account we have hereof, is from a book still extant, under the name of Aristeas, which is professedly written to give us the whole history of it. He is said therein to have been a prime officer in the guards of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, at the time when this affair was transacted. What we are told of it by him is as followeth: Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, being intent on making a great library at Alexandria, and being desirous of getting all manner of books into it, committed the care of this matter to Demetrius Phalereus, a noble Athenian, then living in his court, directing him to procure from all nations whatsoever books were of note among them. Demetrius, in the search he made pursuant to these orders, being informed of the book of the law of Moses among the Jews, acquainted the king hereof, whereon he signified his pleasure, that the book should be sent for from Jerusalem, with interpreters from the same place, to render it into Greek; and ordered him to lay before him in writing what was proper to be done herein, that accordingly he might send to the high-priest about it. Aristeas, the pretended author of this history of the seventy-two interpreters, Sosibius of Tarentum, and Andreas, three nobles of king Ptolemy's court, having great favour for the Jews, took this opportunity to move the king in the behalf of those of that nation, who had been taken captive by king Ptolemy Soter in those invasions made by him upon Judea which are above mentioned, and were then in bondage in Egypt, telling him, that it would be in vain to expect from the Jews either a true copy of their law, or a faithful translation of it, as long as he kept so many of their countrymen in slavery; and therefore they proposed to him first to release all those Jews, before he should send to Jerusalem about this matter. Hereon the king asked what the number of those captive Jews might be? Andreas answered, that they might be somewhat above one hundred thousand. And do you then think, said the king, that this is a small matter

which Aristeeas asketh? To this Sosibius replied, that the greater it was, the more it would become so great a king to do it. Whereon king Ptolemy complying with the proposal, published a decree for the release of all the Jewish captives in Egypt, and ordered twenty drachms an head to be paid out of his treasury to those that had them in servitude, for the price of their redemption; and this was computed to amount to four hundred talents, which shows the number of the redeemed to have been one hundred and twenty thousand; for four hundred talents at twenty drachms an head, would redeem just so many. But afterward the king having ordered the children that were born to those Jews, while in their servitude, and the mothers that bore them, to be also redeemed, this made the whole expense to amount to six hundred and sixty talents, which proves the whole number of the redeemed, that is, men, women, and children, to have amounted to one hundred and ninety-eight thousand. For so many six hundred and sixty talents, at the price of twenty drachms an head, would have redeemed. When this was done, Demetrius, according as he was ordered, laid before the king, in a memorial, the whole method which he thought was proper to be followed for the obtaining from the Jews the book of the law of Moses, which he desired. What he proposed in this memorial was, that a letter should be written to Eleazar the high-priest of the Jews at Jerusalem, to send from thence a true copy of the Hebrew original, and with it six out of each of the twelve tribes of Israel, to translate it into the Greek language. And, according to this proposal, a letter was written in the king's name, to Eleazar the high-priest, to send the book, and with it, for the rendering of it into Greek, six elders of every tribe, which he should judge best able to perform the work. And Aristeeas, the pretended author of this history, and Andreas, above mentioned, were sent with this letter to Jerusalem; who carried with them also from the king several gifts for the temple, in money for sacrifices there to be offered, and other uses of the sanctuary, one hundred talents; in utensils of silver seventy talents, and in utensils of gold fifty talents, and precious stones in the adornments of the said utensils, of five times the value of the gold. On their coming to Jerusalem, they were received with great respect by the high-priest, and all the people of the Jews, and had all readily granted them which they went thither for. And therefore, having received from the high-priest a true copy of the law of Moses, all written in golden letters, and six elders out of every tribe, that is, seventy-two in all, to make a version of it into the Greek language, they returned with them to

Alexandria. On their arrival, the king calling those elders to his court, made trial of them by seventy-two questions proposed to them, to each one in their order; and from the answers which they made, approving of their wisdom, he gave to each of them three talents, and sent them into the island of Pharos adjoining to Alexandria, for the performing of the work which they came for. Where Demetrius having conducted them over the Heptastadium (a bank of seven furlongs in length, which joined that island to the continent) into an house there provided for them, they forthwith betook themselves to the business of the interpretation, and as they agreed in the version of each period by common conference together, Demetrius wrote it down, and thus, in the space of seventy-two days, they performed the whole work; whereon the whole work being read over, and approved of, in the king's presence, the king gave to each of them three rich garments, two talents in gold, and a cup of gold of a talent weight, and then sent them all home into their own country. Thus far Aristeeas.

Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew, and a Peripatetic philosopher, is the next that makes mention of this version. He flourished in the 188th year of the era of contracts, (that is, in the 125th year before Christ,) for then a letter was written to him by the Jews of Jerusalem and Judea, as we have it in the second book of the Maccabees.^p This Aristobulus is said to have written a comment on the five books of Moses, and to have dedicated them to king Ptolemy Philometor, to whom he had been preceptor, and therein to have spoken of this Greek version made under the care and protection of Demetrius Phalereus, by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt.^q The book is not now extant. All that remains of it are some few fragments quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius,^r in which having asserted that Pythagoras, Plato, and other Grecians, had taken most of their philosophy from the Hebrew Scriptures, to make this seem the more probable, he tells us, these Scriptures had been for the most part translated into Greek, before the times of Alexander and the Persian empire; but that under Ptolemy Philadelphus, a more perfect translation was made of the whole, by the care of Demetrius Phalereus.

The next that makes mention of this version is Philo, another Alexandrian Jew who was contemporary with our Saviour. For it was but a little after the time of his crucifixion,

p Chap. 1, ver. 10. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 3, c. 9.

q Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 13, c. 12. Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. 1, 5.

r Canon Chron. p. 187. Præp. Evang. lib. 7, c. 13; lib. 8, c. 9; lib. 13, c. 12.

that he was sent in an embassy from the Jews of Alexandria, to Caius Cæsar the Roman emperor.^s In this account he tells us the same that Aristeas doth,^t of king Ptolemy Philadelphus's sending to Jerusalem, for elders to make this version; of the questions proposed to them on their first arrival, for the trial of their wisdom; and of their retiring into the island of Pharos, for the accomplishing of this work, and of their finishing it there, in that retirement; and thus far he plainly writes after Aristeas. But he farther adds, what Aristeas gives him no foundation for, that, in their interpretations, they all so exactly agreed as not to differ so much as in a word; but to have rendered every thing not only in the same sense, but also in the same phrases and words of expression as not to vary in the least each from other through the whole work. From whence he infers, that they acted not herein as common interpreters, but as men prophetically inspired, and divinely directed, who had every word dictated to them, by the Holy Spirit of God, through the whole version. And he adds farther, that, in commemoration of this work, the Jews of Alexandria kept a solemn anniversary, one day in every year, when they went over into the island of Pharos, and there spent that day in feasting, and rejoicing, and giving praise to God for his divine assistance, in so wonderful a manner given by him in the making of this version.

Josephus, who wrote his *Antiquities* of the Jews towards the end of the first century after Christ, agreeth with Aristeas in his relation of this matter,^u what he writes of it being no more than an abridgment of that author. And Eusebius, who flourished about two hundred and twenty years after him, doth the same,^x giving us of it no other account, but what he found in Aristeas, and is now extant in him; only as to Josephus, it must be acknowledged, there is a variation in his account concerning the price paid by Ptolemy for the redemption of the captive Jews: for whereas Aristeas saith, it was twenty drachms an head, and that the sum total amounted to six hundred and sixty talents, Josephus lays it at one hundred and twenty drachms an head, and the sum total at four hundred and sixty talents; in all other things they exactly agree.

The next author after Josephus, who makes mention of this version, and the manner of making it, was Justin Martyr, a Christian writer, who flourished in the middle of the second century, about one hundred years after Philo.^y He

s Philo de Legatione ad Caium Cæsarem.

t De Vita Mosis, lib. 2.

u Antiq. lib. 12, c. 2.

x Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 8, c. 2—5.

y He wrote his first apology for the Christians, A. D. 140.

having been at Alexandria, and there discoursed with the Jews of that place concerning this matter, tells us what he found there related, and was then firmly believed among them, concerning it. Whereby it appears, that what Philo tells us of the wonderful agreement of the interpreters, in the making of that version, was much further improved by his time. For they had then added to the story distinct cells for the interpreters, and the fiction of their being shut up, all in them apart from each other, one in each cell, and of each of them therein making a distinct version by himself, and all agreeing together to a word, on the comparing of what each had done; which the good man swallowing with a thorough credulity, writes of it in the words following:^z

“Ptolemy, king of Egypt, having a mind to erect a library at Alexandria, caused books to be brought thither from all parts to fill it, and being informed, that the Jews kept with great care ancient histories written in Hebrew, and being desirous to know what these writings contained, sent to Jerusalem for seventy learned men, who understood the Hebrew and the Greek languages, and ordered them to translate those books; and, to the end they might be the more at quiet and free from noise, and thereby be enabled the sooner to make this translation, he would not have them stay in the city, but caused to be built for them, in the island of Pharos, seven furlongs from Alexandria, as many little houses or cells as there were interpreters, that each might there apart by himself make his version. And he enjoined those who served them to do them all sorts of good offices, but to prevent their conferring together, that he might know, by the conformity of their versions, whether their translation was true and exact. And finding afterward that these seventy persons did not only agree in the sense, but also in the same terms, so that there was not one word in any one of their versions which was not in all the others, but that they all wrote, word for word, the same expressions, he was surprised with admiration, and not doubting but that this version was made by the Spirit of God, he heaped honours upon the interpreters, whom he looked on as men dear unto God, and sent them home loaden with presents to their own country. And as to the books, he received them with that veneration which was due to them, looking on them as divine books, and placed them in his library.” And then the holy man adds, for the confirming of this story, which he himself thoroughly believed as true, “These things which we now relate unto you, O Greeks, are not fables and feigned stories. For we

ourselves having been at Alexandria, did there see the ruins of those little houses or cells, in the island of Pharos, there still remaining ; and what we now tell you of them we had from the inhabitants of the place, who had received it from their forefathers by undoubted tradition.” And, in another place, he saith of the same matter:^a “ When Ptolemy king of Egypt was preparing a library, in which he purposed to gather together the writings of all men, having heard of the writings of the prophets among the Jews, he sent to Herod, then king of the Jews, to desire him to transmit to him those books of the prophets. Whereon king Herod sent them unto him, written in the Hebrew language. But whereas those books, as written in this language, were wholly unintelligible to the Egyptians, he sent a second time to Herod to desire him to send interpreters to translate them into the Greek language ; which being done, these books, thus translated, are still remaining among the Egyptians, even to this day, and copies of them are now in the hands of the Jews, in all places wheresoever they are.”

Irenæus,^b Clemens Alexandrinus,^c Hilary,^d Austin,^e Cyril of Jerusalem,^f Philastrius Brixienis,^g and the generality of the ancient fathers that lived after Justin, follow him in this matter of the cells, and the wonderful agreement of all the versions made in them. And some also of the moderns are zealous contenders for the truth of this story, being fond of a miracle which would so much conduce to the confirming of the divine authority of the holy Scriptures against all gainsayers ; and it is much to be wished, that it were built upon such authority as would not admit of any of those objections which are urged against it.

By the time of Epiphanius, who was made bishop of Salamine, in Cyprus, (A. D. 368,) false traditions had further corrupted this story. For he gives a relation of the matter which differs from that of Justin, as well as of Aristæas, and yet he quotes Aristæas even in those particulars which he relates otherwise than that author doth ; which shows, that there was another Aristæas in his time different from that which we now have, though it be plain, that the author which is now extant with us under that name is certainly the same which Josephus and Eusebius used. What Epiphanius writes hereof would be too long to be all here inserted. The sum of it is, that Ptolemy Philadelphus, designing to make a

^a *Apologia secunda pro Christianis.*

^b *Adversus Hæreses, lib. 3, cap. 15.*

^c *Strom. lib. 1.*

^e *De Civitate Dei, lib. 18, c. 43.*

^g *Hæresis, 90.*

^d *Psalm 2.*

^f *Catechism 4, p. 37*

library at Alexandria, sent to all countries to procure copies of their books to put into it, and committed it to the care of Demetrius Phalereus to manage this whole matter ; by whom being informed of the books of the holy Scriptures, which the Jews then had at Jerusalem, he sent an embassy thither, with a letter to the high-priest to procure a copy of the said books. That hereon the Jews sent twenty-two canonical books, and seventy-two apocryphal, all written in Hebrew. But Ptolemy not being able to read them in that language, he sent a second embassy to Jerusalem for interpreters to make a second version of them into Greek : for which purpose a second letter was written to the high-priest ; and that the Jews, on the receipt of this letter, sent him seventy-two interpreters, chosen six out of every tribe, who made the version according as was desired.^h The manner in which he saith this was done will best appear from his own words : they are as followeth :ⁱ “ The seventy-two interpreters were in the island of Pharos (which lieth over against Alexandria, and in respect of it is called the Upper-land,) shut up in thirty-six little houses or cells, by two and two in a cell, from morning till night, and were every night carried, in thirty-six boats, to king Ptolemy’s palace, there to sup with him, and then were lodged in thirty-six bed-chambers, by two and two in a chamber, that they might not confer together about the said version, but make it faithfully according to what appeared to them to be the true meaning of the text. For Ptolemy built in that island, over against Alexandria, those thirty-six cells, which I have mentioned, of that capacity, as that they were sufficient to contain each of them two of the said interpreters, and there he did shut them up by two and two, as I have said, and two servants with them in each cell, to provide them with food, and minister unto them in all things necessary, and also writers, to write down the versions as they made them. To these cells he made no windows in the walls, but only opened for them above such lights, in the roofs of the said cells, as we call skylights. And thus continuing from morning till night, there closely shut up, they made the version in manner as followeth : to each pair of interpreters one book was given, as, for example, the book of Genesis was given to one pair, the book of Exodus to another pair, the book of Leviticus to a third, and so of all the rest, a book to each in their order ; and in this manner all the twenty-seven books above mentioned, which are now, according to the number of the Hebrew letters, reduced to twenty-two, were translated out of the Hebrew into the Greek language.”

h Epiphanius in libro de Ponderibus et Mensuris.

i Epiphanius. *ibid.* p. 161.

And then, a little after, he further saith:^k “ And therefore these twenty-seven books, now numbered to be twenty-two, with the Psalter, and what is annexed to Jeremiah, that is, the Lamentations, and the epistles of Baruch (though these epistles are not found in the Hebrew canon of the holy Scriptures ; for in that the Lamentations only are annexed to Jeremiah,) were in this manner distributed among the thirty-six pair of interpreters, and afterward were sent every one of them round to them, that is, from the first pair to the second, and from the second to the third, and so on, till each book had been translated into Greek once by each pair, and the whole of it by all of them thirty-six times, as common tradition reports the matter ; and to them were added twenty-two apocryphal books. And when all was finished, the king sitting on high on his throne, thirty-six readers came before him with the thirty-six translations ; and another reader stood there also, who had the original Hebrew copy in his hand ; and, while one of these readers did read his copy aloud, the rest diligently attended, and went along with him, reading to themselves in their copies, and examining thereby what was written in them ; and no variety or difference was found in any one of them.”

Thus far having given an account of all that is related by the ancients concerning the manner of the making this version, which we call the Septuagint, I shall now lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the whole matter in these following positions :

I. That there was a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, made in the time that the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt, is not to be doubted : for we still have the book, and it is the same which was in use in our Saviour's time ; for most of those passages which the holy penmen of the New Testament do, in the Greek original of it, quote out of the Old Testament, are now found verbatim in this version. And, since the Egyptian princes of the Ptolemean race were so fond, as the writers of those times tell us, of replenishing their library at Alexandria, with all sorts of books, there is no reason but to believe, that a copy of this translation, as soon as it was made, was put into it.

II. The book going under the name of Aristeas, which is the groundwork and foundation of all that is said of the manner of making this translation, by seventy-two elders sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria for this purpose, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is a manifest fiction, made out of design thereby to give the greater authority to this transla-

tion. The Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, to the time of our Saviour, were much given to religious romances, as appears from their apocryphal books still extant, many of which are of this sort ; and that the book which we now have under the name of Aristeas was such a romance, and written by some hellenistical Jew, plainly appears from these following reasons. For,

1. The author of that book, though pretended to be an heathen Greek, every where speaks as a Jew, and delivers himself in all places, where he makes mention either of God or the Jewish religion, in such terms as none but a Jew could ; and he brings in Ptolemy, Demetrius, Andreas, Sosibius, and others, speaking after the same manner, which clearly proves, that no Aristeas, or heathen Greek, but some hellenistical Jew, under his name, was the author of that book.

2. He makes Ptolemy advance an incredible sum of money for the obtaining of this version. For, according to him, Ptolemy expended, in redeeming the captive Jews that were in his kingdom, six hundred and sixty talents ; in vessels of silver sent to the temple, seventy talents ; in vessels of gold, fifty talents ; and, in precious stones to adorn and embellish these vessels, to the value of five times the gold, that is, two hundred and fifty talents ; in a gift for sacrifices, and other uses of the temple, one hundred talents ; and then he gave to each of the seventy-two interpreters, at their first coming, three talents apiece in silver, that is, two hundred and sixteen talents in the whole ; and lastly, to each of them at their parting, two talents in gold, and a gold cup of a talent weight : all which put together make, in the sum total, one thousand and forty-six talents of silver, and five hundred and sixteen talents of gold, which being reduced to sterling money, amounts to one million, nine hundred and eighteen thousand, five hundred and thirty-seven pounds, and ten shillings ;¹ and, if we add hereto the value of other gifts, which, according to Aristeas, were bestowed on these seventy-two elders by the bounty of the king, and the charges which it cost him in fetching them to Alexandria, maintaining them there, and sending them back again to Jerusalem, this may be computed to mount that sum near to two millions sterling, which may well be reckoned to be above twenty times as much as that whole library was ever worth. And who can then believe, that this narrative, which makes Ptolemy expend so much for one single book in it, and which neither he nor any of his court, as long as they continued heathens, could have any great value for, can be a true and genuine history ?

¹ That is, computing these talents by Attic talents, and valuing them according to Dr. Bernard. If they be computed by the talents of Alexandria, where the scene of action is laid, they will amount to twice as much.

3. The question proposed to the seventy-two interpreters, and their answers to them, manifestly carry with them the air of fiction and romance. If it should appear likely to any (as I confess it doth not unto me) that Ptolemy should trouble himself to propose to them such questions, he must be a person of great credulity, that will believe those answers to have been given extempore to them. Whoever will judge rationally of this matter, must necessarily acknowledge, that they were framed by artifice and premeditation to the questions, and that both were the inventions of him that made the book.

4. The making of seventy-two elders to be sent to Alexandria from Jerusalem on this occasion, and these to be chosen by six out of every tribe, by the advice of Demetrius Phalereus, all looks like a Jewish invention, framed with respect to the Jewish sanhedrim, and the number of the twelve tribes of Israel; it not being likely, that Demetrius, an heathen Greek, should know any thing of their twelve tribes, or of the number of their seventy-two elders, of which their sanhedrim did consist. The names of Israel, and the twelve tribes, were then absorbed in that of the Jews, and few knew of them in that age by any other appellation. Although some of the other tribes joined themselves to the Jews, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, as I have before observed, and thereby the names of those tribes might still be preserved among their descendants; yet it is not to be supposed that all were so, but that some of the names of those other tribes were wholly lost, and no more in being, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that therefore no such choice could then be made out of them for the composing of this version. But, if it were otherwise, yet that there should be six out of every tribe, or indeed seventy-two of the whole nation, then living in Judea, fully qualified for this work, seems by no means likely. Till the time of Alexander the Great, the Jews had no communication with the Greeks, and from his having been at Jerusalem, (from which time only this communication first began) there had now passed only fifty-five years. During this time, no doubt, some of them might have learned the Greek tongue, especially after so many of them had been planted by Ptolemy at Alexandria, and by Seleucus at Antioch, in both which cities the prevailing number of the inhabitants were of the Greek nation. But that six of every tribe should then be found thus skilful in the land of Judea, where there was then no reason for them to learn this language, is not to be imagined. But this is not all the difficulty of the matter. Those who were to do this work must have been thoroughly skilled also in the

Hebrew, which was the language of the original text, as well as in the Greek, into which they were to translate it. But at this time the Hebrew was no longer among them their common speech. The Chaldee, since their return from Chaldea, was become their mother tongue, and the knowledge of the Hebrew was thenceforth confined only to the learned among them; and, those learned men being such as taught and governed the people at home, they had no opportunity by converse with the Greeks to learn their language, nor indeed had they any occasion for it. So that, for the making out of this story, we must suppose, first, That there were many of every tribe of Israel then living in Judea; secondly, That there were several in each of these tribes well learned in the Hebrew text; and, thirdly, That there were in each of them, of this last sort, so many thoroughly skilled in the Greek language, as that out of them a choice might be made of six for each tribe fully qualified for this work: each particular hereof at this time seems utterly improbable; but the whole doth much more so, when all is put together.

5. Neither can any probable reason be given, why seventy-two should be sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria for this purpose, when seven were more than enough for the work. Some of the ancientest of the Talmudists say,^m that there were only five that were employed in it; and this is by much the more likely of the two.

6. There are several particulars in this book which cannot accord with the histories of those times. First, In none of them is there any mention of the victory which Aristæas makes Ptolemy Philadelphus to have obtained against Antigonus at sea. If by this Antigonus he means Antigonus the father of Demetrius Poliorcetes, he was dead seventeen years before Ptolemy Philadelphus was king of Egypt; and if he means the son of that Demetrius, called Antigonus Gonatus, who reigned in Macedon, there is no author that speaks of any such victory obtained by Ptolemy Philadelphus over him. And, secondly, Whereas Menedemus the philosopher is said in this author to have been present, when the seventy-two interpreters answered the questions proposed to them by Ptolemy, it is manifest by what is written of him by authors of undoubted credit, that he could not have been at this time in Egypt, if he were then alive, which it is most likely he was not.ⁿ But, thirdly, What doth evidently con-

^m in Tract. Sopherim, c. 1.

ⁿ It appears by what is written of him by Diogenes Laertius, lib. 2, that he died soon after the end of the Gallic war in Greece, being very aged at the time of his death.

vict of falsity this whole story of Aristeeas is, that he makes Demetrius Phalereus to be the chief actor in it, and a great favourite of the king's at this time; whereas he was so far from being in any favour with him, that none was more out of it, or was less likely to be trusted or employed in any matter by him, and that for good reason. For he had earnestly dissuaded Ptolemy Soter his father from settling the crown upon him: for which reason Philadelphus looking on him as his greatest enemy, as soon as his father was dead (under whose favour he had till then been protected) he cast him into prison where he soon after died, in the manner as hath been already related, and therefore he could bear no part in the transacting of this matter.^o

Many other arguments there are which prove the spuriousness of this book. They who would further examine hereinto, may read what hath been written of it by Du Pin,^p Richard Simon^q the Frenchman, and by Dr. Hoddy, the late worthy professor of the Greek language at Oxford; whose account of this, and other matters relating to the holy Scriptures, in his learned and accurate book, *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, versionibus Græcis & Latina vulgata*, is very worthy of any man's reading.

III. As to Aristobulus, what he saith of this version's being made by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and under the care and direction of Demetrius Phalereus, is no more than what is taken out of Aristeeas; that book, it seems, having been forged before his time, and then gotten into credit among the Jews of Alexandria, when he took this out of it. For the 188th year of the era of contracts, the time in which he is said to flourish,^r being one hundred and fifty-two years after that in which we place the making of this version, that was long enough for this fiction concerning it to have been formed, and also to have grown into such credit among the Jews, as to be believed by them. For if we allow one hundred years for the former, that is, for the framing of this fiction, by that time all persons might have been dead, and all things forgotten, that might contradict it, and fifty-two years after might have been sufficient for the latter, that is, for its growing into the credit of a true history among the Jews. As to other things related of this Aristobulus, that is, that he was preceptor to the king of Egypt, and that he wrote commentaries on the five books of Moses,

^o Diogenes Laertius in Vita Demetrii Phalerei.

^p History of the Canon and Writers of the books of the Old and New Testaments, part 1, c. 6, sect 3.

^q Critical History of the Old Testament, book 2, c. 2.

^r 2 Maccabees i. 10.

and dedicated them to Ptolemy Philometor, they are all justly called in question by learned men. As to his being king Ptolemy's master, this is said of him (2 Maccab. i. 10,) in the 188th year of the era of contracts, when it was by no means likely he could have been in that office; for the Ptolemy that then reigned in Egypt was Ptolemy Physcon; and the 188th year of the era of contracts was the twenty-first year of his reign, and ^sthe fifty-sixth after his father's death; and therefore he must then have been about sixty years old, if not more; which is an age past being under the tuition of a master. If it be said, he might still retain the title, though the office had been over many years before, the reply hereto will be, that he must then have been of a very great age, when mentioned with this title; for men use not to be made tutors to princes, till of eminent note, and of mature age; forty is the least we can suppose him of, when appointed to this office, if he ever was at all in it; and supposing he was first called to it when Ptolemy Physcon was ten years old, he must have been ninety at least at the time when this title was given him in the place above cited. And if he had been preceptor to Ptolemy Physcon, how came it to pass that he should dedicate his book of commentaries on the law of Moses to Ptolemy Philometor, who reigned before Physcon? If any such book had been at all made by him, it is most likely he would have dedicated it to that Ptolemy who had been his pupil, and not unto the other, whom he had no such especial relation to. And as to what he is said to have written in these commentaries, of there having been a Greek version of the law before that of the Septuagint, and that the Greek philosophers borrowed many things from thence, it looks all like fiction. The light of reason, or else ancient traditions, might have led them to the saying of many things, especially in moral matters, which accord with what is found in the writings of Moses; and if not, yet there were other ways of coming at them without such a version. Converse with the Jews might suffice for it, and particular instruction might be had from some of their learned men for this purpose; and such, Clearchus tells us,^t Aristotle had from a learned Jew in the Lower Asia. That there ever was such a version, no other writing besides these fragments quoted from Aristobulus do make the least mention. Neither is it likely, that there should ever have been any such; for till the Jews settled among the Greeks at Alexandria, and there learned their language, and forgot their own, (which was not done till some time after the death of Alexander,) there was no

^s It was according to Ptolemy's Canon.

^t See part 1, book 7, under the year 348, p. 558.

use of such a Greek version of the law among them. And, if it had been thus translated before, what need was there of having it done again in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus? All these things put together, create a suspicion among learned men, that the commentaries of Aristobulus came out of the same forge with Aristeas, that is, were written under the name of Aristobulus by some hellenistical Jew, long after the date which they bore. And it augments this suspicion, that Clemens Alexandrinus is the first that makes mention of them. For had there been any such commentaries on the law of Moses, and written, in the time when said, by so eminent a Jew, and so famous a philosopher, as Aristobulus is related to be, Philo Judæus, and Josephus could not have escaped making use of them; but neither of these writers makes the least mention of any such commentaries; which is a strong argument that there were none such extant in their time; and those who mention them afterward, speak very inconsistently of this Aristobulus, whom they make to be the author of them. Sometimes they tell us, that he dedicated his book to Ptolemy Philometor;^u at other times they say it was to Ptolemy Philadelphus and his father together.^x Sometimes they will have it that he was the same that is mentioned in the first chapter of the second book of Maccabees;^y and sometimes they make him to have been one of the seventy-two interpreters one hundred and fifty-two years before;^z which uncertainty about him, makes it most likely that there was never any such person at all. That passage, where he is spoken of in the second book of the Maccabees, is no proof for him; for the letter which is made mention of in it, being there said to have been sent to him from the people that were at Jerusalem, and in Judea, and the council, and Judas; this plainly proves that whole passage to be of the same nature with most other things written in the two first chapters of that second book of Maccabees, that is, all fable and fiction. For, by the Judas there mentioned, the writer of that book can mean no other Judas, than Judas Maccabæus. But he was slain in battle thirty-six years before the date of this letter.^a Whatsoever these commentaries were, they seem not to have been long-lived; for as Clemens Alexandrinus was the first of the ancients, so Eusebius was the last, that makes mention of them.

After that time, it is most likely, they grew out of reputa-

^u Clemens Alexandrinus. Strom. Eusebii. Chronicon, p. 187. Præp. Evang. lib. 13, c. 12.

^x Clemens Alexandrianus. Strom. lib. 5. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 8, c. 9.

^y Clemens Alexandrinus & Eusebius, *ibid*.

^z Anatolius apud Eusebium in Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 7, c. 32.

^a 1 Maccabees ix. 18.

tion, and were no more heard of. Upon the whole, they that hold this book to have been spurious, and all that is said of the author of it to be fable and fiction, seem to say *that*, which in all likelihood is the truth of the matter.

IV. What Philo adds to the story of Aristeas, was from such traditions as had obtained among the Jews of Alexandria in his time, which had the same original with all the rest, that is, were invented by them, to bring the greater honour and credit to themselves, and their religion; and also to gain among the vulgar of their own people the greater authority and veneration to that version of the holy Scriptures which they then used. And when such things had once obtained belief, it was easy to introduce an anniversary commemoration of them, and continue it afterward from year to year, in the manner as Philo relates.

V. Where Josephus differs from Aristeas in the price paid by Ptolemy for the redemption of the captive Jews, there is a manifest error; for the sum total doth not agree with the particulars. The number of the Jews redeemed, Josephus saith, were one hundred and twenty thousand;^b the redemption of these, at twenty drachms an head, at which Aristeas lays it, would come to just four hundred talents, which is the sum also which he reckons it to amount to. But Josephus saith, the redemption money was one hundred and twenty drachms an head, which is six times as much, and yet he makes the sum total to be no more than four hundred and sixty talents. The error is in the numerical letters; for either the particulars must be less, or the sum must be more; but whether it was the author or the transcribers that made this error, I cannot say. Those^c who hold Josephus to have put the price at one hundred and twenty drachms an head (which was just thirty Jewish shekels,) that so it might answer what was paid for an Hebrew servant according to the law of Moses,^d do fix the error on the author; but then they make him guilty of a great blunder, in not altering the sum total as well as the particulars, so as to make them both agree with each other.

VI. As to Justin Martyr, and the rest of the Christian writers that followed him, it is plain they too greedily followed what they wished might be true. Had the seventy-two interpreters, who are said to have made this version of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, been all separated into so many different cells, and had all there apart, every one by

^b Antiq. lib. 12, c. 2.

^c Usserius in Annalibus Veteris Testamenti, sub Anno, J. P. 4437. Hodius de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, lib. 1, c. 17.

^d Exod. xxi. 32.

himself, made so many versions as there were persons, and all these versions had exactly agreed with each other, without any difference or variation in any one of them from all the rest, this would have been a miracle, which must have irrefragably confirmed the truth of those Scriptures, as well as the authority of the version which was then made of them, against all gainsayers. And for both these the Christians of those times were altogether as much concerned as the Jews; for the foundations of our holy Christian profession are laid upon the Old Testament as well as on the New. And this part of the holy Scriptures was, out of Judea, nowhere else, in those times, read among Christians, but in this Greek version, or in such other versions as were made into other languages from it, excepting only at Antioch, and in the Syrian churches depending from that see, where they had a Syriac version from the beginning, immediately translated from the Hebrew original. And therefore Justin Martyr, finding these traditions among the Jews at Alexandria, on his being in that city, was too easily persuaded to believe them, and made use of them in his writings against the heathens of his time, in defence of the religion he professed. And upon this authority it was, that Irenæus, and the other Christian writers above mentioned, tell us the same thing, being equally fond of the argument, by reason of the purpose it would serve to. But how little the authority of Justin was to be depended upon, in this matter, may sufficiently appear from the inaccurate account which he gives us of it; for he makes Ptolemy, when intent upon having the Hebrew Scriptures for his library, to send to king Herod first for a copy of them, and afterward for interpreters to turn them into the Greek language;^e whereas, not only Ptolemy Philadelphus, but all the other Ptolemies who reigned after him in Egypt, were all dead before Herod was made king of Judea. So great a blunder in this narrative is sufficient to discredit all the rest. And it is further to be taken notice of, that, though Justin was a learned man, and a philosopher, yet he was a very credulous person, and, when he became a Christian, was carried on, by the great zeal he had for his religion, too lightly to lay hold of any story told him which he thought would any way make for it. An instance hereof is,^f that, being at Rome, and there finding a statue consecrated to Simon Sancus,^g an old semi-god of the Sabines, he was easily persuaded to believe it to be the statue of Simon Magus; and therefore, in

^e Justin. in *Apologia secunda pro Christianis*.

^f Justin. in *Apologia prima pro Christianis*. Euseb. in *Hist. Ecclesiast.* lib. 2. c. 13.

^g This very statue was lately dug up at Rome, with this inscription on it, *Semoni Sango Deo Fidio*. See Valesius's notes on the thirteenth chapter of the second book of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*.

his second apology, upon no better foundation than this, he upbraids the people of Rome for the making of such a wretch and impostor to be one of their gods. And it was from the like easiness and credulity, that, being shown by the Jews at Alexandria the ruins of some old houses in the island of Pharos, he was by them made believe, that they were the remains of the cells in which, they told him, the seventy-two interpreters made their version of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek by the command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; and hereon he gives us that account of it which I have about related. But Jerome, who was a person of much greater learning, and far more judicious, rejects this story of the cells with that scorn and contempt which it seems to deserve. His words are: "I know not what author he was, that, by his lying, first built the seventy cells at Alexandria, in which the seventy elders being divided, wrote the same things; seeing neither Aristeas, who was one of the same Ptolemy's guards, nor Josephus, who lived long after him, say any such thing, but write, that they conferred together in one and the same room, and did not prophesy; for to be a prophet is one thing, and to be an interpreter is another."^h

VII. Epiphanius's account of the making of this version differing from all the rest, seems to have been taken from some other history of it than that which Josephus and Eusebius wrote from. It is probable some Christian writer, after the time of Justin Martyr, might have collected together all that he found written or said of this matter, and grafting the whole upon the old Aristeas, with such alterations as he thought fit to make in it, composed that book, which, under the name of Aristeas, fell into Epiphanius's hands, and that from thence he took all that he writes of this matter. It is certain, that the Aristeas which Epiphanius makes use of was not written till many years after the pretended author of that book must have been dead; for the second letter which Epiphanius, out of him, tells us, Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to Eleazar, begins with this sentence: "Of an hidden treasure, and a fountain stopped up, what profit can there be in either of them?" which is taken out of the book of Ecclesiasticus;ⁱ but that book was not published by Siracides till the year before Christ 132,^k which was one hundred and fifteen years after the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by whose command, according to that author, this

^h Præfat. ad Pentateuchum, et in Apologia secunda contra Ruffinum.

ⁱ Ecclesiasticus xx. 30; xli. 14.

^k It appears by the preface of Siracides to his book of Ecclesiasticus that he came not into Egypt (where he published that book) till the 38th year of Ptolemy Euergetes II, which was the year before Christ 132.

version was made. And it also seems to me as certain, that it could not be written till after the time of Justin Martyr ; for all that is said of the cells, it is plain, had its original from that report which he brought back from Alexandria concerning them, on his return from his travels to that city. Epiphanius^l retains this tale of his of the cells, but contracts them to half the number : for he makes them to be but thirty-six, and puts two interpreters together into each of them. By this means thirty-six copies are made to suffice for all that laboured in this work ; whereas, according to Justin, they being shut up each one singly by himself in his separate cell, there must have been as many copies as interpreters. But in this they do not so much differ from each other as both do from Aristeas : for he saith, that they brought with them from Jerusalem but one copy in all, and that out of this alone they made the version by common consult, sitting together in one common hall, and there carrying on and finishing the whole work. And this one copy, Aristeas saith, was written in letters of gold ; which contradicts an ancient constitution of the Jews, whereby it is ordained among them, that the law is never to be written otherwise than with ink only.^m Epiphanius moreover saith, that, besides the canonical books, there were sent from Jerusalem, on this occasion, seventy-two apocryphal books ; which none of the rest that write of this matter before him make any mention of. And, of these seventy-two books, he makes twenty-two only to have been translated ; whereas he seems elsewhere to imply, that all were translated that were sent. These contradictions, uncertainties, and various accounts, overthrow the credit of the whole story, and plainly prove all that hath been delivered to us concerning it by Aristeas, Philo, Justin Martyr, Epiphanius, and their followers, to be no more than fable, fiction, and romance, without any other foundation for it, save only, that, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, such a version of the law of Moses was made by the Alexandrian Jews into the Greek language, as those authors relate. For,

VIII. Alexander, on his building of Alexandria, brought a great many Jews thither to help to plant this his new city, as hath been already mentioned ;ⁿ and Ptolemy Soter, after his death, having fixed the seat of his government in that place, and set his heart much upon the augmenting and adorning of it, brought thither many more of this nation for the same purpose ;^o where, having granted unto them the same

^l In libro de Ponderibus & Mensuris.

^m Vide Shickardi Mishpat Hammelec, c. 2.

ⁿ Part 1, book 7, under the year 332.

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 1. Contra Apionem, lib. 2.

privileges with the Macedonians and other Greeks, they soon grew to be a great part of the inhabitants of that city ; and their constant intercourse with the other citizens, among whom they were there mingled, having necessitated them to learn and constantly use the Greek language, that happened to them here as had before at Babylon on the like occasion, that is, by accustoming themselves to a foreign language, they forgot their own ; and therefore, no longer understanding the Hebrew language, in which they had been hitherto first read, nor the Chaldee, in which they were after that interpreted in every synagogue, they had them translated into Greek^p for their use, that this version might serve for the same purpose in Alexandria and Egypt, as the Chaldee paraphrases afterward did in Jerusalem and Judea. And this was the original and true cause of the making of that Greek version, which hath since, from the fable of Aristeas, been called the Septuagint : for that fable, from the first broaching of it, having generally obtained, first among the Jews, and afterward among the Christians, soon caused that this name was given to that version. At first the law only was translated : for then they had no need of the other books in their public worship, no other part of the holy Scriptures, save the law only, having been in those times read in their synagogues,^q as hath been before taken notice of. But afterward, when the reading of the prophets also came into use in the synagogues of Judea, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, upon the occasion already mentioned,^q and the Jews of Alexandria (who in those times conformed themselves to the usages of Judea and Jerusalem in all matters of religion,) were induced hereby to do the same, this caused a translation of the prophets also to be there made into the Greek language, in like manner as the law had been before. And after this other persons translated the rest for the private use of the same people ; and so that whole version was completed which we now call the Septuagint ; and, after it was thus made, it became of common use among all the

p After the time of Ezra, the Scriptures were read to the Jews in Hebrew, and interpreted into the Chaldee language ; but at Alexandria, after the making of this version, it was interpreted to them in Greek ; which was afterward done also in all other Grecian cities where the Jews became dispersed. And from hence those Jews were called Hellenists, or Grecizing Jews, because they used the Greek language in their synagogues ; and by that name they were distinguished from the Hebrew Jews, who used only the Hebrew and Chaldee languages in their synagogues. And this distinction we find made between them, Acts vi. 1, for the word which we there translate Grecians, is, in the original, Ἑλληνιστῶν, i. e. not Grecians, but Hellenists, that is, Grecizing Jews, such as used the Grecian language in their synagogues. And, because herein they differed from the Hebrew Jews, this created some differences between them, and made a sort of schism among them.

q Part 1, book 5.

churches of the hellenistical Jews, wherever they were dispersed among the Grecian cities. 1st. That the law only was at first translated into Greek in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, all that first speak of this version, that is, Aristæus,^r Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus, directly tell us. 2dly. That it was done at Alexandria, the Alexandrian dialect, which appears through the whole version, is a manifest proof. 3dly. That it was made at different times, and by different persons, the different styles in which the different books are found written, the different ways in which the same Hebrew words and the same Hebrew phrases are translated in different places, and the greater accuracy with which some of the books are translated above others, are a full demonstration.

IX. Ptolemy Philadelphus having been very intent upon the augmenting of his library, and replenishing it with all manner of books, it is not to be doubted, but that, as soon as this Greek version was made at Alexandria, a copy of it was put into that library, and there continued, till that noble repository of learning was accidentally burned by Julius Cæsar in his war against the Alexandrians. However, it seems to have lain there in a very obscure manner, none of the Grecian authors now extant, nor any of the ancient Latins, having ever taken the least notice of it; for all of them, in what they write of the Jews,^s give accounts of them so vastly wide of what is contained in the holy Scriptures, as sufficiently show that they never perused them, or knew any thing of them. There are, indeed, out of Eupolemus, Abydenus, and other ancient writers now lost, some fragments still preserved in Josephus, Eusebius, and other authors, which speak of the Jews more agreeably to the scriptural history, but still with such variations and intermixtures of falsity, that none of those remains, excepting only what we find taken out of Demetrius, in the ninth book of *Eusebius de Præparatione Evangelica*, do give us any ground to believe, that the writers of them ever consulted those books, or knew any thing of them. This Demetrius^t was an historian that wrote in Greek, and an inhabitant of Alexandria, where he compiled an history of the Jews, and continued it down to the reign of the fourth Ptolemy, who was Ptolemy Philopater, the grandson of Philadelphus. How much longer after

^r Aristæus, Aristobulus and Philo, say the law only was translated by the LXX; and Josephus more expressly tells us, in the preface to his *Antiquities*, that they did not translate for Ptolemy the whole Scriptures, but the law only.

^s Diodor. Sic. in *Eclogis*, lib. 34 & 40. Justin. ex Trogo. lib. 36, c. 2. Strabo, lib. 16. Tacitus *Hist.* lib. 5, c. 2, aliique.

^t Clemens Alexandrinus. *Strom.* lib. 1. Hieronymus in *Catalogo Illustrum Scriptorum*, c. 38. Vossius de *Historicis Græcis*, lib. 3, sub litera D.

this it was that he lived is not any where said. He having written so agreeably to the Scripture, this seems to prove him to have been a Jew. However, if he were otherwise, that is, not a Jew, but an heathen Greek, that no heathen writer, but he only, should make use of those Scriptures, after they had been translated into Greek, sufficiently shows, how much that copy of them which was laid up in the king's library at Alexandria was there neglected, and also how carefully the Jews, who were the first composers of this version, kept and confined all other copies of it to their own use. They had the stated lessons read out of it in their synagogues, and they had copies of it at home for their private use, and thus they seem to have reserved it wholly to themselves till our Saviour's time. But after that time the gospel having been propagated to all nations, this version of the Hebrew Scriptures was propagated with it among all that used the Greek tongue, and it became no longer locked up among the hellenistical Jews, but copies of it were dispersed into all men's hands that desired it; and hence it came to pass, that, after our Saviour's time, many of the heathen writers, as Celsus, Porphyry, and others, became well acquainted with the Old Testament Scriptures, though we find scarce any, or rather none of them, were so before.

X. As Christianity grew, so also did the credit and use of the Greek version of the Old Testament Scriptures. The evangelists and apostles, who were the holy penmen of the New Testament Scriptures, all quoted out of it, and so did all the primitive fathers after them. All the Greek churches used it,^u and the Latins had no other copy of those Scriptures in their language, till Jerome's time, but what was translated from it. Whatsoever comments were written on any part of them, this was always the text, and the explications were made according to it. And when other nations were converted to Christianity, and had those Scriptures translated for their use into their several languages, these versions were all made from the Septuagint, as the Illyrian, the Gothic, the Arabic, the Ethiopic, the Armenian, and the Syriac. There was indeed an old Syriac version translated immediately from the Hebrew original, which is still in being, and at this time made use of by all the Syrian churches in the East.^x But besides this there was another Syriac version of the same Scriptures, which was made from the Septuagint. The former was made, if not in the apostles' time, yet very soon after, for the use of the Syrian churches, and it is still used in them; but this latter was not made till about six hundred years after the other, and is at

^u Vide Waltoni Prolegom. c. 9, sect. 1. Hoddium, lib. 3, part 1.

^x Vide Waltoni Prolegom. c. 13. Du Pin, Simonium, aliosque.

this time extant in some of those churches where they are both used promiscuously together, that is, as well the one as the other. Of the antiquity of the old Syriac version, the Maronites, and other Syrian Christians, do much brag; for they will have it, that it was made, one part of it by the command of Solomon, for the use of Hiram, king of Tyre, and the other part, (that is, that part whereof the original was written after the time of Solomon) by the command of Abagarus, king of Edessa, who lived in our Saviour's time. The chief argument which they bring for this is, that St. Paul, (Eph. iv. 8,) quoting a passage out of Psalm lxviii. 18, makes his quotation of it, not according to the Septuagint, nor according to the original, but according to the Syriac version; for in that only is it found so as he quotes it; and therefore, say they, this quotation was taken out of it, and consequently this version must have been made before his time. The words of that passage, as quoted by St. Paul, are, *He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men*. But the latter part of it is neither according to the Septuagint version of that Psalm, nor according to the Hebrew original, but according to the Syriac version only. For, according to the two former, the quotation must have been, *And received gifts for men*; and according to the latter only is it in that text of the Psalmist so as St. Paul quotes it. But this rather proves, that the Syriac version in that passage of the Psalmist was formed according to St. Paul's quotation, than that St. Paul's quotation was taken from that version. It is certain this version was very ancient.^y It was, in all likelihood, made within the first century after Christ, and had for its author some Christian of the Jewish nation that was thoroughly skilled in both languages, that is, in the Hebrew, as well as in the Syriac; for it is very accurately done, and expresseth the sense of the original with greater exactness than any other version which hath been made of those Scriptures (I am speaking of the Old Testament) at any time before the revival of learning in these last ages; and therefore, as it is (excepting only the Septuagint, and the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos on the law, and Jonathan on the prophets) the oldest translation that we have of any part of those Scriptures, so is it the best without any exception at all, that has been made of them by the ancients into any language whatsoever. And this last character belongs to it in respect of the New Testament, as well as of the Old. And therefore, of all the ancient versions which are now consulted by Christians, for the better understanding of the

^y See Dr. Pocock's Preface to his Commentary on Micah.

holy Scriptures, as well of the New Testament as of the Old, none can better serve this end, than this old Syriac version, when carefully consulted, and well understood. And to this purpose the very nature of the language much helpeth; for it having been the mother tongue of those who wrote the New Testament, and a dialect of that in which the Old was first given unto us, many things of both are more happily expressed in it through this whole version, than can well be done in any other language. But to return to the Septuagint.

XI. As this version grew into use among the Christians, it grew out of credit with the Jews; for they being pinched in many particulars urged against them by the Christians out of this version, for the evading hereof they entered into the same design against the Septuagint version, that, in the last age, the English Papists of Doway and Rheims did against our English version,^z that is, they were for making a new one that might better serve their purpose. The person who undertook this work was Aquila, a proselyte Jew of Sinope, a city of Pontus. He had been bred up in the heathen religion, and had much addicted himself, while of it, to magic and judicial astrology; but being very much affected with the miracles which he saw the professors of the Christian religion did work in his time, he became a convert to it upon the same foot as Simon Magus had formerly been, that is, out of an expectation of obtaining power thereby of doing the same works.^a But not being able to attain thereto, as not having sufficient faith and sincerity for so great a gift, he went on with his magic and judicial astrology, endeavouring thereby to bewitch the people, and make himself thought some great one among them; which evil practices of his coming to the knowledge of the governors of the church, they admonished him against them, and, on his refusal to obey their admonitions, excommunicated him; at which being very much exasperated, he apostatized to the Jews, was circumcised, and became a proselyte to their religion; and, for his better instruction herein, got himself admitted into the school of Rabbi Akiba,^b the most celebrated doctor of the Jewish law in his time, and, under him, he made such a proficiency in the knowledge of the Jewish language, and those holy Scriptures that were written in it, that he was

^z The Rhemish Testament was published A. D. 1600; the Doway version of the Old Testament, 4to. 1609; both in opposition to the English Bible used in queen Elizabeth's time.

^a Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ, Athanasio ascripta. Euthymius in Præfatione ad Comment. in Psalmos. Vide etiam de eo Usseii Syntagma de Versione LXX. Interpretum, c. 5, 6. Waltoni Prolegomena, c. 9, et Hoddium, lib. 4, c. 1.

^b Hieronymus in Comment. ad Esaiæ, cap. iv

thought sufficient for this work, and accordingly undertook it, and made two editions thereof;^c the first he published in the twelfth year of the reign of Adrian, the Roman emperor, which was A. D. 128.^d But afterward having revised it, and made it more correct, he published the second edition of it. And this the hellenistical Jews received, and afterward used it every where instead of the Septuagint;^e and therefore this Greek translation is often made mention of in the Talmud, but the Septuagint never.^f And in this use of it they continued till the finishing and publishing of both the Talmuds. After that time the notion grew among them, that the Scriptures ought not to be read in any of their synagogues, but in the old form, that is, in the Hebrew first, and then, by way of interpretation, in the Chaldee, according to the manner as I have already described it; and the decrees of the doctors were urged for this way. But the hellenistical Jews, after so long use of a Greek version, not easily coming into this, it caused great divisions and disturbances among them; for the quieting of which, Justinian the emperor published a decree,^g which is still extant among his novel constitutions, whereby he ordained, that the Jews might read the Scriptures in their synagogues, either in the Greek version of the LXXII, or in that of Aquila, or in any other language, according to the country in which they should dwell. But the Jewish doctors having determined otherwise, their decrees obtained against the emperor's; and, within a little while after, both the Septuagint and the version of Aquila became rejected by them; and, ever since, the solemn reading of the Scriptures among them in their public assemblies hath been in the Hebrew and Chaldee languages.^h

Not long after the time of Aquila, there were two other Greek versions made of the same Scriptures;ⁱ the first by Theodotion, who lived in the time of Commodus, the Roman emperor, and the other^j by Symmachus, who flourished a little after him, in the reigns of Severus and Caracalla. The former, according to some,^k was of Sinope in Pontus; but, according to others,^l of Ephesus. They who would reconcile this matter, say he was of the former by birth, and of the other by habitation. The latter was a Samaritan,^m and bred

^c Hieronymus in Comment. ad Ezek. cap. iv.

^d Epiphanius in libro de Ponderibus et Mensuris.

^e Philastrius Hæres. 90. Origen. in Epistola ad Africanum.

^f Lightfoot in Primam Epistolam ad Corinthios, c. 9.

^g Novel, 146. Photii Nomocanon XII. 3.

^h The Chaldee is used in some of their synagogues even to this day, as particularly at Frankfort in Germany.

ⁱ Epiphanius in Libro de Ponderibus et Mensuris.

^k Epiphanius, *ibid.*

^l Irenæus Hæres. lib. 3, c. 24. Synopsis sacræ Scripturæ, Athanasio ascripta.

^m Epiphanius, *ibid.*

up in that sect, but afterward he became a Christian of the sect of the Ebionites;ⁿ and Theodotion having been of the same profession before him, hence it came to pass, that they were by some, both of them, to have been proselytes to Judaism; for the heresy of the Ebionites approached nearer the religion of the Jews than that of the orthodox Christians. They professed indeed to believe on Christ as the true Messiah, but held him to be no more than a mere man, and thought themselves still under the obligation of the law of Moses, and therefore were circumcised, and observed all the other rites and ceremonies of the Jewish religion;^o and for this reason, they had commonly the name of Jews given them by the orthodox Christians: and hence it is, that we find both these persons as having been of that heretical sect, sometimes branded with the name of Jews by the ancient writers of the church. They both of them undertook the making of their versions with the same design as Aquila did, although not wholly for the same end: for they all three entered on this work for the perverting of the old Testament Scriptures; but Aquila did it for the serving of the interest of the Jewish religion, the other two for the serving of the interest of that heretical sect which they were of; and all of them wrested those holy writings, in their versions of them, as much as they could, to make them speak for the different ends which they proposed. There is some dispute, which of the two latter versions was first made. Symmachus's version is first in the order of columns in the Hexapla of Origen; and this hath made some think, that it was first also in the order of time. But if this were an argument of any force, it would prove his version, and Aquila's also, to have been made before the Septuagint; for they are both in the order of those columns, placed before it. Irenæus^p quotes Aquila, and also Theodotion, but says nothing of that of Symmachus; which sufficiently proves, that both their versions were extant in his time, but not that of the other.

These three interpreters took three different ways in the making of their versions. Aquila stuck closely and servilely to the letter, rendering word for word, as nearly as he could whether the idioms and properties of the language he made his version into, or the true sense of the text, would bear it or no.^q Hence his version is said to be rather a good dictionary to give the meaning of the Hebrew words, than a good interpretation to unfold unto us the sense of the text; and therefore Jerome commends him much in the former

ⁿ Eusebius in Hist. Eccles. lib. 6, c. 17, et Demonstrat. Evang. lib. 7, c. 1.

^o Eusebius, *ibid.*

^p Lib. 3, c. 24.

^q Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Origen. in Epist. ad Africanum. Hieronymus in Præfat. ad Chronica Eusebiana; et in Præfat. ad Librum Job; et in Tractat. de optimo Genere interpretandi.

respect, and as often condemns him in the latter. Symmachus took a contrary course,^r and, running into the other extreme, endeavoured only to express what he thought was the true sense of the text, without having much regard to the words; whereby he made his version rather a paraphrase than an exact translation. Theodotion went the middle way between both,^s without keeping himself too servilely to the words, or going too far from them; but endeavoured to express the sense of the text in such Greek words as would best suit the Hebrew, as far as the different idioms of the two languages would bear. And his taking this middle way between both these extremes, is, I reckon, the chief reason why some have thought he lived after both the other two, because he corrected that in which the other two have erred. But this his method might happen to lead him to, without his having any such view in it. Theodotion's version had the preference with all except the Jews, who adhered to that of Aquila as long as they used any Greek version at all. And therefore, when the ancient Christians found the Septuagint version of Daniel too faulty to be used in their churches,^t they took Theodotion's version of that book into their Greek Bibles instead of it; and there it hath continued ever since. And for the same reason, Origen,^u in his Hexapla, where he supplies out of the Hebrew original what was defective in the Septuagint, doth it mostly according to the version of Theodotion.

All these four different Greek versions Origen collected together in one volume, placing them in four distinct columns, one over against the other all in the same page;^x and from hence this edition was called the Tetrapla, i. e. the fourfold edition. In the first column of this edition was placed the version of Aquila, in the second that of Symmachus, in the third the version of the Septuagint, and in the last that of Theodotion. Some time after he published another edition, wherein he added two other columns in the beginning, and two others also in the end of the same page; and this was called the Hexapla, i. e. the sixfold edition, and sometimes the Octapla, that is, the eightfold. In the first column of this edition was placed the Hebrew text in Hebrew letters, and

^r Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Chronica Eusebiana, et in Comment. ad Amos, c. 3.

^s Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Chronica Eusebiana, et in Præfatione ad Librum Job, et alibi sæpius.

^t Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Versionem Danielis, et in Præfatione ad Comment. in Daniele et alibi.

^u Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Pentat. et in Præfatione ad Libros Paralipom. et in Epistola ad Augustinum. et alibi in operibus suis.

^x Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Libros Paralipom. Eusebii Hist. Eccles. lib. 6, c. 16.

in the second the Hebrew text in Greek letters, in the third the Greek version of Aquila, in the fourth that of Symmachus, in the fifth that of the Septuagint, in the sixth that of Theodotion, in the seventh that which was called the fifth Greek version, and in the eighth the sixth Greek version;^y and after all these columns, in some parts of this edition, was added a ninth, in which was placed that which they call the seventh version. The fifth and sixth were not of the whole Old Testament, but only of some parts of it. The law, and several other of the books of these Scriptures, were wanting in both these versions; and therefore this edition began only with six columns, and the other columns were added there only where these other versions began. And hence it is, that this edition is called sometimes the Hexapla, in respect of that part of it where there were only six columns, and sometimes the Octapla, in respect of that part of it where there were eight columns; for the Hexapla and the Octapla were one and the same work, which in some parts of it had only six columns, and in others eight, and in some nine. In respect of the two former it was called Hexapla and Octapla, but never Enneapla (i. e. the ninefold,) in respect of the last; for that last containing only a small part, and as some say, no more than the Psalms, no regard was had to it, in the name given to the whole work. In this edition Origen altered the order of several parts of the Septuagint, where it differed from the Hebrew original:^z for whereas several passages in that version, especially in Jeremiah, were inverted, transposed, and put into a different order from what they are in the Hebrew, it was necessary for him to reduce them again to the same order with it for the making this edition answer the end he proposed:^a for his end herein being, that the differences between all the versions and the original might be the more easily seen, in order to the making of that version the more correct and perfect which was in use through the whole Greek church, he found it necessary to make the whole answer line for line in every column, that all might appear the more readily to the view of the reader; which could not be done without reducing all to the same uniform order: and that of the original, in which all was first written, was the properest to be followed.

y Eusebius & Epiphanius, *ibid.* Hieronymus in *Comment. in Epistolam Pauli ad Titum*, & in *Epistola ad Vincentium & Gallienum & alibi.* Videas etiam de hac re Waltonum, Hoddium, & Simonium.

z Vide de hac re Usurerii *Syntagma de Græca LXX. Interpretum Versione*, c. 9. Morini *Exercitationes Biblicas*, part 1, & Hoddium de *Textibus Bibliorum Originalibus*, lib. 4, c. 2. sect. 15.

a Origen. in *Epistola ad Africanum.* Hieronymus in *Præfatione ad Jeremiam.*

The fifth and sixth edition above mentioned were found, the one of them at Nicopolis, a city near Actium in Epirus, in the reign of Caracalla, and the other at Jericho in Judea, in the reign of Alexander Severus.^b Where the seventh was found, or who was the author of this or of the other two, is nowhere said. The first of these three contained the minor prophets, the Psalms, the Canticles, and the book of Job; the second the minor prophets and the Canticles;^c and the third, according to some, only the Psalms. But very uncertain, and, in some particulars, very contradictory accounts being given of these three last versions, and the matter being of no moment, since they are now all lost, it will be of no use to make any further inquiry concerning them. How the whole was disposed in this edition of Origen's, will be best understood by this scheme.

All the last three versions, as well as the other three, of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, Origen published in this edition as he found them. But the Septuagint, which was in the fifth column, being that for the sake of which he published all the rest, he bestowed much more pains upon it, to make it as correct and perfect as he could: for the copies of it, which in his time went about for common use among the hellenistical Jews and Christians, and were then read by both in their public assemblies, as well as in private at home, were then very much corrupted, through the mistakes and negligence of transcribers, whose hands, by often transcription, it had now long gone through; and therefore, to remedy this evil he applied himself with great care, by examining and collating of many copies, to correct all the errors that had this way crept into this version, and restore it again to its primitive perfection.^d And that copy which he had thus restored he placed in his Hexapla, in the fifth column; which being generally reputed to be the true and perfect copy of the Septuagint, the other copy that went about in common use was, in contradistinction to it, called the common or vulgar edition.^e And his labour rested not here; for he not only endeavoured, by comparing many different copies and editions of it, to clear it from the errors of transcribers, but also, by comparing it with the Hebrew original, to

1st Col.	The Hebrew Text in Hebrew Letters.
2d Col.	The Hebrew Text in Greek Letters.
3d Col.	The Greek Version of Aquila.
4th Col.	The Greek Version of Symmachus.
5th Col.	The Greek Version of the LXX.
6th Col.	The Greek Version of Theodotion.
7th Col.	The fifth Version.
8th Col.	The sixth Version.
9th Col.	The seventh Version.

^b Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6, c. 16. Epiphanius de Ponderibus & Mensuris. Hieronymus. Auctor Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ aliique.

^c Hieronymus citat eam versionem in his libris, nemo in aliis.

^d Origen. in Matthæum editionis Huetianæ, tom. 1, p. 381.

^e Hieronymus in Epistola ad Suniam et Fretelam.

clear it from the mistakes of the first composers also : for many such he found in it, not only by omissions and additions, but also by wrong interpretations, made in it by the first authors of this version. The law, which was the most exactly translated of all, had many of these, but the other parts a great many more. All which he endeavoured to correct in such manner, as to leave the original text of the Septuagint still entire, as it came out of the hands of the first translators, without any alterations, additions, or defalcations in it ; in order whereto he made use of four marks, called obelisks, asterisks, lemnisks, and hypolemnisks, which were then in use among the grammarians of those times, and put them into that edition of his corrected version of the Septuagint which he placed in his Hexapla.^f The obelisk was a straight stroke of the pen, resembling the form of a small spit, or the blade of a rapier, as thus (—) ; and thence it had the name of *ὀβελισκος*, in Greek, which signifieth, in that language, a small spit, and also the blade of a sword ; the asterisk was a small star, as thus (*), and was so called, because in Greek that word thus signifieth : the lemnisk was a straight line drawn between two points, as thus (÷) : and the hypolemnisk, a straight line with one point under it, as thus (⇓). By the obelisk he pointed out what was in the text of the Septuagint to be expunged, as that which was redundant over and above what was in the text of the Hebrew original. By the asterisk he showed what was to be added to it, to supply those places where he found it deficient of what was in the original. And these supplements he made to it mostly according to the version of Theodotion, and only where that could not serve to this purpose did he make use of the other versions.^g The lemnisks and hypolemnisks he seemeth to have used to mark out unto us where the original interpreters were mistaken in the sense and meaning of the words. But how these marks served to this end the accounts which we have of them are not sufficient to give us a clear notion. To show how far the redundancies went that were marked with obelisks, and how far the additions that were marked with the asterisks, another mark was made use of by him in this edition,^h which in some copies were two points, as thus (:), or else in othersⁱ the head of a dart inverted, as thus (‡) ; and by these marks was pointed out where the said redundan-

^f Epiphanius de Ponderibus et Mensuris. Hieronymus in Prologo ad Genesin, et in Præfatione ad librum Psalmorum, et in Præfatione ad libros Paralipom, et in Præfatione ad libros Solomonis, et in libro secundo adversus Rufinum.

^g Hieronymus in Prologo ad Genesin, et in Præfatione ad librum Job, et in libro secundo adversus Rufinum, et in Epistola 74, ad Augustinum.

^h Hieronymus in Præfatione ad librum Psalmorum.

ⁱ Vide Græcam versionem libri Joshuæ a Masio editam.

cies and additions ended, in the same manner as by the obelisks and asterisks was where they begun, as thus (**και αυτος*, or thus—*και αυτος*.⁴) But all this he did without making any alteration in the original version of the Septuagint: for taking out all these marks, with those supplements which were added under the asterisks, there remained the true and perfect edition of the Septuagint, as published by the first translators;^k and this was that which was called Origen's edition, as being corrected and reformed by him in the manner as I have said. This was a work of infinite labour, which gained him the name of Adamantius,¹ and was also of as great benefit to the church. It is not certainly said when he finished it; but it seems to have been in the year of our Lord 250, which was four years before his death. The original copy, when completed, was laid up in the library of the church of Cesarea in Palestine, where Jerome,^m many years after, consulted it, and wrote out a transcript from it. But the troubles and persecutions which the church fell under in those times, seem to have been the cause that, after it was placed in the library, it lay there in obscurity about fifty years without being taken notice of; till at length, being found there by Pamphilus and Eusebius, they wrote out copies of it; and, from that time, the use and excellency of it being made known, it became dispersed to other churches, and was received every where with great applause and approbation by them.ⁿ But the voluminousness of the work, and the trouble and charges it would have cost to have it entirely transcribed, became the cause that it was not long-lived: for it being very troublesome and expensive to have so bulky a book wrote out, which consisted of several volumes, and also very difficult to find scribes among Christians in those times sufficiently skilled to write out the Hebrew text, many contented themselves with copying out the fifth column only, that is, the Septuagint, with those marks of asterisks, obelisks, lemnisks, and hypolemnisks, with which Origen placed it in that column, that part thus marked seeming to comprehend an abridgment of the whole, whereby it came to pass, that few transcripts of this great work were made, but many of the other. In the transcribing of which, the

^k Hieronymus in Epistola 74, ad Augustinum.

¹ Hieronymus in Epistola ad Marcellam. For Adamantius, as applied to him, signified the *indefatigable*, who was not to be overcome with labour; and it was not without indefatigable labour that he completed this and the other works which he published.

^m Hieronymus in Psalmum Secundum, et in Comment. in Epistolam ad Titum, c. 3.

ⁿ Hieronymus in Proœmio ad Comment. Danielelem, & in Epistola 74. ad Augustinum.

asterisks being often left out, through want of due care in the writers, this occasioned that, in many copies of the Septuagint which were afterward made, several particulars were taken into the text of the Septuagint, as original parts of it, which had only, under this mark, been inserted there by way of supplement out of other translations. However, several copies of the whole work, both of the Tetrapla and Hexapla, still remained in libraries, and were consulted there on all occasions, till, at length, about the middle of the seventh century, the inundation of the Saracens upon the eastern parts having destroyed all libraries wherever they came, it was after this no more heard of; for there hath never since been any more remaining of it, than some fragments that have been gathered together by Flaminius Nobilius, Drusias, and Bernard de Montfaucon. The latter, in a book lately published, almost as bulky as the Hexapla, and a very pompous edition of it, hath made us expect concerning this matter much more than is performed.

Pamphilus and Eusebius having, about the conclusion of the third century, found the Hexapla of Origen in the library of Cesarea, (or, according as some relate, brought it from Tyre, and placed it there,) ^o corrected out of it the Septuagint version then in common use; and, having caused to be written out several copies of it thus corrected according to the fifth column in Origen's Hexapla, communicated them to the neighbouring churches; and from hence this edition became of general use in them from Antioch to the borders of Egypt, and was called the Palestine edition, because it was there first published and used; and sometimes it is also called the edition of Origen, because, it was made according to his corrections.

About the same time two other editions of the same Septuagint Bible were made, the first by Lucian, a presbyter of the church of Antioch; ^p which being found after his death at Nicomedia in Bithynia, where he suffered martyrdom in the tenth persecution, it became afterward used through all the churches from Constantinople to Antioch. ^q The other was made by Hesychius, a bishop of Egypt; which being received by the church of Alexandria, was, from that time, brought into use in that and all the other churches of Egypt. ^r Both

^o Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Paralipomena.

^p Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Paralipom. & in Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, & in Epistola ad Suniam & Fretelam. Suidas et Simone Metaphrasta in voce Λουκιανός, & in voce νοβελιεύς.

^q Auctor Synopsis Sacræ Scripturæ.

^r Hieronymus in Apologia versus Rufinum, lib. 2, & in Præfatione ad Paralipomena.

these two latter correctors understood the Hebrew text, and in many places corrected their editions from it.

All the authors of these three editions suffered martyrdom in the tenth persecution, which gave their editions that reputation, that the whole Greek church used either the one or the other of them. The churches of Antioch and Constantinople, and of all the intermediate countries lying between them, made use of the edition of Lucian : all from Antioch to Egypt, that of Pamphilus : and all the churches of Egypt, that of Hesychius. So that Jerome saith,^s the whole world was divided between them in a threefold variety ; because, in his time, no Greek church through the whole world made use of any other edition of those Scriptures, than one of these three ; but every one of them received either the one or the other of them for the authentic copy which they went by. But, if we may judge by the manuscript copies which still remain, these three different editions, bating the errors of scribes, did not, by variations that were of any great moment, differ the one from the other.

As thus the ancients had three principal editions of the Septuagint, from whence all the rest were copied, so hath it happened also among the moderns ; for, since the inventing of printing, there have been also three principal editions of this Septuagint version, from which all the rest have been printed that are now extant among us : the first, that of cardinal Ximenes, printed at Complutum or Alcala in Spain ; the second, that of Aldus, at Venice ; and the third, that of Pope Sextus V. at Rome.

That of cardinal Ximenes was printed A. D. 1515,^t in his Polyglot Bible of Complutum ; which contained, 1st. The Hebrew text ; 2dly. The Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos on the Pentateuch ; 3dly. The Greek Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and the Greek original of the New ; and 4thly, The Latin version of both. It was prepared for the press by the study and care of the divines of the university of Alcala, and others called thither to assist in this work.^u But the whole being carried on under the direction, and at the cost and charges of cardinal Ximenes, it hath the name

^s In Præfatione ad Paralipomena sic scribit. Alexandria & Ægyptus in LXX suis Hesychisim. Laudat Auctorem. Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Medæ inter has provincie Palestinos, codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius & Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnât.

^t Waltoni Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta, c. 9, sect. 23. Hoddii de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, lib. 4, c. 3. Userii Syntagma de Græca LXX Interpretum Versione, c. 8. Grabbii Prolegomena ad Octateuchum, c. 3.

^u Alcala is the Spanish name of the same town which in Latin is called Complutum.

of his edition. The method proposed herein, as to the Septuagint, having been, out of all the copies they could meet with, to choose out that reading which was nearest the Hebrew original, they seem rather thereby to have given us a new Greek translation of their own composure, than that ancient Greek version, which, under the name of the Septuagint, was in so great use among the primitive fathers of the Christian church. From this edition hath been printed the Septuagint which we have in both the Polyglots of Antwerp and Paris: the former of which was published, A. D. 1572, and the other, A. D. 1645; and also the Septuagint of Commelin, printed at Heidelberg, with Vatablus's Commentary, A. D. 1599.

2dly. Aldus's edition was published at Venice, A. D. 1518.^x It was, by the collation of many ancient manuscripts, prepared for the press by Andreas Asulanus, father-in-law of the printer. And from this copy have been printed all the German editions, excepting that of Heidelberg by Commelin, already mentioned.

3dly. But the Roman edition hath obtained the preference above the other two in the opinion of most learned men, though Isaac Vossius condemns it as the worst of all. The printing of this edition was first set on foot by cardinal Montalto; and he having been afterward pope, by the name of Sextus Quintus, at the time when it was published, A. D. 1587, it therefore came out under his name.^y He first recommended the work to pope Gregory XIII. as being that which had been directed to be done by a decree of the Council of Trent;^z and, by his advice, the work was committed to the care of Antony Caraffa, a learned man of a noble family in Italy, who was afterward made a cardinal and library-keeper to the pope. He, by the assistance of several other learned men employed under him, in eight years time, finished this edition. It was, for the most part, according to an old manuscript in the Vatican library, which was written all in capital letters, without the marks of accents or points, and also without any distinction either of chapters or verses, and is supposed to be as ancient as the time of Jerome; only where this was defective, (for some leaves of it are lost) they supplied the chasms out of other manuscripts; the principal of which were one that they had

^x Userii Syntagma de Græca LXX Interpretum Versione, c. 8. Waltoni Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta Angelicana, c. 9, sect. 29. Hoddus ibid. Græbius ibid.

^y Userius, Waltonus, Hoddus, & Græbius, ibid. Antonius Caraffa in Præfatione ad editionem Romanam. Morinus in Præfatione ad editionem suam Parisianam Græcæ versionis *ævæ* LXX.

^z Antonius Caraffa. ibid.

from Venice, out of the library of cardinal Bassarion, and another that was brought them out of Magna Græcia, now called Calabria; which last so agreed with the Vatican manuscript, that they supposed them either to have been written the one from the other, or else both from the same copy. The next year after was published at Rome a Latin version of this edition, with the annotations of Flaminus Nobilius. Morinus reprinted both together at Paris, A. D. 1628; and according to that edition have been published all those Septuagints that have been printed in England, that is, that of London in 8vo. A. D. 1653, that in Walton's Polyglot, published A. D. 1657, and that of Cambridge, A. D. 1665; which last hath the learned preface of bishop Pierson before it, and doth much more exactly give us the Roman edition, than that of 1663, though both in some particulars differ from it.^a

But the ancientest and the best manuscript of the Septuagint version now extant, according to the judgment of those who have thoroughly examined it, is the Alexandrian copy, which is in the king's library at St. James's. It is written all in capital letters, without the distinction of chapters, verses, or words. It was sent for a present to king Charles I. by Cyrillus Lucaris, then patriarch of Constantinople.^b He had been before patriarch of Alexandria, and, being translated from thence to the patriarchate of Constantinople, he brought thither this manuscript with him, and from thence sent it thither by Sir Thomas Roe, then ambassador from England to the Grand Seignior: and with it he sent this following account of the book, in a schedule annexed to it, written with his own hand.

Liber iste scripturæ sacræ Noviet Veteris Testamenti, prout ex traditione habemus, est scriptus manu Theclæ, nobilis feminae Ægyptiæ, ante mille et trecentos annos circiter, paulo post Concilium Nicænum. Nomen Theclæ in fine libri erat exaratum: sed extincto Christianismo in Ægypto a Mahometanis, et libri una Christianorum insimilem sunt redacti conditionem; extinctum enim est Theclæ nomen et laceratum; sed memoria et traditio recens observat.

Cyrillus, Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus.

Which, being rendered into English, is as followeth:

“This book of the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as we have it by tradition, was written by the hand of Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, about thirteen hun-

^a Vide Prolegomena Lambertii Bos ad editionem suam τας LXXII. Frænequeræ publicatam A. D. 1709.

^b Grazius in Prolegomenis ad Octateuchum

dred years since, a little after the council of Nice. The name of Thecla was formerly written at the end of the book : but the Christian religion being by the Mahometans suppressed in Egypt, the books of Christians were reduced to the like condition ; and therefore the name of Thecla is extinguished, and torn out of the book : but memory and tradition doth still observe it to have been hers.

Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople.”

Dr. Ernestus Grabe, a learned Prussian, who had lived many years in England, did lately, under the encouragement of her late majesty queen Anne, who gave him a pension for this purpose, undertake to publish an edition of the Septuagint according to this copy ; and he hath accordingly given us two parts of it, and would have published the rest in two parts more, but that his death prevented him from proceeding any further. Would some other able hand, with the like accuracy and care, finish what he hath left undone, this might then be justly reckoned among us a fourth edition of the Septuagint ; and it is not doubted, but that, when so completed, it will be approved as the perfectest and best of them all.

And thus far I have given an account of this ancient translation of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, and all the editions it hath gone through, both ancient and modern, so far as it belongs to an historian to relate. If any are desirous to know all the critical disputes and observations which have been made about it, and what learned men have written of this nature concerning it, they may consult archbishop Usher's *Syntagma de Græca LXX Interpretum Versione* ; Morinus's *Exercitationes Biblicæ*, part 1, and his preface before his Paris edition of the Septuagint ; *Wouwer de Græca et Latina Biblicorum Interpretatione* ; Walton's *Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglotta*, c. 9 ; *Vossius de LXX Interpretibus* ; Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament* ; Du Pin's *History of the Canon of the Old Testament* ; Grabe's *Prolegomena* before those two parts of the Septuagint which were published by him ; and especially Dr. Hoddy's learned book above cited, where he hath written the fullest and the best of all that have handled this argument. And here having concluded this long historical account of it, I shall with it conclude this book.

THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS
CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK II.

SOSTHENES (who, on his defeating the Gauls, had for some time reigned in Macedon) being dead, Antiochus the son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes,^a each claimed to succeed there as in their father's kingdom, Demetrius first, and afterward Seleucus, having been kings of that country. But Antigonus, who had now, from the time of his father's last expedition into Asia, reigned in Greece ten years, being nearest, first took possession; whereon Antiochus resolving to march against him, and the other to keep what he had gotten, each raised great armies, and made strong alliances for the war. On this occasion, Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having confederated with Antigonus, Antiochus, in his march towards Macedonia, not thinking it fit to leave such an enemy behind him in Asia, instead of passing over the Hellespont to attack Antigonus, led his army against Nicomedes, and carried the war into Bithynia. But there both armies having for some time lain against each other, and neither of them having courage enough to assault the other, it at length came to a treaty, and terms of agreement between them;^b by virtue of which, Antigonus having married Phila, the daughter of Stratonice by Seleucus, Antiochus quitted to him his claim to Macedonia, and Antigonus became quietly settled in that kingdom,^c where his posterity reigned for several descents, till at length Perseus, the last of that race, being conquered by Paulus Æmilius, that kingdom became a province of the Roman empire.^d

^a Memnon, c. 19.

^b Justin. lib. 25, c. 1.

^c In Vita Arati Astronomi operibus ejus præfixa.

^d Plutarchus in Demetrio.

Antiochus, being thus freed from this war marched against the Gauls (who having gotten a settlement in Asia, by the favour of Nicomedes, in the manner as hath been above related, overran and harassed all that country,) and having after a sharp conflict overthrown them in battle,^e he thereby delivered those provinces from their oppressions,^e from whence he had the name of Soter, or the Saviour, given unto him.

The Romans having forced Pyrrhus, after a six years war, to leave Italy, and return again into Epirus, with baffle and disappointment, their name began to grow of great note and fame among foreign nations;^f whereon Ptolemy Philadelphus sent ambassadors to them, to desire their friendship; with which the Romans were well pleased, thinking it no small reputation to them, that their friendship was sought for by so great a king.^g

And therefore, to make a return of the like respects, the next year after they sent a solemn embassy into Egypt unto that king.^h The ambassadors were Q. Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabius Pictor, and Q. Ogulinus, whose conduct in this employment was very remarkable: for, with a mind as great as self-denying, they put off every thing from themselves that might tend to their own proper interest: for when king Ptolemy, having invited them to supper with him, presented them in the conclusion of the entertainment with crowns of gold, they accepted of the crowns for the sake of the honour that was done them thereby, but the next morning after, crowned with them the statues of the king, which stood in the public places of the city; and being presented, on their taking their leave, with very valuable gifts from the king, they accepted of them, that they might not disgust him by the refusal; but as soon as they were returned to Rome, they delivered them all into the public treasury, before they appeared in the senate to give an account of their embassy, declaring thereby that they desired no other advantage from the service of the public, than the honour of discharging it well. And this was the general temper and inclination of the Romans in those times; which made them prosper in all their undertakings. But afterward, when the service of the public was only desired in order to plunder it, and men entered on the employments of the state with no other view or intent than to enrich themselves, and advance their own private fortunes, no won-

^e Appian. in Syriacis.

^f Plutarchus in Pyrrho.

^g Livius, lib. 14. Eutrop. lib. 2.
^h Livius, lib. 14. Eutrop. lib. 2. Valerius Maximus, lib. 4, c. 3. Dio in Excerptis ab Ursino editis.

der that every thing began to go backward with them. And so it must happen with all other states and kingdoms, when the public interest is sacrificed to that of private men, and the offices and employments of the state are desired only to gratify the ambition, and glut the avarice of them that can get into them. But the Romans, although they received into their treasury what their ambassadors thus generously delivered into it, yet were not wanting in what was proper for them to do for the encouraging so good an example, and the rewarding of them that gave it : for they ordered to be given to them, for their service done the state in this embassy, such sums out of their treasury, as equalled the value of what they thus delivered into it. So that the liberality of Ptolemy, the abstinence and self-denial of the ambassadors, and the justice of the Romans, were all signally made appear in the transactions of this matter.

After the death of Pyrrhus, who was slain at Argus, in an attempt made upon that city,ⁱ Antigonus Gonatus king of Macedon having much enlarged his power and made himself thereby very formidable to the Grecian states,^k the Lacedemonians and the Athenians entered into a confederacy against him, and gained Ptolemy Philadelphus to join with them herein. Whereon Antigonus besieged Athens : for the relief of which Ptolemy sent a fleet under the command of Patroclus, one of his chief officers;^l and Areus king of the Lacedemonians led thither an army by land for the same purpose. Patroclus, on his arrival with his fleet, sent to Areus to persuade him forthwith to engage the enemy, promising him at the same time, to land the forces which he had on board the fleet, and fall on them in the rear. But the provisions of the Lacedemonians being all spent, Areus thought it better to retreat and march home ; whereon Patroclus was forced to do the same, and sail back with his fleet again into Egypt, without accomplishing any thing of the design for which he was sent ; and Athens being thus deserted by its allies, fell into the hands of Antigonus, and he placed a garrison in it.

Patroclus, in his return into Egypt, having found Sotades at Caunus, a maritime city of Caria, there seized on him, and wrapping him in a sheet of lead, cast him into the sea.^m He was a lewd poet, who having writtensome satirical verses against king Ptolemy, and in them bitterly reflected on him for his marriage with Arsinoe his sister, had fled from Alexandria to avoid the indignation of

An. 268.
Ptolemy
Philadel. 17.

An. 267.
Ptolemy
Philadel. 18.

ⁱ Plutarchus in Pyrrho.

^k Justin. lib. 26, c. 2. Pausanias in Laconicis.

^l Pausanias, *ibid*.

^m Athenæus. lib. 14, p. 629

that prince. But Patroclus, having thus met him in his flight, thought he could not better recommend himself to the favour of his prince, than by taking this vengeance on the person who had thus abused him. And it was a punishment which he well deserved; for he was a very vile and flagitious wretch, and was commonly called *Sotades Cinædus*, that is, *Sotades the Sodomite*; which name was given him by way of eminence, not only for his notorious guilt in that monstrous and abominable vice, but especially for that he had written in iambic verses, a very remarkable poem in commendation of it, which was in great repute among those who were given to that unnatural and vile lust.ⁿ Hence Sodomites were called from him, *Sotadici Cinædi*, that is, *Sotadic Sodomites*, as in Juvenal, *Inter Sotadicos notissima fossa Cinædos*;° for so it ought to be read, and not *Socraticos*, as in our printed books. For this latter was an alteration made in the text of that author by such as were wickedly addicted to this beastly vice, thinking they might acquire some credit, or at least some excuse to this worst of uncleanness, if they could make it believed that Socrates, who was one of the best of men, had been also addicted to it.

Magas, governor of Cyrene and Libya for king Ptolemy, rebelled against him, and made himself king of those provinces.^p He was half brother to him, being son of Berenice by Philip, a Macedonian, who had been her husband before she married king Ptolemy Soter; and therefore by her intercession, she prevailed with that prince to make him his lieutenant, to govern those provinces, on his again recovering them after the death of Ophellas, A. D. 307; where, having strengthened himself by a long continuance in that government, and also by the marriage of Apame, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Asia, he, in confidence hereof, rebelled against his brother, and, not being contented to deprive him of the provinces of Libya and Cyrene, where he now reigned, sought to dispossess him also of Egypt; and therefore, having gotten together an army, marched towards Alexandria for this purpose, and seized Parætonium, a city of Marmarica, in his way thither. But as he was proceeding farther, a message being brought him, that the Marmarides, a people of Libya, had revolted from him, he was forced to march back again for the suppressing of this defection. Ptolemy being then with a great army on the borders of Egypt, to defend his country against this invader, had a good opportunity, by falling on him in his re-

An. 265.
Ptolemy
Philadel. 20.

ⁿ Strabo, lib. 14, p. 648. Athenæus, *ibid.* Suidas in voce *Σοτᾶδης*.

^o Satyra, ii. 10.

^p Pausanias in Atticis.

treat utterly to have broken him. But he was hindered by a like defection at home, as Magas had been; for having, for his defence in this war, hired several mercenaries, and among them four thousand Gauls, he found they had entered into a conspiracy against him to take possession of Egypt, and drive him thence; for the preventing of which he marched back into Egypt, and having led the conspirators into an island in the Nile, he there pent them up, till they all perished of famine, or, to avoid it, had slain each other with their own swords.

Magas, as soon as he had removed the difficulties at home which recalled him thither, was for renewing his designs again upon Egypt; and, for the carrying of them An. 264.
Ptolemy.
Philadelph. 21. on with the better success, engaged Antiochus Soter, his father-in-law, to engage with him herein;^q and the project concerted between them was, that Antiochus should attack the territories of Ptolemy on one side, and Magas on the other. But while Antiochus was providing an army for this purpose, Ptolemy, having full notice of what was intended, sent forces into all the maritime provinces which were under the dominion of Antiochus; whereby having caused great ravages and devastations to be made in them, by this means he necessitated that prince to keep at home, for the defence of his own territories, and Magas, without his assistance in the war, thought not fit to move any farther in it.

The next year after died Phileterus, the first founder of the kingdom of Pergamus, being eighty years old:^r he was an eunuch, and served Docimus, who was one An. 263.
Ptolemy
Philadelph. 22. of the captains of Antigonos, and, on his revolt from that prince to Lysimachus, passed with him into the same service; and Lysimachus finding him to have had a liberal education, and to be a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and thereon put the city of Pergamum into his hands, where in a strong castle his treasure was kept.^s And here he served Lysimachus many years with great fidelity; but being particularly attached to the interest of Agathocles, the eldest son of Lysimachus, and therefore having expressed great grief at his death, which was brought about by the contrivance of Arsinoe, the daughter of king Ptolemy Soter, (whom Lysimachus had married in his old age, as hath been already related,) he grew suspected to that lady; and finding thereon that designs were laid for his life also, he revolted from Lysimachus, and, under the protection of Seleucus, set up for himself: and, having converted the treasure of

q Pausanias in Atticis.

r Lucianus in Macrobiis.

s Pausanias in Atticis. Strabo, lib. 12, p. 443. & lib. 13, p. 623, 624. Appian. in Syriacis.

Lysimachus to his own use, among the distractions that after followed, first on the death of Lysimachus, and then on that of Seleucus within seven months after, and the unsettled state of them that succeeded them, he managed his affairs with that craft and subtlety, that he secured himself in the possession of his castle, and all the country adjacent, for the term of twenty years, and there founded a kingdom, which lasted for several descents in his family after him, and was one of the potentest sovereignties in all Asia. He had indeed no children of his own as being an eunuch; but he had two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus; the elder of which, Eumenes, had a son of the same name, who succeeded his uncle in his new-acquired kingdom, and reigned in it twenty-two years. This same year began the first Punic war between the Romans and Carthaginians, which lasted twenty-four years.

Towards the end of the same year died Antigonus of Socho,^t who was president of the sanhedrim at Jerusalem, and the great master and teacher of the Jewish law in their prime divinity-school in that city, and had been in both these offices, say the Jews, from the death of *Simon the Just*, who was of the last of those that were called the men of the great synagogue. These taught the Scriptures only to the people. They who after succeeded, added the traditions of the elders to the holy Scriptures, and taught them both to their scholars, obliging them to the observance of the one as well as the other, as if both had equally proceeded from Mount Sinai. These were called the Tanaim, or the Mishnical Doctors, for the reason already mentioned;^u and the first of them was this Antigonus of Socho, who, being now dead, was succeeded by Joseph the son of Joazer, and Joseph the son of John. The first of these was Nasi, or the president of the sanhedrim, and the other Ab-Beth-Din, or vice-president; and both jointly taught together in the chief divinity-school at Jerusalem.

In the time of this Antigonus began the sect of the Sadducees, to the rise of which he gave the occasion; for having in his lectures, often inculcated to his scholars, that they ought not to serve God in a servile manner with respect to the reward, but out of the filial love and fear only which they owed unto him, Sadoc and Baithus, two of his scholars, hearing this from him, inferred from hence, that there were no rewards at all after this life; and therefore, separating from the school of their master, they taught, that there was no resurrection nor future state, but that all the rewards which

^t Juchasin, Zemach David, Shalshelath Haccabala.

^u Part 1, book 5.

God gave to those that served him, were in this life only.^x And, many being perverted by them to this opinion, they began that sect among the Jews, which, from the name of Sadoe, the first founder of it, were called Sadducees; who differed from Epicures only in this, that, although they denied a future state, yet they allowed the power of God to create the world, and his providence to govern it; whereas the Epicureans deny both the one and the other. A fuller account of them, and their tenets, shall be hereafter given, in the place where I shall treat of all those sects of the Jews together which arose among them between this time and that of our Saviour.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia,^y having built a new city in the place where Astacus before stood (which had been destroyed by Lysimachus,) or very near it,^z as An. 260. Ptolemy Philadel. 23. others say, caused it, from his own name, to be called Nicomedia; of which place frequent mention is made in the histories of the latter Roman emperors, several of them having made it the seat of their residence in the East.

Antiochus Soter, on his hearing of the death of Philetærus, thought to possess himself of his territories; whereon Eumenes marched with an army against him for his defence, and, having encountered him near Sardis, overthrew him in battle, and thereby not only secured himself in the possession of what his uncle had left him, but also augmented it by several new acquisitions.^a

Antiochus, after this defeat, returning to Antioch, there put to death one of his sons, who had raised some disturbances in his absence, and made the other, who was named also Antiochus, king, and a little after, dying, left him in the sole possession of all his dominions.^b He was born to him by Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius, who had been first his mother-in-law, and afterward his wife, as hath been already related.

This Antiochus, on his first coming to the crown, had for his wife Laodice,^c his sister by the same father; he afterward took the title of Theus, or the Divine; and by this he is usually distinguished from the other An. 260. Ptolemy Philadel. 24.

^x Pirke Avoth Juchasin. Zemach David. Shalshleth Haccabala. R. Abraham Levita in Cabbala Historica. See Lightfoot's Works in English, vol. i. p. 457, 655 656; and vol. ii. p. 125, 126, 127.

^y Pausanias in Eliacorum libro primo. Euseb. Chron. Trebellius Pollio in Gallienis. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 22.

^z Memnon, c. 21.

^a Strabo, lib. 13, p. 624. For the Antiochus who was beaten at Sardis could be none other than Antiochus the son of Seleucus, according to this author; for he here calls him *τὸν Σελεύκην*, i. e. the son of Seleucus, that Greek phrase in that place not bearing any other interpretation.

^b Trogus in Prologo, lib. 26.

^c Polyanius Stratagem. lib. 8, c. 50. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 27, c. 1.

kings of that name who reigned in Syria. It was first given him by the Milesians, on his delivering them from the Tyranny of Timarchus;^d for this Timarchus, being governor of Caria for Ptolemy Philadelphus (who at this time had, besides Egypt, Cœlo-Syria, and Palestine,^e the provinces of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, in Lesser Asia,) rebelled against him, and setting up for himself, fixed the chief seat of his tyranny at Miletus.^f The Milesians, to be freed from him, called in Antiochus, who, having vanquished and slain Timarchus, was, for this reason, honoured by them as a god, and had the title of Theus there given unto him; which was an impious flattery the people of those times were frequently guilty of towards the princes then reigning: for the Lemnians had a little before consecrated his father and grandfather to be gods, and built temples to them;^g and the Smyrnians did the same for Stratonice his mother.^h

In the beginning of this king's reign, lived Berosus, the famous Babylonish historian; for he dedicated his history to him. So saith Tatian: his words are, "Berosus the Babylonian, who was a priest of Belus at Babylon, and lived in the time of Alexander, dedicated to Antiochus, who was the third after him, his history, which he wrote in three books, of the affairs of the Chaldeans, and the actions of their kings."ⁱ The third after Alexander was certainly Antiochus Theus: for Seleucus Nicator was the first, Antiochus Soter the second, and Antiochus Theus the third; and therefore, according to Tatian, it must be to him that this dedication was made. But it being also said by Tatian, that he lived in the time of Alexander, who died sixty-four years before the first year of Antiochus Theus, the age of the historian makes it necessary to place this dedication to Antiochus as early as possible, that is, in the first year of his reign. For, supposing Berosus to have been twenty at the death of Alexander, in whose time he is said to have lived, he must have been eighty-four in the first year of Antiochus Theus; and so great an age makes it probable he could not have lived long beyond it; and therefore below this year we cannot well place this dedication. And the account which Pliny^j gives us of this history, brings down the ending of it to have been hereabout; for he saith, that it contained astronomical observations for four hundred and eighty years. Learned men, with good reason,^k begin the computation of these four hundred and eighty years from the beginning of the era of Nabonassar, and the four hundred and eightieth

^d Appian. in Syriacis.

^f Theocritus Idyll. 17.

^h Marmora Oxoniensia, p. 5, 6, 14.

^k Vide Usserii *Annales Veteris Testamenti sub Anno. J. P. 4453, & Vossii de Historicis Græcis*, lib. 1, c. 13.

^e Trogus in Prologo, lib. 26.

^g Athenæus, lib. 6, c. 16.

ⁱ Lib. 7, c. 56.

year of that era ended about six years before Antiochus Theus began his reign. And that he should end his history at a term six years before he published it is not hard to conceive, though perchance it might be deduced down to the death of Antiochus Soter, and the odd number be left out in the computation, it being usual in the reckoning of such long sums to end them at a full number. After the Macedonians had made themselves masters of Babylon, he learned from them the Greek language; and, passing from Babylon into Greece, first settled at Cos,^l a place famous for the birth of Hippocrates, the father of physicians, and did there set up a school for the teaching of astronomy and astrology; and afterward from Cos he went to Athens, where he grew so famous for his astrological predictions,^m that they there erected to him in their gymnasium, the public place of their exercises, a statue with a golden tongue. Many noble fragments of his history are preserved by Josephus and Eusebius, which give great light to many passages in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and without which the series of the Babylonian kings could not have been well made out. Of the counterfeit Berossus, published by Annius of Veterbo, I have already spoken,ⁿ and therefore need not here again repeat it.

Ptolemy, being intent to advance the riches of his kingdom, contrived to bring all the trade of the East that was by sea into it. It had hitherto been managed by the Tyrians, and they carried it on by sea to Elath, and from thence by the way of Rhinocorura to Tyre. These were both sea-port towns, Elath on the east side of the Red Sea, and Rhinocorura at the bottom of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, near the mouth of that river which the Scriptures call the river of Egypt. Of both which places, and the trade carried on through them by the Tyrians, I have already spoken in the first part of this history.^o To this trade into Egypt, Ptolemy contrived to build a city on the western side of the Red Sea, from whence he might set out his shipping for the carrying of it on. But observing that the Red Sea, towards the bottom of the gulf, was of very difficult and dangerous navigation, by reason of its rocks and shelves,^p he built his city at as great distance from that part of this sea as he could, placing it almost as far down as the confines of Ethiopia, and called it Berenice, from the name of his mother. But that not having a good harbour, Myos Hormus, in the neighbourhood, was afterward found to be a more convenient port; and therefore all the wares of Arabia,

^l Vitruvius, lib. 9, c. 7.

^m Plinius, lib. 7, c. 37.

ⁿ Part 1, book 8, under the year 298.

^o Part 1, book 1, under the year 740.

^p Strabo, lib. 17, p. 815.

India, Persia, and Ethiopia, being brought thither by sea, they were carried from thence on camels' backs to Coptus on the Nile, and from thence down that river to Alexandria, from whence they were dispersed all over the West, and the wares of the West were carried back the same way into the East; by which means the Tyrians being deprived of this profitable traffic, it became thenceforth fixed at Alexandria; and this city, from that time, continued to be the prime mart of all the trade that was carried on between the East and the West for above seventeen hundred years after, till, a little above two centuries since, another passage from the West into those countries was found out by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. But the road from Coptus to the Red Sea being through deserts, where no water was to be had, nor any convenience of towns or houses for the lodging of passengers, Ptolemy, for the remedying of both these inconveniences,^q drew a ditch from Coptus, which carried the water of the Nile all along by that road, and built on it several inns, at such proper distances, as to afford every night lodgings and convenient refreshments, both for man and beast, to all that should pass that way. And, as he thus projected to draw all the trade of the East and West into this kingdom, so he provided a very great fleet for the protecting of it, part of which he kept in the Red Sea, and part in the Mediterranean.^r That in the Mediterranean alone was very great, and some of the ships of it of a very unusual bigness: for he had in it two ships of thirty oars on a side, one of twenty oars, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-seven of seven, five of six, seventeen of five; and of four oars and three oars of a side, he had double the number of all these already mentioned; and he had, over and above, of the smaller sort of vessels a vast number.^s And, by the strength of this fleet, he not only maintained and advanced the trade of his country, but also kept most of the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, that is, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, and also the Cyclades, in thorough subjection to him, as long as he lived.^t

Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing old and infirm, expressed a desire of composing all differences with king Ptolemy his brother, and in order hereto, proposed to marry his only daughter Berenice to king Ptolemy's eldest son, and with her to give the inheritance of his kingdom after him; which being accepted of by Ptolemy, peace was made between them on these terms.^u

An. 258.

Ptolemy

Philadel. 27.

q Strabo, lib. 17, p. 815.

r Theocritus in Idyllio 17. Appianus in Præfatione.

s Athenæus, lib. 5, p. 293.

t Theocritus in Idyllio 17.

u Justin lib. 26, c. 3, ubi, pro Magas, ex errore scribarum, legitur Agas

But Magas, in the year following, died before the treaty was executed, after he had reigned fifty years over Libya and Cyrene, from the time that these provinces were first committed to his government, on the death of Ophellas.^x In the latter end of his life, he gave himself much to ease and luxury, eating and drinking beyond all temperance and measure; whereon he grew so corpulent, that at length he weighed himself down into the grave by the load of his own fat.^y After his death, Apame, his wife, (whom Justin calls Arsinoe,) setting herself very violently to break the match contracted for her daughter with the son of king Ptolemy, as being agreed without her consent,^a sent into Macedon for Demetrius, the half-brother of king Antigonos Gonatas, (for he was the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes by his last wife Ptolemaida, the daughter of Ptolemy Soter,) promising him her daughter in marriage, and the kingdoms of Lybia and Cyrene with her.^b This invitation soon brought Demetrius thither. But Apame, on his arrival, finding him a very beautiful young man, fell in love with him herself: which Demetrius complying with, neglected the young princess, and gave himself wholly up to this scandalous amour with the mother; and being thereon thoroughly possessed of her favour, in confidence of it, began to carry himself with great pride and insolence, not only towards the princess, but also towards the ministers and soldiers that served her father; whereon they all conspired against him. And Berenice herself, having led the conspirators to the door of her mother's bed-chamber, when he was there accompanying with her, they fell upon him, and slew him in her bed, notwithstanding she did all she could, by interposing her body between him and the swords of the conspirators, to save him from this assassination. After this Berenice went into Egypt, and there consummated the marriage with the son of king Ptolemy which her father had contracted for her, and Apame was sent into Syria to king Antiochus Theus her brother.

But, on her arrival at his court, she so exasperated him against king Ptolemy, as to engage him to enter into a war with him, which lasted long, and was carried on with great violence, to the very great damage of king Antiochus, and at last administered the occasion of a

An. 257.
Ptolemy
Philadel. 28.

An. 256.
Ptolemy
Philadel. 29.

^x Justin. lib. 26, c. 3.

^y Athenæus ex Agatharcide, lib. 12, p. 550. a Justin, *ibid.*

^b Plutarchus in Demetrio. Here it is to be observed, that Apame was the grand-daughter of the same Demetrius, by Stratonice his daughter, for she was the daughter of Antiochus Soter by that lady

cruel tragedy in his family, in which he himself perished, as will be hereafter related.^c

For the carrying on of this war, Ptolemy employed his lieutenants, without appearing in it himself, by reason of the tender state of his health,^d which would not permit him to bear the hardships of a camp, or the fatigues of a campaign. But Antiochus, being in the vigour of his youth, headed his armies himself, and drew after him all the strength of Babylon and the East, for the more vigorous prosecuting of the war.^e But what were the successes of it on either side, we have no account, through want of their being recorded in history; only we may presume there were no great advantages gotten, nor any signal events brought to pass on either side, because if there had, they could not have escaped being told us, in an age when there lived so many able historians and learned men to commit them to writing.

But, amidst this war, Ptolemy did not omit his search for books for his library, and also for pictures and drawings which were the works of eminent artists.^f And for this Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, being one of his agents in Greece, he so far gained his favour by his service to him herein, that, on his applying to him for his help towards the restoring of his city to liberty and peace, he gave him for this purpose one hundred and fifty talents.^f The case was thus: Aratus having expelled Nicocles, the tyrant of Sicyon, and brought back the exiles again to their city, great disturbances did there arise hereon about the restoration of their lands, which had like to have put all into confusion among them, by reason most of those lands had been transferred to other proprietors, and by purchase and sale for valuable considerations, gone through several hands before the exiles were restored, who thought it hard to be deprived of what they had paid for; and there being no other way to satisfy them, but by refunding their money again, for this reason Aratus applied to king Ptolemy, and, with the money he gave him, satisfied every body, and restored peace to Sicyon.^f

While Antiochus was carrying on the war in which he was engaged against king Ptolemy, there happened a great defection from him in the eastern provinces of his empire; and, by reason of his embarrassments in this war, he not being at leisure immediately to suppress it, the revolt at length grew to a head too hard for him to master; and this gave beginning to the Parthian empire.

An. 250.

Ptolemy

Philadel. 36.

c Hieronymus in Daniele m xi. 5.

d Strabo, lib. 17, p. 789.

e Hieronymus in Daniele m ix. 5

f Plutarchus in Arato

The occasion of it was thus: Agathocles, who was governor of Parthia for king Antiochus, being sodomitically given, fell in love with a beautiful young man, called Teridates, and attempted a force upon him for the gratifying of his unnatural lust. Whereupon Arsaces, the brother of the youth, to rescue him from this violence, with some other of his friends joining with him, fell upon the governor and slew him; and after that, drawing a company together after him for the vindication of the fact, he, in a little time, while neglected by Antiochus, grew strong enough to expel the Macedonians out of the province, and there set up for himself.^g And about the same time, Theodotus revolted in Bactria, and, from being governor of that province, declared himself king of it. And that country, having one thousand cities in it, he got them all under his obedience; and while Antiochus delayed to look that way, by reason of his wars with Egypt, made himself too strong in them to be afterward reduced; which example being followed by other nations in those parts, they all there generally revolted at the same time; and Antiochus lost almost all those eastern provinces of his empire that lay beyond the Tigris.^h This happened, Justin tells us,ⁱ while L. Manlius Vulso, and M. Attilius Regulus, were consuls at Rome.

This same year, on the death of Manasseh, high-priest of the Jews,^k Onias, the second of that name, succeeded him in his office. He was the son of Simon the Just; but, having been left an infant at his father's death, Eleazar, the brother of Simon, was then made high-priest in his stead; and he also dying before Onias was of an age capable for the executing of the office, Manasseh, the son of Jaddua, and uncle of Simon the Just, was called to it; and now, he being dead, Onias came into the office. But, being a man of a heavy temper, and a very sordid spirit, he behaved himself very meanly in that station, to the endangering of the whole Jewish state, by the illness of his conduct, as will hereafter be related in its proper place.

The commotions and revolts which happened in the East, making Antiochus weary of his war with king Ptolemy, peace was made between them on the terms, that Antiochus divorcing Laodice his former wife, should marry Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy, and make her his queen, instead of the other, and entail his

An. 249.
Ptolemy
Philadel. 38.

^g Arrian in Parthicis apud Photium, cod. 58. Syncellus, p. 284. Justin. lib. 41, c. 4. Strabo, lib. 11, p. 515.

^h Strabo & Justin, *ibid.*

ⁱ Lib. 41, c. 4.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 3.

crown upon the male issue of that marriage.¹ And this agreement being ratified on both sides, for the full performance of it, Antiochus put away Laodice, though she were his sister by the same father, and he had two sons born to him by her; and Ptolemy, carrying his daughter to Pelusiam, there put her on board his fleet, and sailed with her to Seleucia, a sea-port town near the mouth of the river Oroantes in Syria; where having met Antiochus, he delivered his daughter to him, and the marriage was celebrated with great solemnity.^m And thus “the king’s daughter of the South came, and was married to the king of the North;” and by virtue of that marriage, “an agreement was made between those two kings,” according to the prophecy of the prophet Daniel, xi. 5, 6. For, in that place, by the king of the South, is meant the king of Egypt, and, by the king of the North, the king of Syria; and both are there so called in respect of Judea, which lying between these two countries, hath Egypt on the South, and Syria on the North. For the fuller understanding of this prophecy, it is to be observed, that the holy prophet after having spoken of Alexander the Great, (ver. 3,) and of the four kings among whom his empire was divided, (ver. 4,) confines the rest of his prophecy in that chapter to two of them only, that is, to the king of Egypt, and the king of Syria; and first he begins with that king of Egypt who first reigned in that country after Alexander, that is, Ptolemy Soter, whom he calls king of the South, and saith of him that he should be strong. And that he was so, all that write of him do sufficiently testify, for he had under him Egypt, Libya, Cyrene, Arabia, Palestine, Cælo-Syria, most of the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, the island of Cyprus, several of the isles of the Egean Sea, now called the Archipelago, and some cities also in Greece, as Sicyon, Corinth, and others. And then the prophet proceedeth to speak of another of the four successors (or princes, as he calls them) of Alexander, and he was Seleucus Nicator, king of the North, of whom he saith, that *he should be strong above the king of the South, and have great dominion also above him; that is, greater than the king of the South.* And that he had so, appears from all the large territories he was possessed of; for he had under him all the countries of the East from Mount Taurus to the river Indus, and several of the provinces of Lesser Asia, also from Mount Taurus to the Egean Sea; and he had moreover added to them before his death,

¹ Hieronymus in Daniele xi. Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 8, c. 50. Athenæus, lib. 2, c. 6.

^m Polyænus, lib. 8, c. 50, dicit eam fuisse Antiochi ὁμοπατριον ἀδελφίδα, i. e. sororem ex patre, quia scilicet Antiochus Soter erat utriusque pater.

Thrace and Macedon. And then, in the next place, (ver. 6,) he tells us of *the coming of the king's daughter of the South, after the end of several years, to the king of the North, and the agreement, or treaty of peace, which should thereon be made between those two kings*; which plainly points out unto us this marriage of Berenice, daughter to Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt, with Antiochus Theus king of Syria, and the peace which was thereon made between them; for all this was exactly transacted according to what was predicted by the holy prophet in this prophecy. After this the holy prophet proceeds, through the rest of the chapter, to foreshow all the other most remarkable events that were brought to pass in the transactions of the succeeding times of these two races of kings, till the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jewish nation: all which I shall take notice of in the following series of this history, and apply them to the prophecy for the explication of it, as they come in my way.

Ptolemy being a curious collector of statues, drawings, and pictures that were the works of eminent artists, as well as of books, while he was in Syria the last year, saw there a statue of Diana, in one of her temples, which he was much taken with; and therefore desiring it of Antiochus, carried it with him into Egypt.ⁿ But he had not been long returned thither, ere Arsinoë,† falling sick, dreamed that Diana appeared to her, and told her, that the cause of her sickness was, that Ptolemy had taken away her statue from the temple where it had been consecrated to her. Whereon the statue was sent back again into Syria, and there replaced in the temple from whence it had been taken, and many gifts and oblations were added to appease the wrath of the goddess. But this did not at all help the sick queen; for she soon after died of the sickness she had languished under, and left Ptolemy in great grief for her loss: for though she were much older than he, and past child-bearing when he married her, yet he doted on her to the last, and after her death, did all that he could for her honour, calling several cities, which he had built, by her name, and erecting obelisks to her memory, and doing many other unusual things to express the great affection and regard which he had for her; the most remarkable of which was, his attempting to erect a temple to her at Alexandria, in which it was projected to build a dome, whose vault being all arched with loadstone, should cause an image of hers, made of steel, there to hang in the air in the middle of the dome, by virtue of the attractive quality of the loadstones.^o

An. 248.
Ptolemy
Philadelph. 37.

ⁿ Libanius Orat. xi.

^o Plinius, lib. 34, c. 14.

This design was the contrivance of Dinocrates, a famous architect of those times; and when it was laid before king Ptolemy, he was so pleased with it, that the work was forthwith begun, under the direction of him that projected it. But whether it would take or no, never came to the trial; for both Ptolemy and the architect soon after dying, this did put an end to the design; so that no experiment was made of what the loadstones could do in this case. It hath long gone current among many, that the body of Mahomet, after his death, being laid in an iron coffin, was thus hung in the air by virtue of loadstones in the roof of the room where it was deposited; but how fabulous this story is, I have already shown in the Life of that impostor.

Ptolemy, after the death of Arsinoe, did not long survive her: for being originally of a tender constitution, and having further weakened it by a luxurious indulgence, he could not bear the approach of age, nor the grief of mind which he fell under on the loss of his beloved wife;^p but, sinking away under these burdens, died in his great climacteric, the sixty-third year of his life, after having reigned over Egypt thirty-eight years.^q He left behind him two sons and a daughter, which he had by Arsinoe the daughter of Lysimachus, his first wife. The eldest of the two sons of Ptolemy Euergetes who reigned after him; the other was called Lysimachus, which was the name of his maternal grandfather. He was put to death by his brother for some insurrection which he had made against him. The daughter was Berenice, who was lately married to Antiouchs Theus, king of Syria.

Ptolemy Philadelphus having been a very learned prince, and a great patron of learning, as well as a great collector of books, many of those, who were eminent for any part of literature, resorted to him from all parts, and partook of his favour and bounty.^r Seven celebrated poets of that age are especially said to have lived in his court; four of which, Theocritus, Callimachus, Lycophron, and Aratus, have of their works still remaining, and among these, the first of them hath an idyllium, and the second a hymn written in his praise.^s Manetho, the Egyptian historian, dedicated his history to him, of which we have already spoken.^t And Zoilus, the snarling critic,^u came also to his court; he had written against Homer,^x whom all besides highly valued and

^p Athenæus, lib. 12, c. 10.

^q Canon Ptolemæi Astronomi.

^r Athenæus, lib. 12, c. 10. Strabo, lib. 17, p. 789.

^s Vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 1, c. 12.

^t Part 1, book 7, under the year 350.

^u Vitruvius in Præfatione ad librum 7. Architecturæ suæ.

^x De eo vide Vossium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 1, c. 15.

admired ; and he had also criticised upon the works of other eminent writers in a very biting and detracting style ; and from hence his name grew so infamous, that it was afterward given by way of reproach to all detractors ; and *carping Zoilus* became a proverbial expression of infamy upon all such. Although his eminency this way was so remarkable, that he excelled all men in it, yet this could not recommend him to king Ptolemy. How great soever his wit were, he hated him for the bitterness and ill-nature of it, and therefore would give him nothing ; and, for the same reason, having drawn on him the odium and aversion of all men, he at length died miserably ; some say he was stoned, others, that he was crucified by king Ptolemy for a crime he had committed deserving of that punishment.

This king had also been a great builder of new cities, and many old ones he repaired, and gave new names to them ; and particularly two of this last sort were in Palestine ; for there he rebuilt, on the west side of that country, Ace, a famous port on that coast ; and, on the eastern side, that ancient city which is so often mentioned in Scripture by the name of Rabbah of the children of Ammon. Ace he called, from one of his names, Ptolemais, and Rabbah, from the other of his names, Philadelphia.^y The former of these is still in being, and, having recovered its old name, is called Acon ; by which it is often mentioned, and is of very famous note in the histories of the holy war. The Turks at present name it Acre.^z And he left so many other monuments of his magnificence behind him, in cities, in temples, and other public edifices built by him, that it afterward grew into a proverb, when any work was erected with more than ordinary sumptuousness, to call it Philadelphian.

But, notwithstanding the great expense he must have been at in all this, he died possessed of vast riches ; for although he had two great fleets, one in the Mediterranean, and the other in the Red Sea, and maintained constantly in pay an army of two hundred thousand foot, and forty-thousand horse, and had also three hundred elephants, and two thousand armed chariots, besides arms in his magazines for three hundred thousand men more, and all other necessary implements and engines for war ; yet he left in his treasury seven hundred and forty-thousand Egyptian talents in ready money, which, being reduced to our money, make a prodigious sum :^a

y Vide Relandi *Palestinam Illustratam*.

z See Sandys, Thevenot, and other travellers.

a Appianus in *Præfatione*. Hieronymus in *Comment. in Daniele*, xi. Athenæus, lib. 5, p. 203.

for every Egyptian talent contained seven thousand five hundred Attic drachms, which is fifteen hundred drachms more than an Attic talent.^b This shows how vast his revenues must have been, which he had the art to make the most of: for it is Appian's character of him, that as he was the most splendid and magnificent of all the kings of his time in the laying out of his money, so was he of all the most intent and skilful in the gathering of it in.^c

Antiochus Theus, as soon as he heard of the death of king Ptolemy Philadelphus, his father-in-law, removed An. 246. Ptol. Euergetes 1. Berenice from his bed, and again recalled unto him Laodice and her children.^d But she knowing the unsteady and fickle humour of Antiochus, and therefore fearing that he might, upon as light change of mind, again recal Berenice, as he had her, resolved to make use of the present opportunity to secure the succession to her son. For, by the late treaty with Ptolemy, her children were to be disinherited, and the crown to be settled on the children which Berenice should bear unto him; and she already had one son by him. For the effecting of this design, she procured Antiochus to be poisoned by his servants,^e and then, on his death, did put one Artemon, that was very much like him, into his bed, to personate him as sick, till she should have brought her matters to bear; who, acting his part well, the death of the king was not known, till, by orders forged in his name, her eldest son by him, Seleucus Callinicus, was secured of the succession; and then, the death of the king being publicly declared, Seleucus ascended the throne without any opposition, and sat in it twenty years. But Loadice not thinking him safe in the possession which he had thus taken of it, as long as Berenice and her son lived, designs were laid to cut them both off;^f which Berenice being informed of, she fled with her son to Daphne, and there shut herself up in the asylum which was built in that place by Seleucus Nicator. But she being circumvented by the fraud of those, who, by the appointment of Laodice, did there besiege her, first her son, and afterward she herself, were villainously slain, with all the Egyptian attendants that came with her. And hereby was exactly fulfilled what was foretold by the prophet Daniel concerning this marriage, (xi. 6;) that is, that *Neither he* (that is, Antiochus king of the North)

b Vide Bernardum de Mensuris & Ponderibus Antiquorum, p. 186.

c In Præfatione ad Opera Historica.

d Hieronymi. Comment. in Daniele m xi.

e Hieronymus, *ibid.* Plinius, lib. 7, c. 12. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9, c. 14. Solinus, c. 1.

f Hieronymus, *ibid.* Appianus in Cyriacis. Justin. lib. 27, c. 1. Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 8, c. 50.

nor she (that is, Berenice daughter of Ptolemy king of the South) should continue in their power: but that he, (that is, king Antiochus) should fall, and that she (that is, Berenice.) being deprived of him that strengthened her, (that is, of her father, who died a little before,) should be given up with those that brought her, that is, that came with her out of Egypt, and her son whom she brought forth,^g to be cut off and destroyed. And so it happened to them all, in the manner as I have related.

While Berenice continued shut up and besieged in Daphne, the cities of Lesser Asia, hearing of her distress, commiserated her case, and immediately, by a joint association, sent an army towards Antioch for her relief;^h and Ptolemy Euergetes, her brother, hastened thither with a greater force out of Egypt for the same purpose.ⁱ But both Berenice and her son were cut off before either of them could arrive for their help: whereon both armies turning their desire of saving the queen and her son into a rage for the revenging of their death, the Asian forces joined the Egyptian for the effecting of it, and Ptolemy, at the head of both, carried all before him; for he not only slew Laodice, but also made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia, and then, passing the Euphrates, brought all under him as far as Babylon and the river Tigris, and would have subjugated to him all the other provinces of the Syrian empire,^k but that a sedition arising in Egypt during his absence, called him back to suppress it.^l And therefore, having appointed Antiochus and Xantippus, two of his generals, the former of them to command the provinces he had taken on the west side of Mount Taurus, and the other to command the provinces he had taken on the east side of it, he marched back into Egypt, carrying with him vast treasures, which he had gotten together in the plunder of the conquered provinces;^m for he brought from thence with him forty thousand talents of silver, a vast number of precious vessels of silver and gold, and images also to the number of two thousand five hundred, among which were many of the Egyptian idols, which Cambyzes, on his conquering Egypt, carried thence into Persia.ⁿ These Ptolemy having restored to their former temples, on his return from this expedition, he thereby much endeared himself to his

^g So it is in the margin of our English Bible, and this is the truer version. Justin. lib. 27, c. 1.

^h Justin. *ibid.* Appianus in Syriacis. Hieronymus in Daniele xi. Polyænus, lib. 8, c. 50.

^k Justin. Appian. & Hieronymus, *ibid.* Polybius, lib. 5. Polyænus, lib. 3, c. 50.

^l Justin. lib. 27, c. 1.

^m Hieronymus in Dan. xi.

ⁿ Hieronymus in Dan. xi. Monumentum Arduletanum.

people : for the Egyptians being then of all nations the most bigoted to their idolatrous worship, they highly valued this action of their king in thus bringing back their gods again to them. And, in acknowledgment hereof it was, that he had the name of Euergetes, (that is, *the Benefactor*,) given unto him by them. And all this happened exactly as it was foretold by the prophet Daniel, (xi. 7, 8, 9.) For in that prophecy he tells us, that after the king's daughter of the South should, with her son and her attendants, be cut off, and he that strengthened her in those times (that is, her father, who was her chief support,) should be dead, *there should one arise out of a branch of her roots in his estate*, that is, Ptolemy Euergetes, who, springing from the same root with her, as being her brother, did stand up in the estate of Ptolemy Philadelphus his father, whom he succeeded in his kingdom ; and that *he should come with an army, and enter into the fortress of the king of the North, and prevail against him, and should carry captive into Egypt the gods of the Syrians, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and gold ; and so should come and return again into his own kingdom*. And how exactly all this was fulfilled, what is above related doth sufficiently show. It is said also in the same prophecy, (ver. 8.) *That the king of the South, on his return into his kingdom, should continue more years than the king of the North* : and so it happened ; for Ptolemy Euergetes outlived Seleucus Callinicus four years, as will be hereafter shown.

When Ptolemy Euergetes went on this expedition into Syria, Berenice his queen, out of the tender love she had for him, being much concerned, because of the danger which she feared he might be exposed to in this war, made a vow of consecrating her hair (in the fineness of which, it seems, the chief of her beauty consisted,) in case he returned again safe and unhurt ;^o and therefore on his coming back again with safety and full success, for the fulfilling of her vow, she cut off her hair, and offered it up in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had built to his beloved wife Arsinoe, on the promontory of Zephyrium in Cyprus, by the name of the Zephyrian Venus. But there, a little after, the consecrated hair being lost, or perchance contemptuously flung away by the priests, and Ptolemy being much offended at it, Conon of Samos, a flattering mathematician then at Alexandria, to salve up the matter, and also to ingratiate himself with the king, gave out, that this hair was caught up into heaven : and he there showed seven stars near the tail of the lion, not till then taken within any constellation,

which he said were the queen's consecrated hair ; which conceit of his, other flattering astronomers following with the same view, or perchance not daring to say otherwise, hence *Coma Berenices*, (that is, *the hair of Berenice*,) became one of the constellations, and is so to this day. Callimachus the poet, who, as I have afore shown, lived in these times, made an hymn upon this hair of queen Berenice, a translation of which being made by Catullus, is still extant among his poetical works.

On King Ptolemy Euergetes's return from this expedition, he took Jerusalem in his way, and there, by many sacrifices to the God of Israel, paid his acknowledgments for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria, choosing rather to offer up his thanks to Him, than to the gods of Egypt, for them ; the reason of which very probably might be, that, being shown the prophecies of Daniel concerning them, he inferred from thence, that he owed them only to that God, whose prophet had so fully predicted them.^p

As soon as Ptolemy was returned into Egypt, Seleucus prepared a great fleet on the coasts of Syria, for the reducing the revolted cities of Asia.^q But he was no sooner put to sea, but, meeting with a very violent storm, he lost all his ships in it, scarce any thing remaining of so great a preparation, besides himself, and some few of his followers, that escaped naked with him to land from this calamitous wreck. But this blow, how terrible soever it might seem at first to appear, by a strange turn of affairs, did all in the result prove to his advantage : for the revolted cities of Asia (who, out of the abhorrence they had of him for the murder of Berenice and her son, had gone over to Ptolemy,) on their hearing of this great loss, thinking that murder to be sufficiently revenged by it, took compassion of him, and returned again to him.

An. 245.
Ptol. Euer-
getes 2.

By which fortunate revolution being again restored to the best part of his dominions, he prepared a great army against Ptolemy for the recovering of the rest.^r But in this attempt he had no better success than in the former : for, being overthrown in battle by Ptolemy, he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped to Antioch from this misadventure with as few of his followers as from the former ; whereon, for the restoration of his broken affairs, he invited Antiochus his brother to join him with his forces, promising him all the provinces in the Lesser Asia that belonged to the Syrian empire on this condition. He

An. 244.
Ptol. Euer-
getes 3.

p Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2.

q Justin. lib. 27, c. 2. Trogi Prologus, 27. Polybins, lib. 6.

r Justin. lib. 27, c. 2.

was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and although then he was but fourteen years old, yet being of a forward and very aspiring spirit, or else (as is most probable) being conducted by others who were of this temper, he readily accepted of the proposal, and accordingly prepared for the accomplishing of it; but not so much out of a design of saving any part of the empire to his brother, as to gain it all to himself; for he was of a very rapacious and greedy disposition, laying his hands on all that he could get, right or wrong; whereon they called him *Hierax*, that is, *the hawk*, because that bird flies at all that comes in his way, and takes every thing for good prey that it can lay its talons upon.

After this second blow received by Seleucus, the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia in Lesser Asia, out of the affection which they bore unto him, entered into a league to join all their power and strength for the support of his interest and royal majesty; which they caused to be engraven on a large column of marble.^a This very marble column is now standing in the theatre yard at Oxford, with the said league engraven on it in Greek capital letters, still very legible; from whence it was published by me among the Marmora Oxoniensia about forty years since. It was brought out of Asia by *Thomas earl of Arundel*, in the beginning of the reign of king Charles I. and was given, with other marbles, to the university of Oxford, by *Henry duke of Norfolk* his grandson, in the reign of king Charles II.

Ptolemy, on his hearing that Antiochus was preparing to join Seleucus against him, that he might not have to do with both at the same time, came to an agreement with Seleucus;^b and a peace was concluded between them for ten years.

However, Antiochus desisted not from his preparations, which Seleucus, now understanding to be made against himself, marched over Mount Taurus to suppress him.^c The pretence for the war on Antiochus's part was the promise that Seleucus had made him of all his provinces in Lesser Asia for his assistance against Ptolemy. But Seleucus, being delivered from that war without his assistance, thought himself not obliged to any thing by that promise. But Antiochus persisting in his demand, and the other in his refusal, this brought the controversy to the decision of a battle between them. It was fought near Ancyra in Lesser Asia, in which Seleucus being overthrown, hardly escaped with his life; and it fared very little better with Antiochus: for having won this vic-

An. 245.
Ptol. Euergetes 4.

An. 242.
Ptol. Euergetes 5.

^a Justin. lib. 27, c. 2.

^c Marmora Oxoniensia, p. 5, 6, &c.

^b Trogus in Prologo, 27. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 750. Justin. lib. 27, c. 2.

tory chiefly by the assistance of the Galatians, or Gauls of Asia, whom he had hired into his service, these barbarians, on a rumour spread that Seleucus was slain in the battle, plotted the death of the other brother also, reckoning that, in case both were cut off, all Asia would be theirs; whereon Antiochus, having no other way to save himself, redeemed his life, by giving them all the treasury he had for the ransom of it.^x

Eumenes king of Pergamus, making his advantage of these divisions, marched against Antiochus and the Gauls with all his forces, purposing to suppress them both at once.^y This forced Antiochus to a new treaty with the Gauls; whereon he was content, instead of being their master, to become their confederate, for the mutual defence of both; but Eumenes falling on them before they could recruit themselves after the losses sustained in the late battle at Ancyra, had an easy victory over both, and thereon overran the Lesser Asia.

Eumenes, after this victory, giving himself up to much drinking, died in the excess of it, after he had reigned twenty-two years.^z He having no children of his own, was succeeded in his kingdom by his cousin-german Attalus, the son of Attalus, his father's younger brother; who, being a wise and valiant prince, maintained himself in the acquisitions of his family; and, having wholly subdued the Gauls, he found himself so firmly established in his dominions by it, that he thenceforth openly assumed the title of king; for his predecessors, though they had the thing, yet abstained from the name. Attalus was the first of that family that took it, upon the occasion that I have mentioned; and it was enjoyed by his posterity, with the dominions belonging to it, to the third generation after him.^a

An. 241.
Ptoi. Euergetes 6.

While Eumenes, and Attalus after him, thus curtailed the Syrian empire on the west side, Theodotus and Arsaces did the same on the east.^b For it being reported, that Seleucus had been slain in the battle of Ancyra, Arsaces, thinking this an opportunity for him to enlarge himself, seized on Hyrcania, and, adding that to Parthia, established his king-

^x Polyænus, lib. 8, c. 61. Justin. lib. 27, c. 2. Athenæus, lib. 13. Plutarchus, *περί Φιλadelphίας*.

^y Justin. lib. 27, c. 3. He there calls him king of Bithynia by mistake, for there was no king of Bithynia of that name at this time, as appears from Memnon in the Excerptions of Photius, cod. 234.

^z Athenæus, lib. 10, c. 16.

^a Livius, lib. 33. Strabo, lib. 13, p. 624. Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, lib. 18. Suidas in voce *Ἀτταλῆς*. Polynæus, lib. 4, c. 19.

^b Justin. lib. 41, c. 4.

dom over both : and, a little after Theodotus dying, he made a league with his son of the same name, who succeeded him in Bactria. for their mutual defence, and thereby they both strengthened themselves in the possession of what they had gotten. But, notwithstanding all this, the two brothers still went on with their wars against each other, without regarding that, while they were thus contending between themselves for their father's empire, they lost it by piecemeals to others, who were enemies to both.^c

This war in the course of it was at length carried into Mesopotamia, and then most likely happened the battle in Babylonia, which Judas Maccabæus makes mention of in his speech to his army, (2 Maccab. viii. 20,) in which he saith, eight thousand of the Babylonish Jews, joined with four thousand Macedonians, vanquished the Galatians, and slew of their army one hundred and twenty thousand men. For Babylonia, or the province of Babylon, was a part of Mesopotamia. And Antiochus Hierax had the Galatians in confederacy with him ; and at this time they are said to have come in such great swarms into the East, as to fill all Asia with their numbers ; and that they did usually let themselves to hire in all wars, which in those times the eastern kings had one with another, these princes thinking themselves best strengthened for victory when they had the most of them in their armies ; and that this Antiochus was assisted by them in this war, hath been already said.^{e-}

But whether it were by this, or some other victory, Seleucus had at length the advantage in this war ; so that Antiochus, being vanquished and broken, was forced to shift from place to place with the few remains of his baffled party, till at last being driven out of Mesopotamia, and finding no other place where he could be safe within the Syrian empire, he fled to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, whose daughter he had married. But that king, notwithstanding the alliance and affinity he had contracted with him, soon growing weary of maintaining an exile, who could bring no advantage to him, ordered him to be cut off. But, while measures were taking for the executing hereof, Antiochus, getting notice of the design, escaped from thence into Egypt, choosing rather to put himself into the hands of Ptolemy, the professed enemy of his

An. 240.
Ptol. Euergetes 7.

c Justin. lib. 27. c. 3.

d Froguis in Prologo 27. Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 4, c. 17.

e Justin, speaking of the Gauls, or Galatians, hath these words : Gallorum ea tempestate tantæ sæcunditati juvenus fuit, ut Asiam omnem velut examine aliquo implerent. Denique neque reges Orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu ulla bella gesserunt, lib. 25, c. 2.

family, than trust himself upon any terms with his brother, whom he was conscious he had so much offended : and he fared not at all the better for it ; for, as soon as he arrived in Egypt, Ptolemy caused him to be clapped up in safe custody, in which he kept him confined several years, till at length having broken out of prison, by the assistance of a courtesan, whom he was familiar with, as he was making his escape out of Egypt, he fell among thieves, and was slain by them.^f

In the interim, king Ptolemy Euergetes enjoying full peace, applied himself to the cultivating of learning in his kingdom, and the enlarging of his father's library at Alexandria with all manner of books for the service of this design. The method which he took for collecting of them hath been already mentioned ;^g and the care of an able library-keeper being very necessary, both for the making of a good choice of books in the collection, and also for the preserving of them for the use intended, on the death of Zenodotus, who, from the time of Ptolemy Soter, the grandfather of the present king, had the keeping of the royal library at Alexandria,^h Euergetes invited Eratosthenes from Athens (where he was in great reputation for his learning) to take this charge upon him.ⁱ He was, by his birth, a Cyrenian, and had been scholar to Callimachus his countryman, and was a person of universal knowledge, and is often quoted as such by Pliny, Strabo, and others. And therefore they are mistaken, who, finding him called *Beta*, (i. e. the second) think he had that name to denote him a second-rate man among the learned. By that appellation was meant no more, than that he was the second library-keeper of the royal library at Alexandria after the first founding of it.^k As to his skill in all manner of learning, he was second to none of his time, as the many books he wrote did then sufficiently make appear, though now not extant.^l That which at present we are most beholden to him for is a catalogue which he hath given us of all the kings that reigned at Thebes in Egypt, with the years of their reigns from Menes, who first planted Egypt after the flood, down to the time of the Trojan war. It contains a series of thirty-eight

An. 239.
Ptol. Euergetes 8.

^f Justin, lib. 27, c. 3. Polyænus, *ibid*.

^g Part 2. book 1, under the year 284.

^h Suidas in *Zenodotos*.

ⁱ Suidas in *'Απολλωνιος & 'Ερατοσθενης*.

^k Marcianus Hiracliotēs, who tells us of this name given to Eratosthenes, saith, he was called the president of the museum at Alexandria, which is a manifest argument, that he was called so only in respect of the office which he bore in that museum, in being the second library-keeper of the library belonging to it in succession after Zenodotus, who was the first.

^l *De Libris ab eo scriptis*, vide Vossium *de Historicis Græcis*, lib. 1, c. 17.

kings reigning in a direct line of succession one after the other; and it is still extant in Syncellus.^m Our learned countryman, sir John Marsham,ⁿ hath made good use of it in setting the Egyptian chronology. It is one of the noblest and most venerable monuments of antiquity that is now extant; for it was extracted out of the ancientest records of that country at the command of Ptolemy Euergetes; and there is nothing in the profane history that begins higher.^o It is probable this extract was made to supply the defect of Manetho, whose catalogue of the Theban kings in Egypt doth not begin but where this of Eratosthenes ends.

Seleucus being delivered from the troubles created him by his brother, and having repaired the disorders at home which that war had occasioned, marched eastward to reduce those that had revolted from him in those parts.^p But he had very lame success in this undertaking; for Arsaces, having now had a long time allowed him to settle himself in his usurpations, had made himself too strong in them to be again easily dispossessed; and therefore Seleucus, having in vain attempted it in this expedition, was forced to return with baffle and disappointment. Perchance a longer stay in those parts might have opened him a way to better success; but, some commotions arising at home during his absence, he was forced to return to suppress them.^q In the interim Arsaces made use of the farther respite hereby given him so to strengthen and establish himself in his usurped dominions, that he became superior to all attempts that were afterward made to disturb him.

However, Seleucus, as soon as he had leisure from his other affairs, made a second expedition against him; but with much worse success than he had in the former; for his usual ill fortune here pursuing him, he was not only overthrown by Arsaces in a great battle, but was also himself taken prisoner in it.^r The day on which Arsaces gained this victory, was long after annually observed by the Parthians with great solemnity, as being in their opinion, the first day of their freedom; whereas in truth it was the first of their slavery; for there was never any greater tyranny in the world, than that of the Parthian kings, under which they thenceforth fell.^s The Macedonian yoke

An. 236.
Ptol. Euergetes 11.

An. 230.
Ptol. Euergetes 17.

m A pagina 91, ad paginam 147.

o Syncellus, p. 91, 147.

q Justin. lib. 41. c. 5.

r Athenæus, lib. 4, c. 13. That it was in a second expedition that Seleucus was taken prisoner by Arsaces, appears from this, that Justin tells us, he returned from the first expedition to quell insurrections at home, raised there against him in his absence, lib. 41, c. 5.

s Justin. lib. 41, c. 4.

n In Canone Chronico.

p Justin lib. 41, c. 4.

t Justin. lib. 41, c. 5.
x Josephus Antiq. lib. 13, c. 4.

Vol. II.

u Josephus Antiq. lib. 13

IMPERIUM
PERSICUM
ANTIQUUM

Alexander's Track



would have been much easier to them, had they still continued under it. From this time Arsaces took on him the title of king, and founded that empire in the East, which afterward grew up to be so great and powerful, as to become a terror even to the Romans, who were a terror to all else. From him all that reigned after him in that empire, in honour of him, took the name of Arsaces, in the same manner as all the kings of Egypt after Ptolemy Soter took the name of Ptolemy, as long as those of his race continued to reign in that country.^t

Onias the high-priest of the Jews at Jerusalem, growing very old, and increasing in covetousness with his age, and being also a very weak and inconsiderate man, neglected to pay to king Ptolemy Euergetes the usual tribute of twenty talents, which had constantly been paid by the former high-priests his predecessors, as the stated tribute annually due to the kings of Egypt from them.^u And the arrears now growing high, the king sent Athenion, one of his court, to Jerusalem to demand of the Jews the money, and to require full payment of it forthwith to be made; threatening that, in case this were not immediately complied with, he would send his soldiers to dispossess them of their country, and divide it among them. On the arrival of Athenion at Jerusalem with this message, the whole city was put into a great fright, as not knowing what course to take for the appeasing of the king's wrath, and the delivering of themselves from the danger that was threatened. At this time there was a young man of great reputation among the Jews for his prudence, justice, and sanctity of life, called Joseph, who was nearly related to Onias; for he was the son of Tobias, a prime man of that nation, by a sister of his. Joseph being absent at his seat in the country, when this messenger came to Jerusalem, his mother took care to send him an account of what had happened; whereon coming immediately to Jerusalem, he very severely upbraided his uncle with his ill management of the public interest of the people, as thus, for the saving of his money, to expose them to such danger; (for in those times the high-priest was the chief governor in all the temporal affairs, as well as the ecclesiastical of that nation :) and he further told him, that, things being brought to this pass by his ill conduct, there was no other way to be taken for the remedy, but for him to go to the Egyptian court, and there endeavour, by his application to the king to make up the matter.^x But Onias, by the dulness

An 226.
Ptol. Euer-
getes 21.

^t Justin. lib. 41, c. 5.

^x Josephus Antiq. lib. 13, c. 4.

^u Josephus Antiq. lib. 13

of his temper, as well as by his age, wanting vigour for such an undertaking, utterly declined it, telling his nephew, that he would quit his station both in church and state, rather than put himself upon that journey: whereon Joseph desired, that the matter might be committed to him, and he would go to the king in his stead; which Onias readily consenting to, Joseph went up unto the temple, and there called together the people (for the outer court of the temple was the usual place for the assembling of the people on all occasions,) and acquainted them of his having undertaken, by the appointment of Onias, to go ambassador from them to the king on their behalf; and, if they thought fit to approve hereof, he desired them no longer to disturb themselves with fears; for he doubted not, but that, on his access to the king, he should be able to set all right again with him. At which the people much rejoicing, gave him great thanks for what he had proposed to do for them, and earnestly desired him to proceed in it. Hereon he immediately went to find out Athenion, and having gotten him to his house, and there entertained him, as long as he tarried at Jerusalem, with a very kind and splendid hospitality, and having also, at his departure, presented him with several valuable gifts, he sent him away fully engaged to make as fair a representation to the king as the case would bear, and at the same time assured him, that he would forthwith follow after him to the Egyptian court, there to give the king full satisfaction as to the matter which he had sent him about. Athenion returned to Alexandria exceedingly well pleased with the kind and obliging entertainment which he had from Joseph, and so much taken with the prudent behaviour and noble deportment which he observed in him, that, on his making his report to the king of his embassy, and his telling him of the intentions of Joseph, the high-priest's nephew, speedily to attend him, for the giving of him full satisfaction, he took occasion to set forth his character with so great advantage, as made the king very desirous of seeing him, and fully prepared to receive him with all manner of favour and respects. As soon as the ambassador was gone from Jerusalem, Joseph, having taken up of the bankers of Samaria twenty thousand drachms, which amounted to about seven hundred pounds sterling, and thereby provided himself with an equipage to appear at the Egyptian court, he set out for Alexandria, and having, on the way thither, chanced on the road to fall in with several of the chief nobility of Cœlo-Syria and Phœnicia, who were travelling to the same place, he joined company with them in the remaining part of the journey. Their business thither was to farm of the king his revenues of

those provinces, and, having provided themselves with very splendid equipages, to make the better appearance at Ptolemy's court, they laughed at Joseph for the meanness of his, and made it the subject of their sport for the most part of the way as they went. Joseph bore all this with patience, but in the mean time, accurately observing the discourse which they had with each other about their business, he got thereby such an insight into it, as put him in a condition to laugh at them ever after. On their arrival at Alexandria, they found the king was gone to Memphis: Joseph alone hastened thither after him, and had the good fortune to meet him on the road returning to Alexandria, while Athenion was with him and his queen in the same chariot. As soon as Athenion had espied him, he pointed him out to the king, telling him, that this was the young man, Onias's nephew, of whom he had spoken so much to him. Whereon the king called him to him, and took him into his chariot; and, having talked to him of the ill usage of Onias towards him, in not paying him his tribute, Joseph excused his uncle, by reason of his age and weakness, in so handsome a manner, as not only satisfied the king, but also raised in him so good an opinion of the advocate, that he took him into his particular favour, and on his arrival at Alexandria, ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and to be there maintained at his own table. And Joseph afterward did him that service, as made him sufficient recompense for it: for, when the day was come whereon the king used annually to let to farm the revenues of the several provinces of his empire, and they were set up in their order, by way of auction, to the highest bidder, and the highest which the Syrians and Phœnicians, who had been Joseph's fellow-travellers into Egypt, would bid for the provinces of Cœlo-Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Samaria, amounted to no more than eight thousand talents, Joseph knowing, from the discourse which they had with each other on the road while he travelled with them, that they were worth more than twice as much, blamed them for beating down the king's revenues to so low a price, and offered upon them double as much, bidding sixteen thousand talents for those provinces, over and above the forfeitures: for he proposed to give so much for the ordinary revenues only, and to return all the forfeitures besides into the king's treasury, which used before to belong to the farmers. Ptolemy liked very well the advancing of his revenues by so large an augmentation; but, doubting the ability of the bidder to make good his proposal, asked him what security he would give him for it? Joseph very facetiously replied, that he would give him the security of persons beyond all exception: and,

when bid to name them, he named the king and the queen to be bound to each other for the faithful performance of what he undertook ; the king, laughing at the pleasantness of the answer, was so taken with it, that he trusted him upon his own word, without any other securities. Whereon Joseph, having borrowed five hundred talents at Alexandria, and satisfied the king as to his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the trust of being the king's receiver-general of all his revenues in the provinces above mentioned ; and having received a guard of two thousand men, at his desire, for the supporting of him in the execution of his office, he immediately left Alexandria to enter on it. On his arrival at Askelon, and there demanding the king's duties, they not only refused payment, but also affronted him with rude and opprobrious language ; whereon, having commanded his soldiers to take up twenty of the ringleaders, he executed exemplary justice upon them, and sent their forfeited estates to the king, amounting to one thousand talents ; and he having done the like at Scythopolis. another city in Palestine, where he was resisted in the same manner, the example which he had made of these two places so terrified all the rest, that, after this, every where else the gates were opened to him, and all paid him the king's dues without any more refusal or opposition ; of which he having given the king a full account, the prudence and steadiness of his conduct met with such thorough approbation, that he continued in this office under Ptolemy Euergetes, and Ptolemy Philopater, his son, twenty-two years, till Ptolemy Epiphanes, the son of Philopater, lost those provinces to Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, in the first year of his reign : for there I place the end of the twenty-two years which Josephus assigns him for his continuance in this office, and not in the end of his life, as most others do. For the same Josephus tells us,^y that he was a young man when he first undertook it ; and, in another place, that he was very old when he sent Hyrcanus his son into Egypt, which was some time before his death.^z But twenty-two years was too short a time from being young to grow very old : for, supposing him to have been thirty when he first became tax-gatherer for the king of Egypt in Syria and Palestine, twenty two more would make him but fifty-two ; and he could not be said to be old at that age, and much less at any time before it. Cœlo-Syria and Palestine had been again restored to Ptolemy Epiphanes, on his mar-

^y Josephus's words are, that he then was νεός μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 4.

^z Being hindered, saith Josephus, from going himself into Egypt on that occasion, ὕπο γῆρας, i. e. by reason of his old age. Antiq. ibid.

rying Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus the Great ; and after that it was, that Joseph, having been again restored to his office of tax-gatherer in those provinces, sent Hyrcanus into Egypt to congratulate the king on the birth of his eldest son, he being then too old, as Josephus tells us,^a to go himself. Allowing the twenty-two years of Joseph's office of tax-gatherer in Cælo-Syria and Palestine, for the king of Egypt, to end on Antiochus's taking those provinces from Ptolemy Epiphanes, and that, on their being again restored to him, Joseph was again restored to his office, and died in it, about the beginning of the reign of Seleucus Philopater in Syria, this will solve all difficulties in the history which Josephus gives us of this matter. That his life could not end with these twenty-two years hath been already shown, for he was an old man before he died ; and where then can the end of these twenty-two years of his office be better placed, than where ended in those provinces the authority of the king of Egypt, under which he held it ? And this ending of these twenty-two years tell us where thy did begin ; and that they could not begin sooner than where I have said, the age of Onias sufficiently proves ; for the history of Josephus tells us,^a it was when he was grown very old, which must determine us to the latter end of his life ; and it was but eight years before his death where I place it. They who put the beginning of these twenty-two years higher up, or end them with the end of Joseph's life (as most chronologers do both,) can never make Josephus consistent with himself in that relation which he hath given us of this whole matter.

Seleucus, having continued a prisoner in Parthia till this time, there died of a fall from his horse, as he was riding abroad.^c Athenæus tells us,^d that Arsaces maintained him royally during his captivity ; but that he released him (as some will have it) doth not any where appear. Justin tells us that he died in the manner as I have related, being then in banishment, and having lost his kingdom ;^e which can be understood no otherwise than of the banishment and loss of reigning which he sustained, by being held in captivity by this Parthian king, till he died in it. His wife was Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of the generals of his armies. By her he had two sons and a daughter : the sons were Seleucus and Antiochus ; the daughter he married to Mith-

a Antiq. lib. 13, c. 4.

c Justin. lib. 27, c. 3.

d Lib. 4, c. 13

e Seleucus, amisso regno, equo præcipitatus finitur. Sic fratres quasi germanis casibus exules ambo post regna scelerum suorum pœnas luerunt. Justin. lib. 27, c. 3

ridates king of Pontus, with whom he gave Phrygia to him in a dower.

Seleucus, being the eldest of the two sons, succeeded him in the throne, and took the name of Ceraunus, that is, the Thunderer, a title which very little became him; for he was a very weak prince, in body, mind, and purse, and never did any thing worthy of that name.^c His reign was very short, and his authority low, both in the army and the provinces; and that he was supported in either was owing to his kinsman Achæus, the son of Andromachus,^g his mother's brother, who being a wise and valiant man, regulated and guided his affairs as well as the shattered state his father left them in would admit. As to Andromachus, he having been taken prisoner by Ptolemy in the wars which he had with Callinicus, was detained a prisoner at Alexandria during all this reign and some part of the next; till at length the Rhodians, to gain favour with Achæus, got him released, and sent him to him, while he reigned in Lesser Asia.

Attalus, king of Pergamus, having possessed himself of all Lesser Asia, from Mount Taurus to the Hellespont, Seleucus marched with an army against him, leaving Hermias, a Carian, his lieutenant in Syria during his absence. Achæus his kinsman accompanied him in this expedition, and served him in it, as well as the circumstances of his affairs would admit.^h

But money being wanting to pay the army, and the weakness of the king rendering him contemptible to the soldiers, Nicanor and Apaturius, two of his chief commanders, conspired against him while he lay in Phrygia, and, by poison, put an end to his life.ⁱ But Achæus, being then in the army, revenged his death, by cutting off the traitorous authors of it, with all that were concerned with them in the treason; and afterward managed the army with that prudence and resolution, that he not only kept all there in order, but also prevented Attalus from reaping any advantage from this accident, which otherwise might have ruined the whole interest of the Syrian empire in those parts. Seleucus dying without children, the army offered Achæus the crown; and several of the provinces concurred with them herein.^k But he then generously refused it, though he was afterward, in a less favourable juncture, forced to assume it in his own defence, having then no other way left to secure himself against the designs which the ministers at court had

^f Polybius, lib. 4, p. 315, & lib. 5, p. 386. Appian, in Syriacis.

^g Polybius, lib. 4. p. 317.

^h Polybius, lib. 4 p. 315.

ⁱ Polybius, *ibid.* Appian, in Syriacis. Justin, lib. 29, c. 5. Hieronymus in Cap. xi. Danielis.

^k Polybius, *ibid.*

there contrived for his ruin. At present, instead of taking it to himself, he carefully preserved it for the next lawful successor, Antiochus, the brother of the late deceased king, who was then a minor, not exceeding the fifteenth year of his age. When Seleucus marched into the Lesser Asia, he sent him to Babylonia to be there educated;^l and there he was at the time of Seleucus's death: from whence being sent for to Antioch, he there ascended the throne after his brother, and sat on it thirty-six years.^m By reason of the many great actions done by him, he had the surname of Magnus (that is, *the Great.*) Achæus, the better to secure him in the succession, sent part of the army which followed Seleucus to him into Syria, under the command of Epigenes;ⁿ one of the most experienced commanders of the late king; the rest he retained with him in the Lesser Asia, for the support of the Syrian interest in those parts.

Antiochus, on the first settling of his kingdom, sent Molon and Alexander, two brothers, into the East, making the former governor of Media, and the other governor of Persia.^o All the provinces of Lesser Asia he committed to the charge of Achæus. Epigenes he made general of the forces which he kept about him, and retained Hermias the Carian to be his chief minister of state, in the same station which he held under his brother. Achæus soon recovered all that Attalus had wrested from the Syrian empire, and reduced him within the narrow limits of his own kingdom of Pergamus.^p But Alexander and Molon, despising the youth of the king, as soon as they were settled in the provinces which they were sent to govern, rebelled against him, and set up for themselves, each declaring himself sovereign of the country he had taken possession of.^q

While these things were doing, there happened a very violent earthquake in the East, which made great devastations in those parts, especially in Caria and the island of Rhodes. In the latter it threw down not only the walls of the city of Rhodes, and their houses, but also the great colossus there erected in the mouth of their harbour, which was one of the seven wonders of the world.^a It was a prodigious statue of brass, there erected to the sun, of seventy cubits, or one hundred and five feet in height, and every thing else

^l At Seleucia, which stood in the province of Babylonia, and was then the metropolis of all the eastern parts, instead of Babylon, which was now desolated.

^m Polybius, *ibid.* lib. 5, p. 386. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 29, c. 1.

^o Polybius, lib. 5, p. 315.

ⁿ Polybius, lib. 5, p. 386.

^p Polybius, lib. 5, p. 386.

^q Eusebii Chronicon. Orosius, lib. 4, c. 13. Polybius, lib. 5, p. 428, 429

of it was in proportion hereto.^r Demetrius Poliorcetus, having for a whole year besieged the city of Rhodes, without being able to take it, at length, being wearied out with so long lying there, was content to make peace with them, as I have already related in the eighth book of the first part of this history. On his departure thence, he left the Rhodians all his engines and other preparations of war, which he had there provided for the carrying on of that siege. These the Rhodians afterward sold for three hundred talents, with which money, adding other sums thereto, they erected this colossus. The artificer that made it was Chares of Lindus,^s who was twelve years in completing the work; and, sixty-six years after, it was thrown down by this earthquake. It was begun, therefore, to be made in the year before Christ 300; it was finished in the year 283, and overthrown in the year 222. On this accident the Rhodians sent abroad ambassadors a begging to all the princes and states of the Grecian name or original, who, exaggerating their losses, procured vast sums for the repairing of them, especially from the kings of Egypt, Macedon, Syria, Pontus, and Bithynia, which above five times exceeded the value of their damages.^t And, when they had got the money, instead of setting up the colossus again (for which most of it was given,) ^u they pretended that an oracle from Delphos forbid it, and put the whole sum into their own pockets; whereby they very much enriched themselves. So this colossus lay where it fell, without being any more erected, and there was let lie eight hundred and ninety-four years; till at length, in the year of our Lord 672,^x Moawias, the sixth caliph or emperor of the Saracens, having taken Rhodes, sold the brass to a Jewish merchant, who loaded with it nine hundred camels; and therefore, allowing eight hundred pounds weight to every camel's burden, the brass of this colossus, after the waste of so many years by the rust and wear of the brass itself, and the purloinings and embezzlements of men, amounted to seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight.

Toward the end of this year died Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, after he had reigned over that kingdom twenty-five years.^y He was the last king of that race that governed himself with any temper or virtue, all that after succeeded being

^r Plinius, lib. 34, c. 7. Strabo, lib. 14, p. 652; vide etiam Scaligeri Animadversiones in Eusebii Chronicon, No. 1794, p. 137.

^s Plinius, *ibid.*

^t Polybius, p. 428, 429.

^u Idem. *ibid.* Strabo, lib. 14, p. 650.

^x Zonaras sub regno Constantis Imperatoris Heraclii Nepotis, & Cedrenus. Vide etiam Scaligerum loco modo citato.

^y Polybius, lib. 2, p. 155. Justin. lib. 29, c. 1. Plutarch. in Cleomene. Ptolemæus Astronomus in Canone

monsters of luxury and vice.^z After having made peace with Syria, he mostly applied himself to the enlarging of his dominions southward; and he extended them a great way down the Red Sea, making himself master of all the coasts of it, both on the Arabian as well as on the Ethiopian side, even down to the straits through which it dischargeth itself into the Southern ocean.^a

On his death, he was succeeded by Ptolemy Philopater his son,^b a most profligate and vicious young prince.^c He was supposed to have made away with his father by poison;^d and he had not been long on the throne ere he added to that parricide the murder of his mother, and of Magas his brother; and a little after followed the death of Cleomenes king of Sparta, occasioned by the same measures of wickedness and barbarity.^e He having been vanquished and driven out of Greece by Antigonos, king of Macedon, fled to Ptolemy Euergetes, and was kindly received by him: but that king a little after dying, he had not that favour from his successor. However, being looked upon as a person of great wisdom and sagacity, Sosibius, who was Philopater's chief minister of state, thought fit to communicate to him his master's design of cutting off Magas his brother, and to ask his advice about it; which Cleomenes having dissuaded him from, and given some reasons for it, which much displeased Sosibius, occasion was taken, from another matter, to cast him into prison: from whence having gotten loose, and gathered his friends and followers together, who came with him from Sparta, he took the advantage of Ptolemy's being absent from Alexandria, to call and excite the people to assume their liberty, and free themselves from the tyranny which they were then under: but, not succeeding in this attempt, he slew himself in the streets of the city, as did also all the rest that were with him.^f Plutarch, in his life of Cleomenes, hath given us a full narrative of this matter; and so also hath Polybius in the fifth book of his history.

Antiochus taking the advantage of Euergetes's death, and the succession of so voluptuous and profligate a prince after him, thought it a proper time for him to attempt the recovery of Syria; and Hermias his prime minister pressed hard

z Strabo, lib. 17, p. 796.

a Monumentum Adulitanum.

b Ptolemæus Astronomus in Canone. Eusebius in Chronico.

c Plutarchus in Cleomene. Strabo, ibid. Polybius, lib. 5, p. 380, 381.

d Justin. lib. 29, c. 1.

e Plutarchus in Cleomene. Polybius, lib. 5, p. 380, 382.

f Plutarchus in Cleomene. Polybius, lib. 5.

for his going in person to this war, contrary to the opinion of Epigenes his general; who thought it chiefly concerned him to suppress the rebellion of Alexander and Molon in the East; and therefore advised him to march immediately in person with the main of his army for the subduing of those rebels, before they should gather greater strength in the revolted provinces against him. But the opinion of Hermias taking place, Antiochus marched towards Cælo-Syria with one part of his army, and sent Zeno and Theodotus Herminolius, two of his generals, with the other to suppress the rebels.^g While he was on his march towards Cælo-Syria, being arrived at Seleucia near Zeugma, there was brought thither to him Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, to be his wife, which caused his stay for some time in that place to celebrate the nuptials.^h But the joy of his marriage was soon interrupted by ill news from the East; for his generals being there overpowered by the joint forces of Alexander and Molon, were forced to retire and leave them masters of the field.ⁱ Hereon Antiochus, inclining to the advice given by Epigenes, resolved to desist from his expedition in Cælo-Syria, and march directly with all his forces into the East for the suppressing of this rebellion, before it should grow to any greater head. But Hermias persisting in his former opinion, for the sake of some private views of his own which he had therein, overbore all opposition to it, and prevailed with the king to send another general with more forces into the East, and proceed himself in his former intended expedition into Cælo-Syria.^k The general sent into the East, was Ximætas an Achæan, whose commission was to join the forces which were there before under the two former generals, and take upon him the chief command of the whole army. But he came off with worse success than those whom he succeeded: for passing the Tigris, he was there drawn into a snare, and circumvented by a stratagem of the enemy, and he, and all the forces that passed with him, were cut off and destroyed; whereon the rebels made themselves masters of the province of Babylonia, and almost all Mesopotamia, without any opposition.^l In the interim Antiochus, proceeding in his expedition in Cælo-Syria, penetrated as far as the valley which lieth between two ridges of the mountains called Libanus and Anti-Libanus; but there he found the passes of those mountains so well fortified, and such resistance made in them by Theodotus an Ætolian, who was there governor for

g Polybius, lib. 5, p. 387. Justin. lib. 30, c. 1.

h Polybius, lib. 5, p. 388.

i Idem. lib. 5, p. 389.

k Polybius, lib. 5, p. 390.

l Idem, p. 391—393.

Ptolemy, that he was forced to retreat without making any further progress that way :^m and the ill news which he had by this time received of the loss of Xinætas and his army in the East hastened his return ; for now being fully convinced that he had nothing else to do but to follow the advice which Epigenes had at first given him, and march in person against the rebels, and all else about him being of the same opinion, he fully resolved on it ; and Hermias durst not say any more against it.ⁿ But to be revenged on Epigenes for thwarting his designs herein, he did, by forged letters, fix a plot of treason upon him, and caused him to be cut off for it. In the interim Antiochus, though the year was now far spent, passed the Euphrates, and having there joined his other forces, that he might be the nearer at hand for action the next spring, he put his army into winter quarters in those parts, and there waited the proper season for the beginning of the war.

And, as soon as that approached, he marched directly to the Tigris, and having passed that river, forced Molon to a battle, wherein he got such an entire victory An. 220.
Ptol. Philo-
pater 2. over him, that the rebel, finding his cause absolutely lost, out of despair, slew himself.^o Alexander was then absent in Persia : but Nicolas, another brother, escaping from the battle, brought him the ill news thither ; whereon they slew first their mother, then their wives and children, and lastly themselves, that so they might avoid falling into the hands of the conqueror. And thus ended this rebellion (as it is to be wished all rebellions might end) in a most calamitous destruction of all that were concerned in it.

After this victory the remains of the conquered army submitted to the king, who, after a severe reprimand upon them for their rebellion, received them to pardon, and ordered them into Media, under the command of those whom he sent to regulate the affairs of that province ;^p and then returning to Seleucia on the Tigris, there continued for some time, to give his orders for the re-settling of his authority in the revolted provinces, and the reducing of all things again in them to their former order ; which having effected by such proper instruments as he thought fit to employ herein, he marched against the Atropatians, a people inhabiting on the west of Media, in a country now called Georgia : Artabazes their king, being then a very old man, and grown decrepit with age, was so terrified on the approach of Antiochus with his victorious army, that he sent ambassadors to make his submission, and agreed to peace with him on his own terms.^q

^m Polybius, lib. 5, p. 390.

^o Polybius, lib. 5, p. 395, 396. &c.

ⁿ Idem, p. 393, 394.

^p Idem, p. 398, 399.

By this time Hermias, through his insolence and haughty conduct, growing intolerable to his master, as well as to all else, Apollophanes the king's physician, who had at all times his ear on the occasions of his health, took the advantage of it to represent unto him the danger he was in from this minister, telling him, that it was time for him to look to himself, and take care that he did not meet with the same fate as his brother did in Phrygia, and be cut off by those he most confided in; that it was manifest Hermias was laying designs for himself; and that no time was any longer to be lost for the preventing of them.^r Antiochus, who had the same sentiments with his physician, but had hitherto suppressed them, out of diffidence to whom to communicate them, very gladly received the proposal, and immediately entered on measures for the ridding himself of this odious and dangerous minister; and accordingly, as it had been concerted, having drawn him off from the army to accompany him on a walk abroad to take the air, as was pretended, for his health, as soon as he had thus decoyed him to a convenient distance from all that might give him any assistance, he ordered him to be cut off by those that attended him; which was much to the satisfaction of all the provinces of the Syrian empire: for he being a man of great cruelty, pride, and insolence, managed all things with severity and violence, bearing no contradiction to his sentiments, or opposition to any thing he would have done, or suffering any person or thing to stand in his way to what he intended; which drew on him a general odium every where. But nowhere was there a more signal instance of it, than at Apamea in Syria; for there they no sooner heard of his death, but they fell on his wife and children, whom he had left in that city, and stoned them all to death.

After this Antiochus having thus successfully managed his affairs in the East, and settled all the provinces there under such governors as he thought he might best confide in, he marched back into Syria, and there put his army into winter quarters;^s and at Antioch spent the remaining part of the year in consulting with his ministers, and the officers of his army, about the operations of the next year's war.

For he had still two dangerous enterprises to undertake for the restoring of the Syrian empire; the first against Ptolemy, for the recovery of Syria, and the other against Achæus, who had made himself master of all the Lesser Asia. For Ptolemy Euergetes having, in the beginning of the reign of Seleu-

^q Polybius, p. 400.
^s Idem, lib. 5.

^r Idem, lib. 5, p. 400. 401.

cus Callinicus, seized all Syria, as hath been above related, a great part of it was still held by his successor the present Egyptian king; and Antiochus had reason to be very uneasy in having him so near a neighbour. And as to Achæus, it hath been already related how he refused the crown, when offered him, on the death of Seleucus Ceraunus; and instead of putting it on his own head, faithfully preserved it for Antiochus, the next rightful heir. Hereon Antiochus committed to him the government of all his provinces in Lesser Asia; which charge he having managed with that valour and wisdom of conduct, as to recover them all out of the hands of Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had in a manner made himself absolute master of them, this success made him envied by the chief minister, and others who had the king's ear at court; and therefore, resolutions being taken to suppress him, forged letters were produced to prove him to have entertained traitorous designs for the usurping of the crown, and to hold correspondence with Ptolemy, and to be in league with him for this purpose; which Achæus having notice of, found he had no other way to secure himself against the mischievous machinations of those men, than by doing what he was charged with.^t And therefore, being necessitated for his own defence to set up for himself, he assumed the crown, which he had before refused, and declared himself king of Asia. So that Antiochus having these two dangerous wars upon his hands, which of these two he should first undertake, either that against Ptolemy for the recovery of Syria, or that against Achæus for the recovery of Lesser Asia, was the matter which was under debate in the king's council.

But at length, upon full consideration, it being resolved, first to reduce all that belonged to the Syrian empire on that side Mount Taurus, before they marched over it against Achæus, the operations of the ensuing campaign were concerted and ordered accordingly.^u For the garrisons which the Egyptians had in Syria being the deepest thorn in their side, and which they were most sensible of, it was thought the best course to remove this first; and therefore at present only threatening letters were sent to Achæus, and the whole army rendezvoused at Apamea to carry the war into Cælo-Syria. But, in a council there held before the march of the army from thence, Apollophanes the king's physician, having represented how preposterous a thing it was for him to pass into Cælo-Syria, and leave Seleucia, a place so near his capital, in the enemy's hands behind him, he drew all over to him by the reason of the thing: for this city

An. 219.
Ptol. Philopater 5.

^t Polybius, lib. 5, p. 401.

^u Idem, lib. 5, p. 402.

stood upon the same river with Antioch, at the distance only of fifteen miles below it, near the mouth of that river. On Ptolemy Energetes's having invaded Syria in the cause of Berenice his sister, which hath been above related, he seized this city; and a garrison of Egyptians having been then placed in it, they had held the place ever since, now full twenty-seven years; which was not only a constant annoyance to the Antiochians, but also intercepted their communication with the sea, and spoiled all their trade that way; for Seleucia, lying near the mouth of the river Orontes, was the seaport to Antioch; and they suffered much by being deprived of it. All which being set forth by Apollophanes in his representation of this matter, it fully determined the king and all his council to follow the measures he proposed, and begin the campaign with the siege of Seleucia; and accordingly the whole army marched thither, and invested that place, and, having carried it by a general assault, drove the Egyptians thence.^x

After this Antiochus hastened into Cœlo-Syria,^y being called thither by Theodotus the Ætolian, Ptolemy's governor of that province, with offer of putting the whole country into his hands. It hath been already related, how valiantly he repulsed Antiochus in his last eruption into that country. But this was not enough to please those who governed at court; they expected more from him, which they imagined was in his power to have done, and therefore called him to Alexandria to answer for it at the peril of his head. And although he were acquitted, on the hearing of his cause, and sent back to his government, yet he did not acquit them of the wrong they did him by this injurious accusation, but returned into Cœlo-Syria with such resentment and indignation for this ill-usage and affront, that he resolved to be revenged for it. And, while he attended his cause at court, having observed in how vile and dissolute a manner all lived there, this augmented his indignation, he not being able to bear with any patience his being made obnoxious to so despicable a set of men; for nothing could be more lewd and abominable than the conduct of Philopater during all the time of his reign; and his whole court was formed after his example. He is said to have poisoned his father; and he made this the more believed, that, after his decease, he openly and avowedly put to death Berenice his mother, and Magas his only brother; and then thinking himself free from all control and fear of danger, he gave himself

x Polybius, p. 404, 405.

y Idem, p. 405. 406.

up to the vilest entertainments of lust, luxury, and bestiality, minding little else than the glutting of himself in all the pleasures which these most detestable vices could afford him. His chief minister was Sosibius, a man bad enough to suit the service of such a master, and crafty enough to know and use all the means whereby best to secure his interest under him.^z But those that most governed him were Agathocles, Agathoclea his sister, and Oenanthe their mother.^a The first was his pathic, the second his concubine, and the last his bawd to serve him in providing for the worst of his lusts. Agathoclea was at first a public woman and a common strumpet; but, having engaged Philopater's affection, she had an absolute ascendant over him all his life after, and his love to her was the foundation on which was built his favour to the other two. Theodotus, on his being at Alexandria, having observed all this, could not but abhor so vile a conduct, and, being a gallant man, scorned to be any longer under it; and this, with his resentments for his ill usage, put him upon a resolution of seeking for a new master, that might be more worthy of his service. And therefore, on his return to his province, having seized Tyre and Ptolemais, he declared for king Antiochus, and sent him the message I have mentioned to call him into those parts, and on his arrival, delivered to him these two cities; whereby he put him in a fair way of becoming master of all the rest of that country. Nicolas, one of Ptolemy's generals in those parts, made some opposition to him on this invasion, although not sufficient to obstruct his progress; for although he were a countryman of Theodotus's, as being an Ætolian, yet he would not join with him in this defection, but still adhered to the interest of king Ptolemy, according to his first engagements to him; and therefore as soon as Theodotus had seized Ptolemais, he besieged him in it; and, on Antiochus's marching thither to raise the siege, he seized the passes of Mount Libanus against him, and defended them to the utmost; but, being overborne by the superior power of Antiochus, he was forced to recede, and Antiochus had thereon Tyre and Ptolemais put into his hands by Theodotus; where having found great magazines of war which Ptolemy had in these two places prepared and laid up for his army, and also a fleet of forty sail of ships, he seized both for his service. The ships he delivered to Diogenetius, his admiral, with orders to sail to Pelusium, purposing, at the same time, to march thither by land with all his army, and invade Egypt. But being informed, that at that

^z Plutarch, in Cleomene. Valesii Excerpta ex Polybia, p. 64.

^a Plutarch, *ibid.* Athen. lib. 13, p. 577. Justin. lib. 30, c. 1, 2

time of the year the banks of the Nile used to be cut, and all the country laid under water, and that therefore the invading of that realm was then impracticable, he altered his purpose, and turned all his force for the reducing of the rest of Cœlo-Syria; and, having taken some places in it by surrender, and others by force, he at length made himself master of Damascus, the chief city of the province, having taken it by a stratagem, with which he overreached Dinon, who had the command of it for king Ptolemy.^b His last attempt in this campaign was upon Dora,^c a maritime town near Mount Carmel, called Dor in the holy Scriptures:^d but the place being strongly situated, and well fortified and provided for by the care of Nicolas, he could make no impression upon it; and therefore was glad to accept of a proposal, which was there offered him, of making a truce with Ptolemy for four months; and thereon, drawing off under the credit of it, he marched back to Seleucia on the Orontes, and there put his army into winter quarters, leaving those places which he had taken in this year's war under the care and government of Theodotus the Ætolian.

During this truce, a treaty was set on foot between the two contending princes, but without any other design on either side than to gain time.^e Ptolemy lacked it to make preparation for the ensuing war, and Antiochus to look after Achæus; for he having now manifest designs of usurping Syria from him, as well as Lesser Asia, he wanted to be at home to provide against them. In this treaty, the chief point in debate was, to whom Cœlo-Syria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judea, did belong, by virtue of the partition that was made of Alexander's empire between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, after the death of Antigonus, slain in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy claimed these provinces, as having been by that treaty assigned, as he said, to Ptolemy Soter, his great grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus alleged, that they had in that partition been assigned to Seleucus Nicator, and therefore he claimed them to belong to him as the heir and successor of that king in the Syrian empire.

While these pretences were alleged on both sides, and neither yielded to the other, the time of the truce wore out; and, nothing being effected by the treaty both parties again provided for the war,^f Nicolas'

An. 218.
Ptol. Philo-
pater 4.

b Polyænus, lib. 4, c. 15.

c Polybius, lib. 5, p. 409.

d Joshua xi. 2; xvii. 11. Judges i. 27. 1 Kings iv. 11. 1 Chron. vii. 29.

e Polybius, lib. 5, p. 409, 410, 411.

f Idem, lib. 5, p. 411, 412, &c.

the *Ætolian*, having given proof of his valour and fidelity in his last year's service for king Ptolemy, was this year made his generalissimo for this war, and had the whole care of his interest in the contested provinces committed to his charge; and Perigenes, his admiral, was sent with a fleet to carry on the war by sea. Nicolas, having rendezvoused his forces at Gaza, and being there furnished from Egypt with all necessary accoutrements and provisions for the war, marched directly from thence for mount Libanus, and seized the straits which lay between that ridge of mountains and the sea, through which it was necessary for Antiochus to pass, resolving to expect him there, and, by the advantage of the place, obstruct his further progress that way. In the interim Antiochus was not idle; but having made all due preparations for the war, both by sea and land, committed his fleet to the command of Diognetus, his admiral, and then marched himself with his army by land. The fleets on both sides coasting the armies, as they marched by land, they all met at those straits where Nicolas had posted himself; and, while Antiochus there assaulted Nicolas by land, the fleets encountered at sea, and the battle was begun on both sides both by sea and land at the same time, and in sight of each other. At sea the fight ended upon equal terms on both sides, neither party getting the better of the other. But at land, Antiochus having gotten the advantage, Nicolas was forced to retire to Sidon, with the loss of four thousand of his men slain and taken; and thither also Perigenes followed him with the Egyptian fleet. Antiochus pursued them thither both by sea and land, with intention to besiege the place: but finding it too strongly provided with men, and all other necessities, to be easily taken, he thought not fit to sit down before it; but, having sent his fleet to Tyre, he marched with his army into Galilee, and, having taken Philoteria, on the north end of the sea of Tiberias, and Scythopolis or Bethsan, on the south end, he marched to Attabyrium, a city situated on Mount Tabor, the mountain afterward made famous by the transfiguration of our Saviour on it, and by a stratagem, soon made himself master of the place; and, by taking these cities, having brought all Galilee under him, he marched over the river Jordan into the land of Gilead, and took possession of all that country, which formerly had been the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, on that side of the river. After that he took Rabbah of the children of Ammon. Polybius calls it Rabbatamana (i. e. Rabbath-Ammon.⁵) I have

⁵ So Rabbah of Ammon is written in the Hebrew language; see the Hebrew text, Deut. iii. 11. 2 Sam. xii. 26. Jer. xlix. 2.

shown before, how Ptolemy Philadelphus, having rebuilt this city, called it Philadelphia. It being strong and populous, it made a vigorous resistance against Antiochus and all his army; but at length he brought them to a surrender, by stopping their water-course. On his making himself master of this place, he forced all the neighbouring Arabs to submit to him. But, by this time the year being far spent, he re-passed the river Jordan, and, having placed Hippolochus and Keræas (who lately revolted to him from King Ptolemy) in the government of Samaria, with five thousand men, to keep that part of the country in quiet, he led back all the rest of his forces to Ptolemais, and there put them into winter quarters.

As soon as the spring began, both parties again took the field.^b Ptolemy, having gotten together an army of
An. 217.
Ptol. Philo-
pater 5. seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three elephants, ordered them to rendezvous at Pelusium; where, putting himself at the head of them, as soon as all was got ready for the march, he led them over the deserts that parted Egypt and Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, a town lying between Rhinocorura and Gaza; and there Antiochus met him with an army little inferior to his; for he had sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one hundred and two elephants; and there he encamped, first within ten furlongs, and afterward within five of the enemy. While they lay thus near to each other, many bickerings happened between parties, as they went out on each side, either for watering or forage, and many bold adventures were made by particular persons from both armies. But that of Theodotus the Ætolian was the most remarkable; for, being well acquainted with the Egyptian usages, as having long served Ptolemy, till he revolted from him to Antiochus, he took the advantage of a dusky evening, when his face could not be well discerned, to enter into the enemy's camp with two companions, and, being there taken for one of them, went into Ptolemy's tent with design to have killed him, and with that one stroke to have put an end to the war. But, not finding him there, he slew his chief physician instead of him, wounded two others, and then, amidst the hurry and tumult raised hereon, escaped safe back again into his own camp.ⁱ At length both kings drew out all their forces for a decisive battle, and both rode before the front of their respective armies, to excite and encourage their men for the fight. Arsinoe, who was sister and wife to king Ptolemy, accompanied him in this action, and not only

^b Polybius, lib. 5, p. 421, 422, &c. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.
ⁱ Idem, lib. 5, p. 423. 3 Maccab. v. 1

exerted herself in the encouraging of the soldiers before the fight, but also continued with her husband in the battle throughout all the heat and dangers of it.^k The event of the battle was, Antiochus, commanding the right wing, routed the opposite wing of the enemy; but, pursuing them too far, in the interim, the other wing of the enemy, having beaten his left wing, fell upon the main body then left naked, and utterly broke them, before he could return to their assistance. An old officer of Antiochus's army, observing which way the cloud of dust went, concluded from thence, that the main body was routed, and showed it to the king. But, although he immediately returned, he came too late to recover this fault, finding all the rest of his army put to flight on his coming back to them. Hereon he was forced to retreat, first to Raphia, and next to Gaza, with the loss of ten thousand of his men slain, and four thousand taken prisoners: after which, being no more able to make head against Ptolemy in those parts, he quitted them to the conqueror, and, having gathered together the remains of his broken forces, he returned with them to Antioch. This battle at Raphia was fought at the same time that Hannibal vanquished Flaminius, the Roman consul, at the lake of Thrasimenus in Hetruria.

On the retreat of Antiochus, the cities of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine were at a strife which of them should first yield themselves again to Ptolemy: for having been long under the government of the Egyptians, they were in their affection inclined rather to their old masters than to Antiochus. It was only by force that they had submitted to the latter; and therefore, that force being now removed, they returned again to their former bent, and Ptolemy's court was thronged with ambassadors from them to make their submissions, and offer presents unto him; among whom were ambassadors from the Jews, who were all kindly received.^l Ptolemy, having thus regained these provinces, made a progress through them, and, among other cities which he visited in this perambulation, Jerusalem was one that had this favour from him.^m On his arrival thither, he took a view of the temple, and there offered up many sacrifices to the God of Israel, and made many oblations to the temple, and gave several very valuable donatives to it. But, not being content to view it only from the outer court, beyond which it was not lawful for any Gentile to pass, he would have pressed into the sanctuary itself, and into the holy of holies in the temple, where

^k Polybius, lib. 5, p. 423—427. ^l 3 Maccab. c. 1. Hieronymus, *ibid.* Justin. lib. 30, c. 1.

^l Polybius, lib. 5, p. 428, 429.

^m 3 Maccab. 1.

none but the high-priest only, once a year, on the great day of expiation, was to enter. This made a great uproar all over the city. The high-priest informed him of the sacredness of the place, and the law of God which forbade his entrance thither. And the priests and Levites gathered together to hinder it, and all the people to deprecate it; and great lamentation was made every where among them on the apprehension of the great profanation which would hereby be offered to their holy temple, and all hands were lifted up unto God in prayer to avert it. But the king, the more he was opposed, growing the more intent to have his will in this matter, pressed into the inner court; but, as he was passing further to go into the temple itself, he was smitten from God with such a terror and confusion of mind, that he was carried out of the place in a manner half dead. On this he departed from Jerusalem, filled with great wrath against the whole nation of the Jews for that which happened to him in that place, and venting many threatenings against them for it.

The high-priest who withstood Ptolemy in this attempt upon the temple was Simon, the son of Onias, the second of that name:^a for, his father dying towards the end of the former year, he succeeded him in his office; and this was the first year of his pontificate; and it was well that a wiser man was then in that office when this difficulty happened: for, during the whole time of Onias's ministration, all the affairs of the Jews were, both in church and state, very negligently and supinely managed; for he being a very weak man, and withal exceedingly covetous, minded little else but how to heap up money. The Samaritans, observing this, took the advantage of it to be very vexatious to the Jews, and, out of their old enmity to them, did them many and great damages, plundering and ravaging their country, and carrying many of the inhabitants into captivity, and selling them for slaves; and this they had in some measure practised ever since the contention arose between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopater about the provinces of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, screening themselves sometimes under the one side, and sometimes under the other, according as they found they might be the most vexatious to the Jews; and, during all the time that this war lasted, the Jews suffered very much by it from both parties, as did all the rest of the inhabitants of Palestine: for Palestine, of which Judea was a part, being one of the countries in contest, while these two potent princes thus strove for it, it happened to those that dwelt in it (as usually it doth to all others in this case,) that they were grinded between

^a 3 Maccab. c. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 4. Eusebius in Chronico. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

both; for, as sometimes the one side, and sometimes the other, were masters of the country, they were sure to be harassed by each in their turns: and this continued to be their case as long as that contest lasted, and they suffered exceedingly by it.^o

Antiochus, as soon as he was returned to Antioch, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy to move for peace.^p That which induced him to this was, he mistrusted the fidelity of his own people, finding, on his return, both his interest and his authority much sunk by his late misfortune at Raphia; and another reason for it was, it was time for him to look after Achæus: for he having, by his victories over Attalus, made himself absolute master of all the Lesser Asia, should he be let alone to settle his authority there, Antiochus well saw it would not be long ere he must expect him in Syria, there to push for the whole empire; to prevent this, he thought it his best course to make peace with Ptolemy, lest, having two such powerful enemies, one on each hand of him, to deal with at the same time, he should be crushed between them: and therefore he empowered his ambassadors to yield to Ptolemy all those provinces which were in contest between them, that is, all Cœlo-Syria and Palestine. I have afore shown, that Cœlo-Syria contained that part of Syria that lay between the mountains Libanus and Anti-Libanus; and Palestine, all that country which was formerly the inheritance of the children of Israel, and that the maritime parts of both were what the Greeks called Phœnicia. All this Antiochus was willing to part with to the king of Egypt, for the obtaining of peace with him in the present juncture, choosing rather to quit his claim to all these countries, than for the sake of them to run the risk of losing all the rest. And accordingly a truce being agreed on for a year, before that was expired, a peace was made upon the terms proposed: and hereby Antiochus was left wholly at leisure to attend to the recovery of Lesser Asia, and the suppressing of Achæus, which was a matter of much greater moment unto him at this time; and Ptolemy, that he might be again fully at liberty to follow his voluptuous enjoyments, was as fond of being rid of this war as the other. And therefore, as soon as the truce was concluded, after having tarried three months in those provinces to settle his affairs in them, he committed the chief command over them to Andromachus of Aspendus, and returned again to Alexandria; and, on his arrival thither immersed himself again deeper than ever in all the beastly pleasures of his

^o Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 3.

^p Polybius, lib. 5, p. 428. Justin. lib. 30, c. 1. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

former life; and, that he might not be interrupted in his enjoyment of them, he sent Sosibius, his chief minister, to Antioch, to turn the truce into a peace, which was accordingly done on the terms I have mentioned. And thus Ptolemy, for the sake of his lusts, contenting himself with the recovery of the provinces of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, made no other advantage of his victory at Raphia; but this did not content his people, who expected much more from it. It is certain, had he pursued that blow, he might have deprived Antiochus, not only of Palestine and Cælo-Syria, but of all the rest of his empire; and this was what the Egyptians would have had done, and were very angry when they found themselves disappointed of it by so disadvantageous a peace. The discontent which followed herefrom gave rise to those disorders in Egypt, which, the next year after, broke out into a rebellion; and thus Ptolemy, by avoiding a war abroad, caused one at home in his own kingdom.

Ptolemy, on his return to Alexandria, carrying thither with him his anger against the Jews, for their obstructing his entrance into their temple at Jerusalem, resolved to be revenged for it on all of that nation who were then at Alexandria. And therefore he published a decree, and caused it to be engraven on a pillar erected at the gates of his palace, whereby he forbade all to enter thither that did not sacrifice to the gods which he worshipped; whereby he excluded the Jews from all access to him, either for the suing to him for justice, or the obtaining of his protection, in what case soever they should stand in need of it.^a And whereas the inhabitants of Alexandria were of three ranks,^r 1st. The Macedonians, who were the original founders of the city, and had the first right in it; 2dly. The mercenary soldiers, who came thither to serve in the army; and, 3dly. The native Egyptians; and, by the favour of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy Soter, the Jews were enrolled among the first rank,^s and had all the privileges of original Macedonians conferred on them, Philopater resolved to deprive them of this right: and therefore, by another decree, ordered that all the Jewish nation that lived in Alexandria should be degraded from the first rank, of which they had hitherto always been from the first founding of that city, and be enrolled in the third rank, among the common people of Egypt;^t and that all of them should come thus to be enrolled, and, at the time of their enrolment, have the mark of an ivy leaf, the badge of his god Bacchus, by an hot iron impressed upon them;^u and that all

An. 216.
Ptol. Philopater 6.

q 3 Maccab. c. 2.

s Josephus Antiq. lib. 12, c. 1, & contra Apionem, lib. 2.

t 3 Maccab. c. 2.

r Strabo, lib. 17, p. 797.

u 2 Maccab. vi. 7.

those who should refuse to be thus enrolled, and stigmatized with the said mark, should be made slaves; and that, if any of them should stand out against this decree, he should be put to death. He would have them marked with the badge of his god Bacchus, not only in that, by his drunkenness, he had made himself a great devotee of his, but most especially in that the Ptolemies of Egypt pretended to derive their pedigree from him, and therefore he himself was marked with this badge;^x for which reason they gave him the nickname of Gallus,^y because the priests called Galli were so marked. So saith the author of the Greek Etymologicon: his words are,^z “Ptolemy Philopater was called Gallus, because he was stigmatized or marked with the leaf of an ivy, in the same manner as the priests called Galli; for in all the bacchanal solemnities they were crowned with ivy.” But that he might not seem an enemy to all of that nation, he ordained, that as many of them as would be initiated into the heathen religion, and sacrifice unto his gods, should retain their former privileges, and remain still in the same rank which they were of before. But, of the many thousands of the Jewish race which then dwelt at Alexandria, there were found only three hundred who accepted of this condition, and forsook their God to gain the favour of their king. The rest stood all firm to their religion, rather choosing to suffer any thing than depart in the least from it; and those of them that had riches freely parted with them to the king’s officers, to get themselves excused from being thus enrolled and stigmatized; but others were forced to submit hereto. But all of them so abhorred those that apostatized from their God, to please the king on this occasion, that they thenceforth excluded them from all manner of communication with them, none of them vouchsafing after that to converse, or, on any occasion whatsoever, to have any more to do with such impious wretches; which being interpreted as done by them in opposition to the king’s authority, this so enraged him against them, that he took a resolution of destroying them all, that is, not only those Jews that were of Alexandria, but all the other of that nation, wheresoever they lived, within his dominions, proposing first to begin with those of Egypt, and then to proceed, in the next place, against the inhabitants of Judea and Jerusalem, and extirpate the whole nation.^a And therefore, in the first place, he sent out his orders to command that all the Jews, who lived any where in Egypt, should be brought in chains to

x Theophilus Antiochenus ex Satyri Historia.

y Εν επίσημον χρονων, a Scaligero edita, p. 254. Chron. Alexandrin.

z Γαλλος ο Φιλοπαταρ Πτολεμαίος διὰ το φύλλα κισσύ κατασηθαι ὡς αἱ Γαλλίαι, &c.

a 3 Maccabees c. 3.

Alexandria; and having them accordingly thus brought thither, he shut them up in the Hippodrome (a large place without the city, where the people used to assemble to see horse-races, and other shows,) purposing there to expose them for a spectacle to be destroyed by his elephants.^b But, when they were all met, at the day appointed to see the sight, and the elephants were brought forth ready prepared for the execution, they were disappointed of the show for that day by the king's absence; for, being late up the night before at a drunken carousal, he slept so long the next day, that the time for the show was over before he awoke; whereon it was put off to the next day following; and then the same cause made another disappointment: for another such fit of drunkenness had so drowned his thoughts, that, when called up the next morning then to see the show, he remembered nothing of it, but thought those out of their wits who spoke to him of it; which caused that the show was put off again to the third day. All this while the Jews continuing shut up in the Hippodrome, ceased not, with lifted-up hands and voices, to pray unto God for their deliverance; which he accordingly vouchsafed unto them; for, on the third day, when the king was present, and the elephants were brought forth, and made drunk with wine mingled with frankincense (as they had been the two days before,) that they might with the more rage execute what was intended upon those people, and were accordingly let loose upon them, instead of falling upon the Jews, they turned their rage all upon those who came to see the show, and destroyed great numbers of them; and besides, several appearances were seen in the air, which much frightened the king and all the spectators. All which manifesting the interposal of a divine power in the protection of those people, Philopater durst not any longer prosecute his rage against them, but ordered them to be all again set free; and fearing the divine vengeance upon him in their behalf, for the appeasing and diverting of it, he restored them to all their privileges, rescinding and revoking all his decrees which he had published against them: and he added over and above many gifts and favours unto them; among which one was, that he gave them liberty to put to death all those Jews who had apostatized from their religion; which they accordingly executed, not sparing a man of them.^c Josephus gives us no account, in his Antiquities, of all this matter; but there is mention of it in his second book against Apion. But it is to be observed, that we have this only in the Latin edition of Ruffinus: for the Greek text is there wanting; and also there this whole

^b 3 Maccabees c. 5.^c 3 Maccabees c. 4.

matter is said to be transacted in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, many years after the time where I have here placed it, according to the third book of the Maccabees ; for there the whole history of this persecution, and the deliverance of the Jews from it, is at large related, it being the whole subject of that book ; and therein it is said to have been all transacted in the reign of Ptolemy Philopater, immediately on his return from Syria, after the victory obtained by him at the battle of Raphia ; and when that battle was fought, Polybius and other authors have told us.

The name of Maccabees was first given to Judas and his brethren, for the reason which will be hereafter mentioned ; and therefore the first book and the second book, which give us an account of their actions, are called the first book and the second book of the Maccabees. But, because they were sufferers in the cause of their religion, hence others who were like sufferers in the same cause, and by their sufferings bore witness to the truth, were in after times called also Maccabees by the Jews. And for this reason it is that Josephus, having written apart by itself the history of those who suffered martyrdom under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, gives it the title of the Maccabees ; and, for the same reason, this history of the persecution of Ptolemy Philopater against the Jews in Egypt, and their suffering under it, is called the third book of the Maccabees, although, as to the subject matter of it, it ought to be called the first book ; for the things which it relates were first in order of time, as being transacted before ever those Maccabees, of whom we have the history in the first and second book of the Maccabees, were at all in being. But this book being of less authority and repute than the other two, it hath, for this reason, been reckoned after them, according to the order of dignity, though it is before them in the order of time. It seems to have been written by some Alexandrian Jew, in the Greek language, not long after the time of Saracides. It is extant in Syriac ; but the author of that version seems not well to have understood the Greek original ; for in some places he varies from it through manifest ignorance of the Greek language. It is in most of the ancient manuscript copies of the Greek Septuagint ; as particularly it is in the Alexandrian manuscript in the king's library at St. James, and in the Vatican manuscript at Rome, which are two of the ancientest manuscripts of the Septuagint now in being ; but was never inserted into the vulgar Latin version of the Bible, nor is it to be found in any manuscript of it. And that version being only in use through the whole western church till the reformation, the first translations which we have of the Bible into English

were made from thence; and for that reason none of those having the third book of Maccabees among the apocryphal books, it hath never since been added, though it deserves a place there much better than some parts of the second book of Maccabees; for though it comes to us in a romantic dress, with some enlargements and embellishments of a Jewish invention, yet it is not to be doubted but the groundwork of it is true, and that there really was such a persecution raised against the Jews of Alexandria by Ptolemy Philopater as that book relates; there are accounts of other persecutions they there underwent altogether as bad, which no one doubts of.^d The first authentic mention we have of this book is in Eusebius's Chronicon.^e It is also named with the two other books of the Maccabees in the eighty-fifth of the apostolic canons. But when that canon was added is uncertain. Some manuscript Greek Bibles have not only this third book of the Maccabees, but also Josephus's history of the martyrs that suffered under Antiochus Epiphanes inserted after it by the name of *the fourth book of the Maccabees*.^f

In the interim, Antiochus, after the peace made with Ptolemy, turning all his thoughts to the making war against Achæus, and having made great preparations for it, marched over Mount Taurus into Lesser Asia for the suppressing of him; where, having joined himself in league with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of this conjunction, he so distressed Achæus, that he drove him out of the field, and shut him up in Sardis, and thereon, sitting down before that place, besieged him in it with his whole army.^g

Achæus there held out above a year against him.^h In the interim many sallies were made, and many skirmishes were fought under the walls; till at length, in the second year of the siege, by the craft of Ligoras, one of Antiochus's commanders, the city was taken; whereon Achæus retreated into the castle, and there defended himself for some time, till at last he was, by the treacherous contrivance of two crafty Cretans, delivered into the hands of Antiochus. The manner of it was thus: Ptolemy Philopater, having entered into a strict alliance with Achæus, was much concerned on his hearing of his being so closely shut up in the castle of Sardis, and therefore committed it to the care of his chief minister Sosibius, by any means possible, to get him out of this danger.ⁱ There being at that time in Ptole-

An. 215.
Ptoi. Philo-
pater 7.

^d See Philo's book against Flaccus, and the history of his embassy to Caligula. ^e Page 185.

^f Vide Hoddium de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, 649.

^g Polybius, lib. 5, p. 444, 446.

^h Idem, lib. 7, p. 596, 597.

ⁱ Idem, lib. 8, p. 522, 523, &c

my's court a crafty Cretan called Bolis, who had long resided there, Sosibius consulted with him about this matter, and asked his advice for the finding out of proper means for the accomplishing of what his master desired. Bolis asking time to consider of it, at the next conference undertook the matter, and communicated to him the way which he thought of whereby to accomplish it; for he told him that he had an intimate friend, who was also a near relation of his, called Cambylus, that was captain of the Cretan mercenaries in Antiochus's army, and had then the keeping of a fortress behind the castle of Sardis; that him he would deal with to permit Achæus to make his escape that way. Sosibius, approving of the project, forthwith sent Bolis to Sardis to put it in execution, and gave him ten talents to bear him through in it. Bolis having communicated the matter to Cambylus, they, like two crafty knaves, consulted together how to make the most of it, agreed to discover the whole to Antiochus; and, on his promise of a suitable reward, to turn the plot for the betraying of Achæus into his hands, and then divide that reward, and also the ten talents which Bolis had from Sosibius, between them.^k Antiochus, on his receiving of this proposal, was much pleased with it, and promised rewards large enough to encourage the undertakers to go on with the plot. Bolis, by the means of Cambylus, having got into the castle, and, by virtue of his credentials from Sosibius and other friends, gained full credit with the unfortunate prince; so that he was hereby induced to put himself into the hands of these two false Cretans; they, as soon as they had gotten him out of the castle, siezed his person, and delivered him to Antiochus; who having caused him forthwith to be beheaded, did thereby put an end to the Asian war: for as soon as the death of Achæus was known, they that were in the castle forthwith surrendered: and, soon after, all the other places through the Asian provinces did the same; and therefore Antiochus, having received them all again under his obedience, left such governors over them as he might best confide in, and then returned again to Antioch.

About this time the discontents of the Egyptians against Philopater, which I have above mentioned, broke out into a civil war. Polybius^l tells us, that there was such a war; but neither he nor any author gives us any account of the event of it. But Philopater still retaining his royal dignity and power, without any diminution of either, this sufficiently proves, that he mastered this difficulty. Which side the Jews (who now made a consi-

^k The Cretans were always infamous for falseness and knavery. Hence St. Paul to Titus, i. 12, *The Cretans are always liars.*

^l Lib. 5, p. 444

derable part of the bulk of the people of Egypt) took in this war, is not said ; but it seems most likely that they were of that party which came by the worst : for Eusebius tells us, that, about this time, forty thousand of them were cut off and destroyed.^m

Antiochus, having settled his affairs in Lesser Asia,ⁿ made an expedition into the East for the reducing of those provinces which had revolted from the Syrian empire ; and the Parthians having lately seized Media, his first attempt was upon that province. There reigned at that time over the Parthians, Arsaces, the son of that Arsaces who first founded the Parthian empire. He, taking the advantage of Antiochus's being otherwise engaged in his wars with Ptolemy and Achæus, had entered Media, and made himself master of that country, and added it to his former dominions. On Antiochus's approach that way, he endeavoured to hinder his passage, by stopping up all the wells in the deserts through which he was to march, no army being able there to be subsisted without them. But Antiochus being aware of the design, sent a party of horse before him to secure those wells ; who having driven away the party that was sent to destroy them, Antiochus safely passed those deserts with all his army, and, entering Media, drove Arsaces thence ; and, having recovered all that country, spent the remainder of the year in settling of it again in its former order under his dominion, and in providing for the further operations of the war.

Early the next spring he marched into Parthia ; and there having obtained the same success as in Media, Arsaces was forced to retreat into Hyrcania, where, thinking to secure himself behind the mountains which parted that country from Parthia, he placed guards in all the passes through which the Syrian army was to march, hoping thereby to obstruct their further progress that way.^o

But Antiochus, as soon as the season would admit, took the field to drive them thence ; and, by dividing his army into several parties, and assaulting those guards all at the same time in their several stations, he soon made himself master of all those passes, and therefore, marching securely through them over those mountains, he descended from them with all his army into the country of Hyrcania, and there laid siege to Syringis the capital of the province ; and after some time having, by undermining the walls, made a great breach in them, he took the place by

An. 212.

Ptol. Philopater 10.

An. 211.

Ptol. Philopater 11.

An. 210.

Ptol. Philopater 12.

^m In Chronico, p. 185.

ⁿ Polybius, lib. 10, p. 598—602. Appian, in Syriacis.

^o Polybius, lib. 10, p. 509.

storm, and all the inhabitants surrendered themselves to his mercy.^p In the interim Arsaces was not idle; but all the way as he retreated, having gathered forces, at length made up an army of one hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, with which being strong enough to face the enemy, he made a stand against him, and with great valour opposed his further progress, which drew out the war into a great length.^q But after many conflicts that happened between the two armies, no further advantage being gained on the part of Antiochus, he found it would be no easy matter for him to vanquish so valiant an enemy, and wholly dispossess him of the provinces which he had so long been settled in. And therefore he became inclined to hearken to terms of accommodation for the ending of so troublesome a war: and accordingly, a treaty being set on foot, it was agreed, that Arsaces should hold Parthia and Hyrcania, on the terms of becoming a confederate of Antiochus, assisting him in his wars for the recovery of the other provinces which had revolted from him.^q

An. 208.
Ptol. Philopater 14.

Antiochus having thus made peace with Arsaces, carried the war in the next place against Euthydemus king of Bactria.^s It hath been above related how Theodotus first usurped Bactria from the empire of the Syrian kings, and left it to his son of the same name. Him Euthydemus, having vanquished and driven out, reigned in his stead; and being a very valiant and wise prince, he maintained a long war against Antiochus in defence of the country which he had made himself master of; and every where made good his ground against him; so that Antiochus only wasted his army in this country without gaining any advantage by it.

An. 207.
Ptol. Philopater 157.

In the interim Philopater went on in his old course of life, giving himself wholly up to his lusts and voluptuous delights. Agathoclea his concubine, and Agathocles her brother, who was his catamite, governed him absolutely. Drinking, gaming, and lasciviousness, were the whole employments of his life. Sosibius being an old crafty minister, who had now served in the court under three kings, did, as far as the favourites would permit, manage the affairs of the state, in which, by his long experience, he was thoroughly versed, but was wicked enough to serve such a king, and such his favourites, in all their vilest purposes. While things were thus managed, Arsinoe, who was sister and wife to Philopater, was little regarded, which she, not having pa-

p Polybius, lib. 10, p. 600, 601.

q Justin. lib. 41, c. 5.

s Polybius, lib. 10, p. 620!

tience enough to bear, spared neither her complaints nor her clamours on all occasions ; which much offending the king, and also the whore and the catamite, who governed him, orders were given to Sosibius to put her to death, which he accordingly executed by the hands of one Philammon, whom he employed for the effecting of this cruel and barbarous murder.^t Justin calls her Eurydice,^u and Livy, Cleopatra ;^x but according to Polybius, who writeth with the most exactness of these matters, her name was Arsinoe.

These things^y very much displeasing the people, they forced Sosibius, during the lifetime of the king, to quit his office of chief minister, and called to it Tlepolemus, a young nobleman of great note in the army for his valour and military prowess and skill ; and, by a general vote in the grand council, appointed him to succeed therein. And accordingly Sosibius resigned to him the king's signet, which was the badge of his office ; and, by virtue thereof, Tlepolemus managed all the public affairs of the kingdom during the remainder of the king's life ; but in that short time he abundantly showed, that he was noway equal to the charge he undertook, having neither the experience, craft, nor application of his predecessor to qualify him for it.

In the meanwhile Antiochus carried on the war against Euthydemus in Bactria ;^z but, after his utmost efforts for the dispossessing him of that country, finding that he made but little progress herein, by reason of the valour and vigilancy of those he had to deal with, he grew weary of the war, and therefore admitted ambassadors from Euthydemus to treat of an accommodation. By them Euthydemus complained of the injustice of the war which Antiochus had made against him, telling him he was not of those who had revolted from him, and that therefore he had not on this account any right of war against him ; that the revolt of the Bactrians from the Syrian empire had been made under the leading of others before his time ; that he was possessed of that country, by having vanquished and driven out the descendants of those revolters, and held it as a just price of his victory over them. He further ordered it to be suggested to Antiochus, that the Scythians, taking the advantage of the war in which they were now wasting each other, were preparing a great army to invade Bactria ; and that therefore, if they continued any longer their contention about it, a fair opportunity would be given those barbarians, to take it from both.

^t Polybius, lib. 13, p. 719. Valesii Excerpta, p. 65. Justin. lib. 30, c. 1

^u Justin. lib. 30, c. 1.

^x Idem, lib. 27.

^y Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, lib. 16. ^z Polybius, lib. 11, p. 651.

This consideration, added to the desire which Antiochus afore had to get rid of this tedious and troublesome war, brought him to agree to such terms as produced a peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus, who took such liking to the young man, that he gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and for his sake allowed the father to take the title and style of king of Bactria. And then, having received from him all his elephants (which was one of the terms of the peace,) he marched over Mount Caucasus into India; where, having renewed his league with Sophagasenus, the king of that country, and received so many elephants from him, as, when added to those which he had from Euthydemus, made up their number to one hundred and fifty, he marched from thence into Arachosia, and from that country into Drangiana, and thence into Carmania, settling, as he went, all those countries in due order under his obedience.

After having wintered in Carmania, he returned through Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, again unto Antioch, after having been seven years absent from thence on this expedition.^a By the boldness of his attempts, and the wisdom of his conduct through this whole war, he gained the reputation of a very wise and valiant prince; which made his name terrible through all Europe as well as Asia; and thereby he kept all the provinces of his empire in thorough subjection to him; and thus far his actions might well have deserved the name of *the Great*, which was given unto him, and he might have carried it with full glory and honour to his grave, but that he unfortunately engaged in a war with the Romans. Being blown up with vanity and conceit on the reputation he had gained, he thought none could now stand before him, and this made him project the conquest of Greece and Italy: but, failing in the attempt, he fell low by the ill success of it, and afterward concluded his reign in a very unfortunate death, as will be hereafter related.

An. 205.
Ptol. Philopater 17.

He had not been long returned to Antioch, ere he had an account of the death of Ptolemy Philopater, king of Egypt. This prince, having worn out a very strong body by his intemperance and debaucheries, ended his life, as it usually happens to others in this case, before he had lived out half its course.^b He was very little above twenty when he first came to the throne, and he sat on it only seventeen years. After him succeeded Ptolemy Epiphanes, his son, a child of five years old.^c None but

An. 204.
Ptol. Epiphanes 1.

a Polybius, *ibid*.

b Justin. lib. 30, c. 1, 2:

c Ptol. in Canone, Euseb, Hieronymus, aliique.

Agathocles, Agathoclea, and their creatures, being about him at the time of his death, they concealed it as long as they could, and, in the interim, plundered the palace of all the treasure and riches there left by the deceased king, that they could lay their hands upon ; and, at the same time, were framing projects for their continuing in the same power which they had under the deceased king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his successor : and, vainly imagining that they could carry this point, if Tlepolemus were out of the way, they laid a plot to have him cut off ; and therefore, when the king's death was known,^e they called together the Macedonians to a general council ; and, when they were met, Agathocles and Agathoclea came out to them : and Agathocles, having the young king in his arms, after much weeping, spoke to them.^f The effect of his speech was to implore their protection for the young king, whom, he said, his father at his death had delivered, (pointing at Agathoclea) into her hands : and that, at the same time, he had recommended him to the fidelity of his Macedonian subjects ; and therefore he implored their aid and assistance against Tlepolemus, of whom, he told them, he had certain information, that he was preparing to seize the crown : and then he would have produced several witnesses, whom he had then present, to prove this charge. He foolishly hoped, by this weak artifice, to have stirred up the Macedonians to cut him off, and then, to have established himself, upon his death, in the regency. But the folly of this contrivance being easily seen through, it at first provoked the laughter, and afterward the rage, of all that heard it ; and the ruin of him and his sister, and all their creatures, followed immediately after. For, on this occasion, all their misdemeanors being called to remembrance, all the people of Alexandria arose in a general uproar against them. And therefore, having first taken from them the young king, and placed him on the throne in the public Hippodrome, they there brought before him, first Agathocles, and next Agathoclea, and Oenanthe their mother, and caused them there, as by the king's order, to be all put to death in his presence ; and then proceeded in the same manner against the sisters and kindred of Agathocles and Agathoclea, and all their other creatures, till they had cut them all off. And such reckonings wicked favourites are often brought to, when deprived of that power whereby they have abused the people. The power alone in this case is

d Justin. lib. 30, c. 1, 2.

e Polybius, lib. 15, p. 712, 713.

f That is, those Alexandrians who were of the Macedonian race, and the descendants of those who were the first founders of Alexandria, or such as had been admitted to their privileges.

apt enough to create envy, but is much more so when employed for unjust and wicked purposes ; the only method to make any one safe in such stations, is to do nothing else in them but what shall be in all times justifiable.

About three days before this uproar happened, Philammon, who had been employed in the murdering of Arsinoe, being come from Cyrene to Alexandria, the ladies who had been of her attendance, hearing of it, took the advantage of this disorder to revenge on him the death of their mistress ; for, breaking into his house, they fell upon him with stones and clubs, till they had beaten him to death ; a punishment which he well deserved, by becoming the instrument of so wicked an act.^g After this, the guardianship of the young king was for the present committed to the charge of Sosibius the son of that Sosibius who had been the ruling minister of the court during the last three reigns. Whether he were then living or not is not said ; it is certain he lived to a very great age ; his continuance for above sixty years in the ministry is a sufficient instance of it ; and for this reason he was called Πολυχρονιος, i. e. *the long liver*.^h And no doubt, by the Sosibius who is said, in the history of Aristeeas, to be one of the chief promoters of the Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures, called the Septuagint, is meant none other than this Sosibius by the writer of that apocryphal book. But whether he were brought so early upon the stage, the distance of the time gives us reason to doubt. For we have placed the making of that version in the year 277, which was seventy-one years before the time that he left the ministry. He was as crafty and wicked a minister as ever governed the public affairs of any kingdom, not caring how wicked and vile any means were, so that they conduced to the effecting of the ends he proposed,ⁱ which is exactly that scheme of politics which Machiavel hath since, with a bare face, recommended to the world, and so many in our time have practised after him. But that which is most remarkable in this old Egyptian politician is, that he continued so long in prosperity, and was permitted at last so easily to retire, which hath scarce ever happened to any other that have acted by his principles.

Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedon, thinking to serve themselves of the advantage they had by the death of Philopater, and the succession of an infant king after him, entered into a league to divide their dominions between them, agreeing that Philip should have

An. 203.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 2.

^g Polybius, *ibid*.

ⁱ Valesii *Excerpta*, *ibid*. Plutarch. in Cleomene.

^h Valesii *Excerpta ex Polybio*, p. 65.

Caria, Libya, Cyrene, and Egypt, and Antiochus all the rest.^k And accordingly Antiochus forthwith marched into Cælo-Syria and Palestine, and partly this year, and partly in the next, made himself master of those provinces, and all the several districts and cities in them.

Scipio having beaten Hannibal in Africa, and thereby put an end to the second punic war with victory and honour, the name of the Romans began to be every where of great note; and therefore, the Egyptian court finding themselves much distressed by the league made between Philip and Antiochus against their infant king, and the usurpations which had thereon been made by them on his provinces, sent an embassy to Rome to pray their protection, offering them the guardianship of their king, and the regency of his dominions during his minority; and to induce them to accept hereof, alleged that the deceased king had recommended both to them at his death.^l The Romans, thinking this would enlarge their fame, complied with what was desired, and took on them the tuition of the young king.

This year being the 3560th year of the Jewish era of the creation, the writers of that nation tell us, that Joshua, the son of Perachia, was admitted president of the sanhedrim, and Nathan the Arbelite his vice-president, and that both together had the charge of being rectors of the divinity school at Jerusalem.^m They tell us nothing in particular of the latter; neither is what they say of the other consistent with the time in which they place him, or of any truth as to the matters related. For they tell us of him, that, when Alexander, the Asmonean king of Judea, slew the doctors of the law at Jerusalem, for telling him that he ought to be contented with the crown, and not hold that and the high-priesthood together, Joshua, then escaping from his wrath, fled into Egypt, and that Jesus Christ, being his scholar, accompanied him thither. But the year of the Jewish era above mentioned, under which they place the first entering of this Joshua on his presidentship was two hundred years before Christ's birth, and many years also before the reign of Alexander the Asmonean in Judea; but to be out two hundred or three hundred years in their chronology is nothing with the Jews. They are certainly the worst historians, and the worst accounters of times, that ever pretended to be either.

The Romans, having complied with the request of the

^k Polybius, lib. 3, p. 159, & lib. 15, p. 707. Livius, lib. 31. Justin. lib. 30, c. 3. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

^l Justin. lib. 30, c. 2.

^m R. Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Gantz in Zemach David. Shalsheleth Haccabalah.

Egyptian embassy to them, which I have mentioned, sent three ambassadors to Philip king of Macedon, and Antiochus king of Syria, to let them know that they had taken on them the tuition of Ptolemy king of Egypt during his nonage; and to require them, that they therefore desist from invading the dominions of their pupil, and that otherwise they should be obliged to make war upon them for his protection.ⁿ After they had delivered this embassy to both kings,^o M. Emilius Lepidus, who was one of them, according to the instructions he had received from the senate at his first setting out, went to Alexandria, to take on him, in their name, the tuition of the young king; where, having regulated his affairs as well as the then circumstances of them would admit, he appointed Aristomenes, an Acarnanian, to be his guardian and chief minister, and then returned again to Rome.^p This Aristomenes was an old experienced minister of that court, who had long been conversant in all the affairs of it; and, having undertaken this charge, he managed it with great prudence and fidelity.

The first thing that he did was to provide against the invasions of the two confederated kings: in order whereto he took care to recruit the army with the best soldiers he could: for which purpose he sent Scopas into Ætolia with vast sums of money, to raise as many men there as he could, they being then reputed the best soldiers of the age. This Scopas had formerly been the chief governor of that country, and was a person of great note in his time for his military skill and prowess: when the time of his ministry was expired, and he missed of being continued in it as he desired, he left Ætolia, and went into the service of the king of Egypt; and, being employed to make this levy, he brought to him from Ætolia six thousand stout men, which was a very considerable reinforcement to the army.^q

At this time Antiochus having passed into Lesser Asia, and there engaged himself in a war with Attalus king of Pergamus, the ministry at Alexandria took the advantage hereof to send Scopas with an army into Palestine and Cælo-Syria for the recovery of those provinces; where he managed the war with that success, that he took several cities, and reduced all Judea by force, and put a garrison into the castle at Jerusalem: and, on the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria with full honour for the victories he had obtained, and with as great riches, which he had

An. 201.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 4.

An. 203.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 5.

An. 199.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 6.

ⁿ Livius, lib. 31. Justin. lib. 30, c. 3.

^o Justin. *ibid.* Valerius Maximus, lib. 6, c. 6.

^p Polybius, lib. 15, p. 717

^q Livius, lib. 31.

gathered from the plunder of the country.^r But it soon appeared, that his successes this campaign were mostly owing to the absence of Antiochus, and the want of that opposition thereon which otherwise would have been made against him.

For, after Antiochus had, on the interposition of the Romans, desisted from his war against Attalus, and was come in person into Cœlo-Syria, this soon turned the scales, and brought the victory absolutely over on the other side. For, although Scopas came again with a great army into those parts, yet, being encountered by Antiochus at Paneas, near the fountains of the river Jordan, he was there overthrown with a great slaughter, and forced to flee to Sidon; where being shut up with ten thousand of his men, he was there besieged by Antiochus, till at length he was forced by famine to surrender on terms of life only; and he and his men were sent thence stripped and naked.^t The regency at Alexandria were not wanting to do the utmost for his relief; for, on their hearing of his being besieged in Sidon, they sent three of their best generals with the best of their forces to raise the siege. But Antiochus having disposed all matters so that they could find no way to effect it, Scopas and his men were forced to submit to the dishonourable conditions I have mentioned, and to return to Alexandria, to be there provided with new clothes and new arms for future service.

After this Antiochus marched to Gaza;^u and finding there a resistance that provoked his anger, he gave up the place, when taken, to be plundered and ravaged by his soldiers; and then, having secured the passes there against the march of any new forces out of Egypt to disturb him in his conquests, he marched back, and took in Betania, Samaria, Abila, Gadera, and all the other remaining parts of Palestine and Cœlo-Syria,^x and made himself wholly master of both the countries and all the cities in them.^y

The Jews were at this time very much alienated in their affections from the Egyptian king; whether it were by reason of the former ill treatment of their nation by his father, or for some fresher ill usage they had received, is not said. It is most likely it was because of the ravages and robberies of Scopas, on his taking Jerusalem the former year; for he was a very covetous and rapacious man, laying his hands every where on all that he could get;^z and therefore, on An-

^r Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 3.

^s Livius, lib. 32

^t Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, p. 77, 78, &c. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 3.

^u Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, p. 87. ^x Josephus, ibid.

^y Justin. lib. 31, c. 1. Livius, lib. 33. Polyb. Legat. 72, p. 893.

^z Polybins, lib. 17, p. 773

Antiochus's marching that way, they willingly surrendered all places unto him, and, on his coming to Jerusalem, the priests and elders went out in a solemn procession to meet him, and received him with gladness, and entertained him and all his army in their city, provided for his horses and elephants, and assisted him with their arms for the reducing of the castle, where Scopas had left a garrison.^a In acknowledgment hereof, Antiochus, in a decree directed to Ptolemy, one of his lieutenants, granted them many privileges and favours;^a and, in another decree published in their favour, he particularly ordained, that no stranger^a should enter within the sept of the temple;^c which seems to have been provided against with respect to the attempt which Pilopater made to put a force upon them as to this matter, and which, I doubt not, was no small part of the reason that made them so disaffected to the Egyptian cause, contrary to their former inclinations towards it. And it is to be remarked, that Antiochus, by former favours granted by him to their brethren who were settled in Babylonia and Mesopotamia, had declared himself a friend to their nation, in such a manner as had made them much more desirous of having him for their sovereign, than the Egyptian king, who had used them ill; and therefore they gladly laid hold of this opportunity to revolt from him. For Antiochus, in his eastern expeditions, having found the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia very serviceable to him, and very steady to his interest, entertained a great opinion of their fidelity to him; and therefore, on some commotions that happened in Phrygia and Lydia, by a decree directed to Zeuxis, an old commander of his, and then his lieutenant in those provinces, he ordered two thousand families of the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia to be sent thither for the suppressing of those seditions, and the keeping of those parts in quiet, commanding, that they and all that they had should be transported thither at the king's charges; and that, on their arrival thither, they should be placed in the strongest fortresses, for guards of the country, and have lands and possessions there divided out unto them for a plentiful subsistence; and that, till they should receive the fruits of those lands, they should be maintained out of the king's stores.^d All which was a great argument of the opinion he had of their fidelity, and of the confidence which, on the account hereof, he placed in them. And from those Jews, who were on this occasion transplanted from Babylonia into those parts, were descended most of the

a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 3.

c That is, within the sept called the Chel, within which no uncircumcised person was to pass. See Lightfoot of the Temple, c. xvii.

d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 8.

Jews whom we find afterward scattered in great numbers all over the Lesser Asia, especially in the times of the first preaching of the gospel.

Antiochus, having thus brought all Cælo-Syria and Palestine in subjection to him, projected the doing of the same in Lesser Asia, his grand aim being to restore the Syrian empire to the full extent in which it had been held by any of his ancestors, especially by Seleucus Nicator, the founder of it. But, to quiet the Egyptians, that they might not renew the war in Palestine and Cælo-Syria in his absence, he sent Eucles of Rhodes to Alexandria with proposals of a marriage between Cleopatra his daughter and king Ptolemy, to be consummated as soon as they should be of an age fit for it, promising the restoration of those provinces on the day of the nuptials, by way of dowry with the young princess;^e which offer being accepted of, and the contract fully agreed to on these terms, the Egyptians acquiesced in Antiochus's engagements for the performance of them, and no more renewed the war upon him, but left him wholly free to pursue his other designs. This, Jerome tells us,^e was done in the seventh year of the reign of Epiphanes.

Antiochus, therefore, having thus secured all in peace behind him, early the next spring did set forward with a great fleet for the carrying on of his designs upon Lesser Asia;^f and, at the same time, sent thither Ardyes and Mithridates, two of his sons, with a great army by land, ordering them to march to Sardis, and there tarry his coming to them. At this time, T. Quintius Flaminius, the Roman general, was in Greece, with a great army, making war with Philip king of Macedon. Attalus, king of Pergamus, and the Rhodians, were confederates with the Romans in this war; and Antiochus, having been in league with king Philip ever since the death of Ptolemy Philopater, was well understood to have come into those parts to give him all the assistance he was able. Thus stood the state of affairs in those parts when Antiochus first set out on this expedition; but, he had not proceeded far in it, before they received a considerable change in two particulars. that is, in the death of Attalus king of Pergamus, and the overthrow of Philip king of Macedon by the Romans.

For Attalus, having at Thebes made an oration to the Bœotians, to persuade them to join with the Romans against Philip, spoke it with that vehemence, that his soul in a manner expiring with his voice, he swooned away, and fell down as dead in the middle of it;^g after this, having lain sick a

An. 197.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 8.

^e Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

^f Livius, lib 33.

^g Livius, lib. 33. Polyb. Legat. 25, p. 820. Plutarch. in T. Quinto Flamini

while at Thebes, he was carried to Pergamus, and there died, after having lived seventy-two years, and reigned forty-four.^h He having left behind him four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Philæterus, and Athenæus; Eumenes, the eldest of them, succeeded him in his throne, and was the founder of the famous library that was at Pergamus.ⁱ His three brothers carried it with that fidelity to him, and he with that affection to them, that they seemed all of them to have one and the same interest; and continuing in this concord and unanimity all their life after, they became a rare example of brotherly love to each other.^k

As to Philip king of Macedon, he having come to a battle with the Romans at a place called Cynocephalus in Thessaly, was there overthrown with the loss of eight thousand men slain, and five thousand taken prisoners; whereon, being brought to distress, he sued for peace, which was granted him barely on this consideration, that the Romans understanding that Antiochus was coming into those parts with great forces, both by sea and land, they might not have to do with two such potent and warlike princes at the same time.^m

In the interim, Antiochus, having with his fleet sailed along the coasts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, took in a great many of the maritime cities of those provinces and the islands adjoining; and at length coming round to Ephesus, seized that city, and there set up for his winter quarters, spending the remainder of the year in projecting and concerting those measures which might be most proper for the accomplishing of the designs that brought him into those parts.ⁿ But Smyrna, Lampsacus, and other Greek cities in Asia, which then enjoyed their liberties, finding his scheme was to reduce them all to be in the same subjection to him as they had formerly been to his ancestors, resolved to stand out against him, and sent to the Romans for their protection; which they readily undertook in their behalf. For, they being resolved to put a stop to Antiochus's further progress westward, as fearing to what the power of so great a king might grow, should he establish himself in those parts of Asia, according to his designs, gladly laid hold of this opportunity to oppose themselves against him; and therefore forthwith

^h Polybius in Excerptis Valesii, p. 102. Livius, lib. 33. Suidas in voce Ἀττάλος.

ⁱ Plinius, lib. 13. c. 11.

^k Plutarch. *περι Φιλαδελφειας*. Excerpta Valesii ex Polybio, p. 168. Suidas in voce Ἀττάλος.

^l Plutarch. in T. Quintio Flaminio. Livius, lib. 33.

^m Polyb. Legat. 6, p. 792.

ⁿ Livius, lib. 33. Hieronymus in cap. 11. Danielis.

sent ambassadors to him, to require of him that he should restore to king Ptolemy all the cities of the Lesser Asia that he had taken from him ; that he should quit those that had been king Philip's ; and, that he should permit all the Grecian cities in those parts to enjoy their liberties, and not pass into Europe ; and to declare, that, in case they had not satisfaction in all these particulars, they would make war against him.^o

But, before these ambassadors came to him, he had caused one part of his forces to lay siege to Smyrna, and another to Lampsacus, and with the rest he passed over the Hellespont, and seized all the Thracian Chersonesus ; where, finding the city Lysimachia (which lay in the neck of the isthmus leading into that chersonesus or peninsula) lying in its ruins, (it having a few years before been reduced to this condition by the Thracians,) he set himself to rebuild it, designing there to lay the foundation of a kingdom for Seleucus his second son, and subject the neighbouring country to him, and make this the prime seat for his residence.^p While he was busying himself in these projects, the ambassadors sent to him from Rome came into Thrace, and finding him at Selymbria, a city of that country, they there had audience of him, and communicated their commission to him. On their debating with him the particulars of it, which are above mentioned, the Romans argued, how unreasonable a thing it was, that, when they had vanquished king Philip, Antiochus should reap the fruits of their victory by seizing his cities in Asia ; that, they having undertaken the guardianship of king Ptolemy during his minority, it was incumbent on them to demand restitution of all those cities that were taken from him ; and that, they having decreed the restoration of all the Greek cities to their liberties, it became them to see that what they had decreed should be made good ; that they required his not passing into Europe, because they could not see with what intent he should make that passage, and now build Lysimachia on that side, as they found him then doing, than to be as a step to a further war which must light upon them. To this Antiochus answered, that, as to Ptolemy, full satisfaction would be given him, on that king's marrying his daughter, which was then agreed on ; that, as to the Greek cities, he intended them their freedom, but that they should owe it to him, and not to the Romans ; that, as to Lysimachia, he built it to be a residence for his son Seleucus ; that Thrace, and the Chersonesus, as a part of it, belonged all to him, as having been conquered by Seleucus Nicator his ancestor, on his vanquishing of Lysimachus, and therefore he

^o Livius, *ibid.* Appianus in Syriacis.

^p Livius & Appianus, *ibid.*

passed over into it as his just inheritance. As to Asia, and the cities in it, he told them, that they had no more to do there than he had in Italy, and that, since he meddled not with any affairs of the latter, he wondered that they concerned themselves with what was done in the former. Hereon the Romans, having desired that the ambassadors from Smyrna and Lampsachus might be called in, and they, on their being admitted, having spoken very freely as to their cause, Antiochus could not bear it, but fell into a passion, and cried out, that the Romans were not to be his judges in these matters; whereon the assembly broke up in confusion, and no satisfaction was given on either side, but all things tended towards a breach between them.^q

While these matters were thus treating of, there came a rumour that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead in Egypt; whereon Antiochus, reckoning Egypt to be his own, made haste on board his fleet to sail thither to take possession of it, and, having left Seleucus his son with his army at Lysimachia, to finish what was there intended, he first called in at Ephesus, and, having joined to his fleet such other ships as he had in that port, from thence made all the sail he could for Egypt: but, on his arrival at Pateræ in Lycia, finding the report of Ptolemy's death to be there, upon good evidence, contradicted, instead of steering for Egypt, he shaped his course directly for Cyprus, purposing to seize that island; but, in his way thither, meeting with a violent storm, in which he lost a great many of his ships and men, he was glad, after having gathered up the remainder of his ruinous wreck, to put in at Seleucia to repair his shattered ships, and then wintered at Antioch, without doing any thing more this year.^r

That which occasioned the rumour of Ptolemy's death was a treasonable plot then laid against his life; which, being first supposed, was afterward reported to have taken effect. Scopas the Ætolian was the author of this conspiracy, who being general of the mercenaries, most of which were Ætolians, and, by virtue of that command, having under him a numerous and strong band of veteran soldiers, thought he had hereby an advantage now in the infancy of the king to make himself master of Egypt, and usurp the sovereignty over it.^s And accordingly he had formed his scheme for the attempt, and no doubt he would have succeeded in it, had he executed his treason with the same boldness and resolution as he first contrived it. But, although he were a very valiant man, yet, when it came to the point of execution, his

^q Polybius, lib. 17, p. 769, & Legat. 10, p. 800. Livius & Appianus. ibid.

^r Appianus in Syriacis. Livius, lib. 33.

^s Polybius, lib. 17, p. 771, 772. Valesii Excerpta, p. 61.

heart failing him, and, instead of immediately falling on, as such a desperate case required, he sat at home consulting and debating with his friends and partisans how best to manage the matter; and, while he was thus doubting and delaying, the opportunity was lost. For Aristomenes, the chief minister, having, in the interim, gotten information of the whole matter, took such care to prevent it, that Scopas was seized, and, being brought before the council, was there convicted of the treason, and thereon he and all his accomplices were put to death for it; and, as to the rest of his Æolians, they having, on this occasion, forfeited the confidence which the government had before in them, were most of them hereon cashiered out of the king's service, and sent home into their own country. Thus ended the treason of Scopas: and he is not the only villain that, having with great resolution entered on wicked designs, hath failed of courage at the time of execution, and defeated his own treason for want of it: for few men are so entirely wicked, as to be thorough proof against that horror and confusion of mind which very wicked actions usually create whenever they come to be executed. At his heath, he was found to be possessed of vast riches, which he had gotten in the king's service by plundering those countries where he commanded as general; and he having, while he was victorious in Palestine, recovered Judea and Jerusalem to the king of Egypt, no doubt, a great part of his plunder was gotten from thence. One of the chiefest of his accomplices in this treason was Dicæarchus, who had formerly been admiral under Philip, king of Macedon; and being sent by him to make war upon the Cyclades, on a very unjust and wicked account, to show how little he regarded either piety or justice, before he sailed out of the port on that expedition, he erected two altars, one to Iniquity, and the other to Impiety, and sacrificed on them both.[†] And do not all else do the same, who engage in such horrid designs of assassination and treason as that was in which this man perished? He having so signally distinguished himself by his wickedness, Aristomenes very justly distinguished him from all the rest of the conspirators in his punishment; for all the others he poisoned, but him he tormented to death.

When this conspiracy was fully mastered, the king being now fourteen years old, was, according to the usage of that country, declared to be out of his minority, and his enthronization (which the Alexandrians called his *Anaclateria*) was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity; and hereby the government was put into his hands, and he actually admitted

[†] Polybius, lib. 17, p. 772.

to the administration of it.^u And, as long as he managed it by Aristomenes, his former minister, all things went well; but, when he grew weary of that able and faithful servant, and put him to death to get rid of him, the remainder of his reign was all turned into disorder and confusion, and his kingdom suffered the same, or rather more by it than in the worst times of his father.

Early the next spring, Antiochus set out from Antioch to return to Ephesus. He was no sooner gone, but Hannibal came thither to put himself under his protection.^x He had lived six years quietly at Carthage since the late peace with the Romans; but being now under a suspicion of holding secret correspondence with Antiochus, and plotting with him for the bringing of a new war upon Italy, and some that maligned him at home having sent to Rome clandestine informations to this effect, the Romans sent ambassadors to Carthage to make inquiry into the matter, and to demand Hannibal to be delivered to them, if they found reason for it. Hannibal, hearing of their arrival, suspected their business; and therefore, before they had time to deliver their message, got privately away to the sea-shore, and, putting himself on board a ship which he had there ready provided, escaped to Tyre, and from thence went to Antioch, hoping to find Antiochus there; but, he being gone for Ephesus before his arrival, he made thither after him. Antiochus was there at that time, in debate with himself on the point of making war with the Romans, being very doubtful and fluctuating in his mind whether he should enter on it or not. But Hannibal's coming to him soon determined his resolutions for the war, he being hereon excited to it, not only by the arguments which this great adversary of the Romans pressed upon him for it, but especially because of the opinion he had of the man. For he having often vanquished the Romans, and thereby justly acquired the reputation of having exceeded all other generals in military skill, this created in Antiochus a confidence of being able to do all things with him on his side. And, therefore, thinking of nothing thenceforth but of victories and conquests, he became fixed for the war; and all this year and the next were spent in making preparations for it. In the mean time, however, ambassadors were sent from both sides, on pretence of accommodating matters, but, in reality, only to spy out and discover what each other was doing.

This year Simon, the high-priest of the Jews, being dead,

^u Polybius, lib. 17, p. 773.

^x Corn. Nepos in Hannibale. Livius, lib. 33. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31, c. 2, 3.

his eldest son Onias, the third of that name, succeeded in his stead, and held that office, reckoning it to the time of his death, twenty-four years.^y He had the character of a very worthy good man, but, falling into ill times, he perished in them, in the manner as will be hereafter related.

About this time died Eratosthenes, the second library keeper at Alexandria, being eighty-two years old at the time of his death,^z and was succeeded in his office by Appollonius Rhodius, the author of the *Argonautics*.^a This Apollonius had been a scholar of Callimachus; but, having afterward very much offended him, Callimachus wrote a very bitter invective against him, which he called *Ibis*, from the name of a bird in Egypt, which used to foul his bill by cleansing his breech, intimating thereby, as if the offence given him by his scholar was by foul words against him, and that he therefore gave him this name, to express thereby that he was a foul-mouthed person.^b Hence Ovia, writing an invective against one that had in a like manner offended him, calls him, in imitation of Callimachus, by the same name of *Ibis*. Although this Apollonius was called Rhodius,^c it was only for that he had long lived at Rhodes, not that he was born there; for he was a native of Alexandria, and there at length he ended his days, being called thither from Rhodes to take upon him this office in the king's library.

Antiochus being eagerly set in his mind for a war with the Romans, after having made the preparations I have mentioned, he endeavoured further to strengthen himself, by making alliances with the neighbouring princes. To this intent he went to Raphia, the place in the confines of Palestine and Egypt which hath been above mentioned, and there married his daughter Cleopatra to king Ptolemy Epiphanes,^d agreeing to give with her, by way of dowry, the provinces of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine,^e upon the terms of sharing the revenues equally between them, according as had been before promised. And, on his return from thence to Antioch, he married Antiochis, another of his daughters, to Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia;^f and would have given a third to Eumenes, king of Pergamus.^g But that king refused his alliance, contrary to the opinion of his three brothers; for they thought it would be a great strengthening of his interest to be son-in-law to so great a king, and therefore ad-

An. 193.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 11.

An. 193.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 12.

^y Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 4. Euseb. in Chron. Chron. Alexandrin.

^z Lucianus in Macrobiis.

^a Suidas in *ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ*.

^b Suidas in *Καλλιμαχος*. ^c Anonymus Vitæ Apollonii Rhodii Scriptor.

^d Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis. Livius, lib. 35. Appian. in Syriacis.

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 3.

^f Appianus in Syriacis.

^g Appianus, ibid. Polyb. Legat. 25. p. 820. Livius, lib. 37.

vised him to it. But Eumenes soon convinced them, by the reasons which he gave for the refusal, that he had much better considered the matter ; for he told them, that, if he married Antiochus's daughter, he should be obliged thereby to engage with him in his war against the Romans, which he saw he was at that time entering on ; and then, if the Romans were conquerors, as he had reason to think they would, he must partake of the misfortunes of the conquered, and be undone by it : and, on the other hand, if Antiochus should have the better, he should have no other advantage by it, but under the notion of being his son-in-law the easier to become his slave ; for, whenever he should gain the upper hand in the war, all Asia must truckle to him, and every prince therein become his homager : that much better terms were to be expected from the Romans, and that therefore he would stick to them ; and the event sufficiently proved the wisdom of his choice.

After these marriages were over, Antiochus hastened again into Lesser Asia, and came to Ephesus in the depth of winter.^h From thence, in the beginning of the spring, he marched against the Pisidians, who stood out against him. But he had not long been engaged in this war, ere he had the news of the death of Antiochus his eldest son.ⁱ This brought him back again to Ephesus, there to mourn for this loss ; and a great show of sorrow was there made by him on this account. But it was commonly said, that it was all show only ; that, in reality, he himself procured his son's death, and made him fall a sacrifice to his jealousy : for he was a prince of great hopes, and had given such proofs of his wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, that he became the idol of all that knew him.^k This, they say, made the old king jealous of him ; and therefore, on his last arrival at Ephesus, having sent him back into Syria, on pretence that he might here take care of the eastern provinces, caused poison to be there given him by some of the eunuchs of the court, and so did rid himself of him. But scarce any prince hath died an untimely death, whose life was desirable, but suspicions have been raised, and rumours spread about of poison, or some other violence, for the cause of it ; and perchance such a bare suspicion was all that was in this case.

As soon as the solemnity of this mourning was somewhat over, and Antiochus began again to betake himself to business, great consultation was had between him and those of his council about his passing into Greece, and there beginning the war

An. 192.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 13.

^h Livius, lib. 35.
^k Livius, lib. 35.

ⁱ Livius, *ibid.* Appianus in Syriacis

which he had resolved on with the Romans.¹ Hannibal, who was for making Italy, and not Greece, the seat of the war, was not called to any of these councils: for, being then under suspicion with Antiochus, he had no more of his confidence. This was effected by the craft of Publius Vilius, who thereby overreached the craftiest and the most cautious of men: for this Villius, being ambassador from the Romans to Antiochus, took all opportunities to converse with Hannibal.^m This had the effect he intended. which was to bring him into suspicion with Antiochus; and hereon his counsel being no more regarded, Greece was made the seat of the war, and not Italy, as he advised. This saved Italy from having Hannibal again with another war in its bowels, which might have been as dangerous to the Roman state as when he was there in the former war.

But that which pinned down his resolution for the beginning of the war in Greece, was an embassy from the Ætolians to invite him thither. The Ætolians, from being late confederates of the Romans, being now, on some disgust, become their enemies, sent this embassy to Antiochus, to draw him into Greece against them; not only promising him the assistance of all their forces, but also giving him assurances, that he might depend on the joining of Philip king of Macedonia, Nabis, king of Lacedemonia, and other of the Grecian principalities and states with him; who having conceived, as they told him, great enmity against the Romans, waited only his coming to declare against them.ⁿ Thoas, who was at the head of this embassy, pressed all this upon him with great earnestness, telling him, that the Romans, being got home with their army, had left Greece empty; that now was the time for him to take possession of it; that, if he laid hold of this opportunity, he would find all things, as it were, prepared for the putting of the whole country into his hands; and that he had nothing more to do, but to come over thither, to make himself master of it. Which representation prevailed so far with him. that he immediately passed over into Greece, and thereby rashly precipitated himself into a war with the Romans, without duly concerting the measures proper for such an undertaking, or carrying a sufficient number of men with him to support it. For he left Lampsacus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities in Asia, behind him unredressed; and his forces that were coming to him from Syria and the

¹ Livius, *ibid.* Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31, c. 4.

^m Julii Frontini *Stratagem.* lib. 1, c. 8. Livius, lib. 34, 35. Justin & Appianus, *ibid.*

ⁿ Justin. lib. 30, c. 4, & lib. 32, c. 1. Appianus in Syriacis. Polybius, lib. 3, p. 159. Livius, lib. 36.

eastern countries having not yet reached him, he passed over, with no more than ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, which were scarce enough to take possession of the country, were it wholly naked, and he to have no war with the Romans in it. With these forces he arrived in the island of Eubœa about the end of the summer, and from thence passed to Demetrias, a town in Thessaly, where he called all his officers and chief commanders of his army together, to consult with them about the future operations of the war : and Hannibal, being again restored to the king's favour and confidence, had his place among them : and being asked his opinion, in the first place, he insisted on what he had often declared, that the Romans were not to be overcome but in Italy ; and that therefore it had been his constant advice to begin the war there. But, since other measures had been taken, and the king was then in Greece, there to begin the war, his advice in the present state of affairs was, that the king should immediately send for all his other forces out of Asia, without depending any longer either on the Ætolians or other Grecian confederates, who, he foresaw, would deceive him ; and that, as soon as they were arrived, he should march with them towards those coasts of Greece that were over against Italy, and there have his fleet with him, on the same coasts ; one half of which, he advised, should be employed to ravage and alarm the coasts of Italy, and the other half kept in some port near him, to make a show of his passing over, and accordingly to be ready to pass over for the taking of all such advantages as occasions might offer. This, he said, would keep the Romans at home to defend their own coasts, and would be the properest method which could then be taken of carrying the war into Italy, where alone (he persisted) the Romans could be conquered.* And this was the best which could then be given Antiochus. But he followed it only in that particular which related to the fetching over his force out of Asia : for he immediately sent to Polyxenidas, his admiral, to transport them into Greece. But as to all other particulars, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from hearkening to them. They blew him up into a conceit, that victory was certain on his side ; that, if he made his way to it by the methods which Hannibal had advised, then he, as the adviser and director, would have the glory of it, which the king ought to reserve wholly to himself ; and therefore they advised him to follow his own counsels, without hearkening any more to that Carthaginian. After this the king went to Lamia ; and there being invested with the chief command of

* Livius, lib. 36. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31, c. 5, 6.

the Ætolians, and having received thereon the applause and acclamations of that people, he returned to Eubœa, and, having made himself master of Chalcis in that island, there took up his winter quarters for the ensuing winter.^p In the interim Eumenes, king of Pergamus, sent Attalus his brother to Rome, to acquaint the senate of Antiochus's passage into Greece; whereon they immediately prepared for the war, and sent Acilius Glabrio, their consul, into Greece, with an army for the managing of it.

Antiochus, while he lay in his winter quarters, fell in love with the daughter of his host, in whose house he lodged; and, although now past fifty, was so desperately enamoured of this young girl, who was under twenty, that nothing could satisfy him, but he must marry her: and thereon he spent the remaining part of the winter in nuptial feasting and in love dalliances with his new bride, instead of making those preparations which were necessary for the carrying on of that dangerous war he was then engaged in;^q which created a great loose and thorough relaxation of discipline in all else about him, till at length he was roused up by the news, that Acilius the Roman consul was on a full march into Thessaly against him.^r All that he could do, on this alarm,^r was to seize the straits of Thermopylæ, and send to the Ætolians for more forces; for Polyxenidas having not been able to transport his Asian forces, by reason of contrary winds and ill weather, he had no other forces then with him but those whom he first brought over. But, before any of the Ætolians could come to him, Cato,^r one of the Roman generals then with the consul, having with a strong detachment gotten over the mountains, by the same path in which Xerxes, and after him Brenus, had formerly forced a passage over them, his men, seeing themselves hereby ready to be encompassed, threw down their arms and fled; whereon, being pursued by the Romans, they were all cut in pieces, excepting only five hundred, with whom Antiochus made his escape to Chalcis. On his arrival thither, he made all the haste he could from thence to his fleet, and, having gotten on board it with this poor remainder of his forces, passed over to Ephesus, carrying with him his new married wife; and there thinking himself safe from the Romans, neglected every thing that might make him so, and again relapsed into his former dotage on that woman, indulging himself in it to a

^p Livius, lib. 35,

^q Livius, lib. 36. Appianus in Syriacis. Athenæus, lib. 10, c. 12. Excerpta Valesii, p. 197, 609. Plutarchus in Philopœmene.

^r Plutarch. in M. Catone. Appianus in Syriacis. Livius, lib. 36. Athenæus, lib. 10, c. 12. Frontin. Stratagem, lib. 2, c. 4. Tullius de Senectute.

total neglect of all his affairs, till at length Hannibal roused him out of it, by laying before him his danger, and representing to him what was necessary for him forthwith to do, for the securing of himself from it.^r Hereon he sent to hasten the march of those forces from the eastern provinces which were not yet arrived; and, having fitted out his fleet, sailed with it to the Thracian Chersonesus; and, having there reinforced Lysimachia, and further fortified and strengthened Sestus and Abydus, and all other places thereabout, for the hindering of the Romans from passing the Hellespont into Asia, he returned again to Ephesus, where, in a grand council, it being resolved to try their fortune by sea, Polyxenidas, Antiochus's admiral, was ordered out with the fleet to fight C. Livius, the Roman admiral, then newly come into the Ægean Sea.^t Near mount Corycus, in Ionia, both fleets meeting, a sharp fight ensued between them, wherein Polyxenidas being beaten, with the loss of ten ships sunk and thirteen taken, was forced to retire with the remainder to Ephesus; and the Romans, putting in at Canæ, a port in Æolis, did there set up their fleet for the ensuing winter, fortifying the place where they drew it to land with a ditch and rampart.

In the interim Antiochus was at Magnesia, busying himself in drawing together his land army. On his hearing of this defeat of his fleet at Corycus, he hastened to the sea-coasts, and applied himself with his utmost care to repair the loss, and set out a new fleet that might keep the mastery of those seas. In order whereto, he refitted those ships that had escaped from the late defeat, added others to them, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to bring from thence the Syrian and Phœnician fleets for their reinforcement; and then having ordered Seleucus his son, with one part of the army, into Æolis, to watch the Roman fleet, and keep all there in subjection to him, he with the rest took up his quarters in Phrygia for the ensuing winter.^u

The next year the Romans sent Lucius Scipio, their consul, and Scipio Africanus, his brother, as his lieutenant, to carry on the war against Antiochus by land, in the place of Acilius Glabrio, and L. Emilius Rhegellus to command their fleet at sea, in the place of C. Livius.^x

In the beginning of the year, Polyxenidas, Antiochus's admiral, having by a stratagem overreached Pausistratus,

^r Plutarch. in M. Catone. Appianus in Syriacis. Livius, lib. 36. Athenæus, lib. 10, c. 12. Frontin. Stratagem, lib. 2, c. 4. Tullius de Senectute.
^s Appianus in Syriacis. Livius, lib. 36. ^t Livius & Appianus, *ibid*.

^u Livius, lib. 36, 37. Appianus in Syriacis

^x Livius, lib. 37. Appianus in Syriacis.

who commanded the Rhodian fleet that was sent to the assistance of the Romans, surprised him in the port of Samos, and there destroyed twenty-nine of his ships, and him with them.^y But the Rhodians, instead of being discouraged by this loss, were enraged for the revenging of it; and immediately sent out another fleet more powerful than the former; with which, in conjunction with Emilius the Roman admiral, they sailed to Elea, and there relieved Eumenes king of Pergamus, when almost swallowed up by Antiochus;^z and afterward, being sent to meet Hannibal, on his coming with the Syrian and Phœnician fleet to the king, they alone encountered him on the coasts of Pamphylia, and, by the goodness of their ships, and the skilfulness of their mariners, overthrew that great warrior, and, having driven him into port, there pent him up, so that he could stir no further for the assistance of the king.^a

Antiochus hearing of this defeat, and, at the same time, having received an account that the Roman consul was with a great army on his full march through Macedonia, in order to pass the Hellespont into Asia, he could think of no better course for the hindering of his passage, and the keeping of the war out of Asia, than to recover again the mastery of the seas, which he had in a great measure lost by the two late defeats; for then he might have his fleets at leisure, and in full power, to cut off all possibility of passing an army into Asia, either by the Hellespont or any other way.^b And therefore, resolving to attempt this at the hazard of another battle, he came to Ephesus, where his fleet lay, and having there, on a review, put it into the best posture he was able, and furnished his marines with all things necessary for another encounter, he sent them forth under the command of Polyxenidas his admiral to fight the enemy. And they having met Emilius, with the Roman fleet, near Myonnesus, a maritime town in Ionia, they there fell upon him, but with no better success than in the former engagements; for Emilius having gained an entire victory, Polyxenidas was forced to flee back again to Ephesus, with the loss of twenty-nine of his ships sunk, and thirteen taken.^c This did put Antiochus into such a consternation, that, being frightened as it were out of his wits, he very absurdly sent to recall all his forces out of Lysimachia, and the other towns on the Hellespont, for fear lest they should fall into the enemy's hands, who were ap-

^y Livius & Appianus, *ibid.*

^z Elea was the sea-port to Pergamus, and but at a short distance from it.

^a Livius, lib. 37. Appian. in Syriacis. Corn. Nepos in Hannibale.

^b Polyb. Legat. 22, p. 812. Livius, lib. 37.

^c Livius, *ibid.* Appianus in Syriacis.

proaching those parts to pass into Asia; whereas the only way left him to have hindered that passage was to have continued them there. But he did not only thus absurdly withdraw them from thence, when he most needed them there, but did it with such precipitation, that he left all the provisions which he had laid up there for the war behind him; so that, when the Romans came thither, they found all necessaries for their army in such plenty stored up in those places, as if they had been of purpose provided for them, and the passage of the Hellespont left so free to them, that they transported their army over it without any opposition, where only, with the best advantage, opposition could have been made against them. When Antiochus heard of the Romans being in Asia, he began to grow diffident of his cause, and would gladly have got rid of the war with them, which he had so rashly run himself into; and therefore sent ambassadors to the two Scipios to desire peace; and, to make his way the easier to it, he restored to Scipio Africanus his son, (who had been taken prisoner in this war,) without ransom.^d But, notwithstanding this, being able on no other terms to obtain peace, than on the quitting of all Asia on this side Mount Taurus, and paying the Romans all the expenses of the war, he thought he could suffer nothing by the war more grievous than such a peace, and therefore prepared to decide the matter by battle; and the Romans did the same.^e Antiochus's army, according to Livy, consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty-four elephants; whereas all the Roman forces amounted to no more than thirty thousand. Both armies met near Magnesia, under mount Sipilus; and there it came to a decisive stroke between them; in which Antiochus receiving a total overthrow, lost fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, slain upon the field of battle, fourteen hundred more taken prisoners; and he himself difficultly escaped to Sardis, gathering up in his way such of his forces as survived this terrible slaughter. From Sardis he passed to Celænæ in Phrygia, where he heard his son Seleucus had escaped from the battle; and, having there joined him, made all the haste he could over Mount Taurus into Syria. Hannibal and Scipio Africanus were both absent from this battle, the former being with the Syrian fleet pent up in Pamphylia by the Rhodians, and the other detained by sickness at Elea. As soon as Antiochus was arrived at Antioch, he sent from thence Antipater his brother's son, and Zeuxis, who had been

^d Polyb. Legat. 23, p. 813. Appianus in Syriacis Justin. lib. 31, c. 7. Livius, lib. 37.

^e Livius & Appian. *ibid*.

governor of Lydia and Phrygia under him, to desire peace of the Romans.^f They found the consul at Sardis ; and there Scipio Africanus, who was now recovered from his sickness, being come, they first applied themselves to him, and he introduced them to the consul his brother ; whereon a council being held on the subject of their embassy, after a full consultation therein had about it, the ambassadors were called in, and Scipio Africanus, delivering the sense of the council, told them, that as the Romans used not to sink low when vanquished, so neither would they carry themselves too high when conquerors ; and that therefore they would require no other terms of peace after the battle, than those which were demanded before it, that is, that Antiochus should pay the whole expenses of the war, and quit all Asia on that side Mount Taurus ; which being then accepted of, and the expenses of the war estimated at fifteen thousand talents^g of Eubœa, it

f Polyb. Legat. 24, p. 818. Livius, lib. 37. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31, c. 8. Diodor. Sic. Legat. 9. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

g Herodotus, lib. 3, speaking of a Babylonian talent, saith, that it contained seventy Euboic minæ. Ælian, speaking of the same Babylonian talent, (Hist. Var. lib. 1, c. 22,) saith, it contained seventy-two Attic minæ: from hence it follows, that seventy-two Attic minæ are equal to seventy Euboic minæ: and sixty of each making a talent, this shows the difference that is between an Euboic talent and an Attic. But there were two other sorts of Euboic talents, or authors give us disagreeing accounts concerning it. Festus saith, "Euboicum talentum nummo Græco septum millium, nostro quatuor millium denariorum (in voce Euboicum,)" i. e. an Euboic talent consists in Greek money of seven thousand drachms, and in our Latin money of four thousand Roman pennies. But here is a manifest error in the copy, as all agree, instead of four thousand, it ought to be seven thousand Roman pennies: for, according to Festus, a drachm and a Roman penny were equal. For, in the word *talentum*, he saith, that an Attic talent (which consisted of six thousand drachms) contained six thousand Roman pennies. According to Festus, therefore, a Roman penny and an Attic drachm were equal; and seven thousand of these made Festus's Euboic talent. But the Euboic talent, by which Antiochus was to pay this sum of fifteen thousand talents to the Romans, was much higher. For Polybius tells us, (Legat. 24, p. 817,) and so also doth Livy, (lib. 37, 38,) that they were to contain each eighty libræ or Roman pounds. But every libræ, or Roman pound, containing ninety-six Roman pennies, eighty of those libræ must contain seven thousand six hundred and eighty Roman pennies, i. e. two hundred and forty pounds sterling. But here it is to be observed, that, in the treaty of this peace made with Antiochus, there is a difference between Polybius and Livy in the copies which they give us of it. For, although Livy, as well as Polybius, doth, in the protocol of the treaty, (lib. 37,) say, that the fifteen thousand talents to be paid the Romans were to be Euboic talents; yet Livy in the treaty itself, saith, they were to be Attic talents. But here Livy, writing from Polybius, is mistaken in the version he made of this treaty from the Greek copy of it, which he found in him. For, whereas in Polybius the words are, that the money to be paid the Romans, should be *Ἀργύριον Ἀττικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς*, Livy, mistaking the meaning of the Greek phrase, rendered it of Attic talents; whereas, what is there said, is meant only of the Attic standard. For, as the Euboic talent was of the greatest weight, so the Attic money was of the finest silver of any in Greece; and by the treaty, the money was to be paid according to both; that is, the Romans having conquered Antiochus, not only obliged him to pay this vast sum for this peace, but also made him pay it in talents of the

was agreed that it should be paid in the manner following, that is to say, five hundred talents present, two thousand five hundred when the senate should ratify what was then agreed, and the rest in twelve years' time, at the rate of one thousand talents in each of those years. And L. Cotta was sent from the consul with the ambassadors to Rome, to acquaint the senate of the agreement, and there fully conclude and ratify the same. And, a little after, the five hundred talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, and hostages were given for the payment of the rest, and the performance of all other articles that were agreed on; among whom, one was Antiochus, one of the king's sons, who afterward reigned in Syria, by the name of Antiochus Epiphanes. Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Ætolian, who were the chief incentors of this war, were also demanded by the Romans to be delivered up unto them on the making of the peace. But as soon as they heard that a treaty was entered on, foreseeing what would be the result of it, they both took care to get out of the way before it came to a conclusion.

The next year, Cn. Manlius Vulso, who succeeded L. Scipio in the consulship, coming into Asia to succeed him in that province,^h Scipio delivered to him the army, and with Scipio Africanus his brother returned to Rome, where the peace which they made with Antiochus being ratified and confirmed, and all Asia on this side Mount Taurus delivered into the hands of the Romans, they restored the Grecian cities to their liberties, gratified the Rhodians with the provinces of Caria and Lycia, and gave all the rest of it, that had before belonged to Antiochus, to Eumenes king of Pergamus.ⁱ For Eumenes and the Rhodians having been their confederates through this whole war, and much assisted them in it, they had these countries given them for the reward of their service.

Manlius, after the time of his consulship was out, being continued still in the same province, as proconsul, he there waged war against the Gauls who had planted themselves in Asia; and, having subdued them in several battles, and reduced them to live orderly within the limits assigned them, he thereby delivered all that country from the terror of those barbarous people, who lived mostly hitherto by harassing and plundering their neighbours;^k and

highest weight, and in silver of the best and finest standard in all Greece. So that, the Romans might in this case say the same to him, as formerly Brennus did to them: *Væ victis*, i. e. Wo be to the conquered.

^h Livius, lib. 37. Appian. in Syriacis.

ⁱ Livius, lib. 37, 38. Polyb. Legat. p. 818, 819, 845. Diodorus Sic. Legat. 10. Appian. *ibid*.

^k Livius, lib. 38

An. 189.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 16.

An. 188.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 17.

so quieted all things in those parts, that thenceforth the empire of the Romans became thoroughly settled in all that country, as far as the river Halys on the one side, and Mount Taurus on the other; and the Syrian kings became thenceforth utterly excluded from having any thing more to do in all the Lesser Asia. Whereon Antiochus is said to have expressed himself: That he was much beholden to the Romans, in that they had thereby eased him of the great care and trouble which the governing of so large a country must have cost him.¹

Antiochus being at great difficulties how to raise the money which he was to pay the Romans, he marched into the eastern provinces, to gather the tribute of those countries to enable him to it, leaving his son Seleucus (whom he had declared his successor) to govern in Syria during his absence.^m On his coming into the province of Elymais, hearing that there was a great treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus in that country, he seized the temple by night, and spoiled it of the riches that were laid up in it; whereon the people of the country rising upon him for the revenging of this sacrilege, slew him and all that were with him. So Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Strabo, and Jerome, relate the manner of his death; but Aurelius Victor tells us,ⁿ that he was slain by some of his own followers, whom he beat in a drunken fit while at one of his carousals.

He was a prince of a laudable character for humanity, clemency, and beneficence, and of great justice in the administration of his government; and, till the fiftieth year of his life, managed all his affairs with that valour, prudence, and application, as made him to prosper in all his undertakings; which deservedly gained him the title of *the Great*. But after that age, declining in the wisdom of his conduct, as well as in the vigour of his application, every thing that he did afterward lessened him as fast as all his actions had aggrandized him before, till at length, being vanquished by the Romans, he was driven out of the best part of his dominions, and forced to submit to very hard and disgraceful terms of peace; and at last, ending his life in a very ill and impious attempt, he went out in a stink like the snuff of a candle.

The prophecies of Daniel (xi. 10—19,) refer to the actions of this king, and were all fulfilled by them. What we find foretold in the tenth verse, was exactly accomplished in the war which Antiochus made upon Ptolemy Philopater, for the

¹ Cicero pro Deiotaro Rege. Val. Maximus, lib. 4, c. 1.
^m in Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 292, 298. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis. Justin. lib. 32, c. 2. Strabo, lib. 26, p. 744.
ⁿ De Viris Illustribus, c. 54.

conquering of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, as it is above related, annis 221, 220, 219, and 218. In the eleventh and twelfth verses are foretold the expedition which Philopater made into Palestine against Antiochus, A. D. 217, and the victory which he then got over him at Raphia. For there, *the great multitude*, that is, the great army which Antiochus brought thither against him, *was given into his hands*; and Ptolemy *did cast down*, that is, slew, *many thousands of them*, and dissipated and put to flight all the rest; and yet, the same prophecy tells us, that, notwithstanding all this, *he should be strengthened by it*; and so it happened. For Ptolemy, being wholly given up to luxury, sloth, and voluptuousness, made haste back again into Egypt, there to enjoy his fill of them after this victory, without taking the advantages which it gave him. By which ill conduct he stirred up some of his people to sedition and rebellion, and weakened himself in the affection and esteem of all the rest, as is above related under the years 216 and 215. What follows, to the end of the seventeenth verse, foretells the renewal of that war by Antiochus *after certain years*; that is, A. D. 203, fourteen years after the ending of the former war; when, on the death of Philopater, and the succeeding of his infant son Ptolemy Epiphanes in his stead, Antiochus, *king of the North*, returned and came again into Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, for the recovering of those provinces, bringing with him *a greater multitude than in the former war*, that is, that great army which he brought with him out of the East on his late return from thence. What is said in the fourteenth verse, that *in those times* (that is, in the first years of the reign of Epiphanes the king of the South) *many should stand up against him*, was fully verified by the leaguings of the kings of Macedonia and Syria together against him, to seize all his dominions, and divide them between them; by the sedition of Agathocles, Agathoclea, and Tlepolemus, to invade his royal power, and by the conspiracy of Scopas utterly to extinguish it, and seize the kingdom for himself; all which are above related to have happened in these times. And the same prophecy tells us, that in those same times *many violators of the law among the people of the prophet*, that is, the Jews apostatizing from the law, should *exalt themselves*, that is, under the favour of the king of the South; for the pleasing of whom, they should forsake their God and their holy religion; but that *they should fall* and be cut off, i. e. by Antiochus; and so it came to pass; for Antiochus, having, A. D. 198, made himself master of Judea and Jerusalem, did cut off or drive from thence all those of Ptolemy's party who had thus far given themselves up to him, but showed particular favour to those Jews, who, persevering in the observance of their law, would not comply

with any proposals of the king of Egypt to apostatize from it. In the fifteenth verse, the holy prophet foreshows the victory, by which Antiochus, *the king of the North*, should make himself again master of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, that is, how he should *come again into those provinces, and cast up mounts against the most fenced cities in them, and take them*; and this he did in the year 198. For having then vanquished the king of Egypt's army at Paneas, he besieged and took, first Sidon, and next Gaza, and then all the other cities of those provinces; and made himself thorough master of the whole country. For although the king of Egypt sent an army against him of *his chosen people*, that is, of his choicest troops, and under the command of his best generals, yet they could not prevail, or *have any strength to withstand him*, but were vanquished and repulsed by them; so that, as the prophet proceeds to tell us, (ver. 16,) *he did according to his will in all Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, and none could there stand before him*. And, on the subjecting of these provinces to him, the same prophetic text goes on to tell us, *That he should stand in the glorious land, and that it should be consumed by his hand*; and so accordingly it came to pass. For, on his subduing Palestine, he entered into Judea, *the glorious land*; which was a part of Palestine, and there established his authority, and made it there firmly to *stand*, after he had expelled out of the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had left there. But, that garrison having made such resistance, that Antiochus was forced to go thither with all his army to reduce it; and the siege continuing some time, it happened hereby, that the country was eaten up and consumed by the foraging of the soldiers; and Jerusalem suffered such damage during the siege of the castle, both from the besieged and the besiegers, that it was nearly ruined by it; which fully appears from the decree which Antiochus afterward granted the Jews for repairing of their demolished city, and the restoring of it from the ruinous condition into which it was then reduced. This decree was directed to Ptolemy, one of Antiochus's lieutenants, and who then seems to have been his governor in that province; and it is still extant in Josephus.^o In ver. 17, is foretold, how that when Antiochus was ready to have entered Egypt, *with the strength of his whole kingdom, he made an agreement with Ptolemy to give him his daughter in marriage, corrupting her*, that is, with ill principles, to betray her husband to him, and thereby make him master of Egypt. For Jerome tells us,^p this match was made with this fraudulent design. But, *she did not stand on his side, neither was for him*, but, when married

^o Antiq. lib. 12, c. 3.

^p In Comment. ad cap. xi. Danielis.

to king Ptolemy, forsook the interest of her father, and wholly embraced that of her husband; and therefore we find her joining with him in an embassy to the Romans, for the congratulating of their victory, gained by Acilius at the straits of Thermopylæ over her own father.^q The 18th verse tells us of Antiochus's *turning of his face unto the isles, and his taking of many of them*; and so accordingly it was done. For, after having finished the war in Cælo-Syria and Palestine, A. D. 197, he sent two of his sons with his army by land to Sardis, and he himself, with a great fleet, at the same time sailed into the Ægean Sea, and there took in many of the islands in it, and extended his power and dominion much in those parts, till at length *the prince of the people to whom he had offered reproach* by that invasion, that is, Lucius Scipio the Roman consul, *made the reproach turn upon him*, by overthrowing him in the battle at Mount Sipylus, and driving him out of all Lesser Asia. This forced him, according to what is foretold, (ver. 19,) *to return to the fort of his own land*, that is, to Antioch, the chief seat and fortress of his kingdom. From whence, going into the eastern provinces to gather money to pay the Romans, *he stumbled and fell, and was no more found*, as the sacred text expresseth it; that is, on his attempting to rob the temple in Elymais, he failed in his design, and was cut off and slain in it; so that he returned not into Syria, or was any more found there.

In the year that Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, bore unto Ptolemy Epiphanes her husband a son, who reigned after him in Egypt by the name of Ptolemy Philometor.^r Hereon all the great men and prime nobility of Cælo-Syria and Palestine hastened to Alexandria, to congratulate the king and queen, and make them those presents which were usual on such an occasion.^s But Joseph, (who, on the restoration of those provinces to the king of Egypt, was again restored to his office of collecting the king's revenues in them) being too old to take on him such a journey himself, sent Hyrcanus his son to make his compliment in his stead.^t This Hyrcanus was the youngest of his sons, but, being of the quickest parts and best understanding of them all, was best

q Livius, lib. 37.

r He was six years old when his father died; and therefore must have been born this year.

s Joseph. lib. 12, c. 4.

t For supposing Joseph to have been thirty years old, when he first went to the court of king Ptolemy Euergetes, and older he could not then be according to Josephus; for he saith he was then *νεος ετι την ηλικιαν*, i. e. as yet a young man, he would now have been sixty-nine. This also proves that it could not be earlier that Hyrcanus was sent on this embassy; for then Joseph would not have been past the age of going himself; and all things else prove it could not be later.

qualified for this employment. The history of his birth is very remarkable ; it is told at large by Josephus in the twelfth book of his Antiquities, in manner as followeth :^u

Joseph, in the time of the former Ptolemy, father of Epiphanes, going to Alexandria on his occasions, (as he frequently had such there, while collector of the king's revenues in Cælo-Syria and Palestine,) Solymius his brother accompanied him in the journey, and carried with him a daughter of his, with intent, on his coming to Alexandria, to marry her to some Jew of that place whom he should find of quality suitable for her. Joseph, on his arrival at Alexandria, going to court, and there supping with the king, fell desperately in love with a young beautiful damsel whom he saw dancing before the king, and not being able to master his inordinate passion, he communicated it to his brother, and desired him, if possible, to procure for him the enjoyment of this young woman, and in as secret a manner as he could, because of the sin and shame that would attend such an act ; which Solymius undertaking, put his own daughter to bed to him. Joseph having drunk well over night, perceived not that it was his niece ; and, having in the same secret manner, accompanied with her several times without discovering the deceit, and being every time more and more enamoured with her, still supposing her to be the dancer, he at length made his moan to his brother, lamenting that his love had taken such deep root in his heart ; that, he fearing he should never be able to get it out, and that his grief was, that the Jewish law would not permit him to marry her, she being an *alien* ;^x and, if it would, the king would never grant her unto him.^y Hereon, his brother discovered to him the whole matter, telling him, that he might take to wife the woman with whom he had so often accompanied, and was so much enamoured of, and lawfully enjoy her as much as he pleased ; for she whom he had put to bed to him was his own daughter ; that, he had chosen rather to do this wrong to his own child, than suffer him to do so shameful and sinful a thing, as to join himself to a strange woman, which their law wholly forbade. Joseph, being much surprised at this discovery, and as much affected with his brother's kindness to him, expressed himself with all the thankfulness which so great an obligation deserved, and forthwith took the young woman to wife ; and of her the next year after was born Hyrcanus. For, according to the

^u Cap. 4.

^x Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3. 1 Kings xi. 2. Ezra ix. 10. Neh. x. 30 ; xiii. 26.

^y Perchance this dancer was that Agathoclea which that king, that is, Ptolemy Philopater, so much doted upon.

Jewish law, an uncle might marry his niece, though an aunt could not her nephew ;^z for which the Jewish writers give this reason, that the aunt being, in respect of the nephew, in the same degree with the father or mother in the line of descent, hath naturally a superiority above him ; and therefore, for him to make her his wife, and thereby bring her down to be in a degree below him (as all wives are in respect of their husbands,) would be to disturb and invert the order of nature : but, that there is no such thing done where the uncle marries the niece ; for, in this case, both keep the same degree and order which they were in before, without any mutation in it.

Joseph had by another wife seven other sons, all elder than Hyrcanus, to each of which he offered this commission of going from him to the Egyptian court, on the occasion mentioned : but they having all refused, Hyrcanus undertook it, though he was then a very young man, not being above twenty, if so much. And, having persuaded his father not to send his presents from Judea, but to enable him, on his arrival at Alexandria, to buy there such curiosities for the king and queen, as when on the spot he should find would be most acceptable to them, he obtained from him letters of credit to Arion his agent at Alexandria, by whose hands he returned the king's taxes into his treasury, to furnish him with money for this purpose, without limiting the sum, reckoning that about ten talents would be the most he would need. But Hyrcanus, on his arrival at Alexandria, taking the advantage of his father's unlimited order, instead of ten talents demanded one thousand ; and having forced Arion (who had then three thousand talents of Joseph's money in his hands) to pay him that whole sum, which amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds sterling, he bought one hundred beautiful boys for the king, and one hundred beautiful young maids for the queen, at the price of a talent a head : and when he presented them, they carried each a talent in their hands, the boys for the king, and the young maids for the queen ; so that this article alone cost him four hundred talents. Some part of the rest he expended in valuable gifts to the courtiers and great officers about the king, keeping the remainder to his own use. By which means having procured in an high degree the favour of the king and queen, and their whole court, he returned with a commission to be collector of the king's revenues in all the country beyond Jordan. For having thus overreached his father, he made all the interest which Joseph formerly had in the Egyptian

^z Levit. xviii, 12, 13 ; xx, 12.

court, to devolve from him upon himself, and got into his hands also the best of his estate ; which exceedingly angering his brothers, who were before ill-affected towards him, they conspired to waylay him, and cut him off as he returned, having their father's connivance, if not his consent, for the same ; so much was he angered against him by what he had done in Egypt. But Hyrcanus coming well attended with soldiers to assist him in the execution of his office, got the better of them in the assault which they made upon him ; and two of his brothers were left dead upon the spot ; but, on his coming to Jerusalem, finding his father exceedingly exasperated against him, both for his conduct in Egypt, and the death of his brothers on his return, and that for this reason no one there would own him, he passed over Jordan, and there entered on his office of collecting the king's revenues in those parts. A little after this Joseph died, and thereon a war commenced between Hyrcanus and the surviving brothers about their father's estate ; which for some time disturbed the peace of the Jews at Jerusalem. But the high-priest and the generality taking part with the brothers, he was forced again to retreat over Jordan, where he built a very strong castle which he called Tyre ; from whence he made war upon the neighbouring Arabs, infesting them with incursions and depredations for seven years together. This was while Seleucus Philopater, the son of Antiochus the Great, reigned in Syria. But, when Antiochus Epiphanes succeeded Seleucus, and had instated himself in Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, as well as in the other provinces of the Syrian empire, Hyrcanus being threatened by him with his wrath for his conduct in this and other matters, for fear of him fell on his own sword and slew himself. Some time before his death, he seems to have recovered the favour of Onias the high-priest, and to have had him wholly in his interest : for he took his treasure into his charge, and laid it up in the treasury of the temple, there to secure it for him ;^a and, in his answer to Heliodorus, he saith of him, that he was a man of great dignity.^a And Onias's favouring him thus far, might perchance be the true cause of that breach,^c which happened between him and Simon the governor of the temple ; who, upon good reason, is supposed to have been the eldest of the brothers of Hyrcanus, and the head of the family of the Tobiadæ (or the sons of Tobias.)^d And, it is most likely, this provoked him to lay that design of betraying the treasury of the temple into the hands of the king of Syria, which we

^a 2 Maccab. iii. 11.

^c 2 Maccab. iii. 4, 5, &c.

^d This Tobias was the father of Joseph, and grandfather of Hyrcanus.

shall by and by speak of, that so Hyrcanus might lose what he had deposited in it.

After the death of Antiochus the Great, Seleucus Philopater, his eldest son, whom he left at Antioch on his departure thence into the East, succeeded him in the kingdom, but made a very poor figure in it, by reason of the low state which the Romans had reduced the Syrian empire to, and the heavy tribute of one thousand talents a year, which, through the whole time of his reign, he was obliged to pay them, by the treaty of peace lately granted by them to his father.^e

An. 186.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 19.

Ptolemy had hitherto managed his government with approbation and applause, being till now directed in all things by the counsel and advice of Aristomenes his chief minister, who was a father unto him.^f But at length the flatteries of his courtiers prevailing over the wise counsels of this able minister, he began to deviate into all the vicious and evil courses of his father: and, not being able to bear the freedom with which Aristomenes frequently advised him to a better conduct, he made him away by a cup of poison, and then gave himself up with a full swing into all manner of vicious pleasures; and this led him into as great miscarriages in the government; for thenceforth, instead of that clemency and justice with which he had hitherto governed the kingdom, he turned all into tyranny and cruelty, conducting himself in all things that he did, by nothing else but by corrupt will and arbitrary pleasure.

The Egyptians, not being able to bear the grievances which they suffered under this great mal-administration of their king, began to combine and make associations against him; and, being headed by many of the greatest power in the land, formed designs for the deposing of him from his throne, and had very nearly succeeded in it.^g

An. 185.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 20.

For the extricating himself out of these troubles, he made Polycrates his chief minister, who was a wise and valiant man, and long experienced in all the affairs both of war and peace;^h for he had been one of his father's generals in the battle of Raphia; and much of that victory which was there gained was owing unto him. After that he had been governor of Cyprus, and coming from thence to Alexandria, just upon the breaking out of the conspiracy of Scopas, he had a great hand in the suppressing of it.

An. 184.
Ptol. Epi-
phanes 21.

^e Appian. in Syriacis, "Qui de eo dicit, quod erat otiosus, nec admodum potens propter cladem quam pater acceperat."

^f Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 294. ^g Diodor. Sic. ibid.

^h Polybius, in Excerptis Valesii, p. 113.

By his means, Ptolemy having subdued the revolt-
 brought many of their leaders (who were of the chief
 nobility of his kingdom upon terms of accommoda-
 tion to submit to him; but, when he had gotten them
 into his power, he broke his faith with them. For, after
 having treated them with great cruelty, caused them all to
 be put to death; which base action involved him in new
 difficulties, but the wisdom of Polycrates extricated him out
 of all.^h

Agisipolis, who, on the death of Cleomenes, had been
 in his infancy declared king of Lacedemon, being slain by
 pirates in a voyage which he was making to Rome,ⁱ arch-
 bishop Usher thinks that Areus, a noble Lacedemonian,
 much spoken of in those times, had the title of king of Lace-
 demon, after him, and that from him was sent that letter to
 Onias the high-priest of the Jews,^k in which the Lacedemo-
 nians claimed kindred with the Jews, and desired friendship
 with them on this account. Josephus indeed saith,^l that this
 letter was written to Onias the son of Simon, who was the
 third of that name that was high-priest at Jerusalem; but it
 is hard in his time to find an Arcus king of Lacedemon. For
 archbishop Usher's conjecture will not do; that Areus, on
 whom he would fix the title of king of Lacedemon, for the
 fathering of this letter to Onias, is nowhere said to be so,
 neither is it any way likely that he ever had that title; for
 before his time both the royal families of the kings of Lace-
 demon had failed and become extinct; and the government
 there, which had for some time before been invaded by
 tyrants, was then turned into another form. And besides,
 Jonathan, in his letter to the Lacedemonians, (1 Maccab.
 xii. 10) wherein he makes mention of this letter of Areus,
 saith, *That there was a long time passed since it had been sent
 unto them*, which could not have been said by Jonathan in
 respect of the time in which Onias the third was high-priest;
 since, from the death of that Onias, to the time that Jonathan
 was made prince of the Jews, there had passed no more than
 twelve years. It is most likely Josephus mistook the Onias
 to whom this letter was directed, and ascribed that to Onias
 the third, which was done only in the time of Onias the
 first. For, while Onias, the first of that name, the son of
 Jaddua, was high-priest of the Jews, there was an Areus king
 of Lacedemon, and from him most likely it was, that this
 letter was written.^m But the greatest difficulty as to this let-

^h Polybius, in Excerptis Valesii, p. 113.

ⁱ Annales Veteris Testamenti, sub anno J. P. 4531.

^k 1 Maccab. xii. c. 5.

^l Lib. 12, c. 4.

^m Vide Scaligeri Animadversiones in Eusebii Chronicon, p. 139, & Cano-
 num Isagog. lib. 3, p. 340.

ter is to know on what foundation the Lacedemonians claimed kindred with the Jews. Areus saith in his letter, *That it was found in a certain writing, that the Lacedemonians and the Jews were brethren, and that they were both of the stock of Abraham.* But what this writing was, or how this pedigree mentioned in it was to be made out, is not said. No doubt, it was from some old fabulous story now lost; learned men having been offering several conjectures for the making out of this matter, but all so lame as not to be worth relating.

Ptolemy having suppressed his rebellious subjects at home, projected a war abroad against Seleucus king of Syria. But,^a as he was laying his designs for it, one An 180. Ptol. Philometor 1. of his chief commanders asked him, Where he would have money to carry it on? To this he answered, That his friends were his money; from whence many of the chief men about him inferring that he intended to take their money from them for the carrying on of this war; for the preventing of it, procured poison to be given him, which put an end to this project and his life together, after he had reigned twenty-four years, and lived twenty-nine.^a Ptolemy Philometor his son, an infant of six years old, succeeded him in the kingdom, under the guardianship of Cleopatra his mother.

Perseus, having succeeded his father Philip in the kingdom of Macedon, married Laodice the daughter of Seleucus king of Syria; and the Rhodians, with An 177. Ptol. Philometor 4. their whole fleet, conducted her from Syria into Macedon.^o In their way thither, they stopped at Delus, an island in the Ægean Sea, sacred to Apollo, where he had a temple erected to him, which, next to that at Delphos, was reckoned to be of the greatest note in all Greece. While the fleet lay there, Laodice having made many offerings to the temple, and given many gifts to the people of the place, they, in acknowledgment hereof there erected a statue to her, on the pedestal whereof was engraven this inscription: Ὁ Δημος τῶν Δηλίων Βασιλίσσαν Λαοδίκην Βασιλέως Σελεύκου, γυναῖκα Βασιλέως Περσέως, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν καὶ εὐνοίας πρὸς τὸν Δῆμον τῶν Δηλίων· that is, *The people of Delus erected this for queen Laodice, the daughter of king Seleucus, and the wife of king Perseus, because of her virtue and of her piety to the temple, and her beneficence to the people of Delus.* The marble whereon this inscription was engraven is still extant among the Arundel marbles at Oxford, from whence it was published by me among the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, Num. 142, p. 276.

^a Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

^o Polyb. Legat. 60, p. 882. Livius. lib. 42.

Simon, a Benjamite, being made governor and protector, of the temple at Jerusalem,^p (which office he seems to have had from the death of Joseph, and was most probably one of his sons,^q) differences arose between him and Onias the high-priest; and when he found that he could not prevail against Onias, he, with the rest of the sons of Tobias, fled from Jerusalem, and went to Apollonius, who was governor of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine for Seleucus king of Syria, and told him of great treasures which, he said, were laid up in the temple at Jerusalem; whereon Apollonius informing the king, Heliodorus his treasurer was sent to make seizure of it, and bring it to Antioch. How the hand of God appeared in a very miraculous manner against Heliodorus in this sacrilegious attempt, is at large related in the third chapter of the second book of Maccabees. However, Simon still carrying on his malice against Onias, and murders having been thereon committed by those of his faction, and Apollonius encouraging him herein, Onias went to Antioch to make complaint to the king of these violences; but he had not been there long ere the king died.^r

It hath been above related that when Antiochus the Great, the father of Seleucus, made peace with the Romans after the battle of Mount Sipylus, among other hostages which were then given for the observance of that peace, one was Antiochus the king's son, and younger brother to Seleucus. He having been now thirteen years at Rome,^s Seleucus had a desire to have him home; and therefore, for the redeeming of him, he sent Demetrius his only son, then about twelve years old, to be there in his stead by way of exchange for him. Whether he did this, as some moderns think,^t that his son might have the benefit of a Roman education, or that he might make use of Antiochus for the executing of some designs he might then have upon Egypt, during the minority of Philometor, as is conjectured by others,^u or for some other reason different from both, is not said in any authentic history of those times. While both the next heirs of the crown were thus absent (Demetrius being gone for Rome, and Antiochus not yet returned from thence,) Heliodorus the king's treasurer, the same that had been sent to rob the temple at Jerusalem, thinking this a fit opportunity for him to usurp the crown, were Seleucus out of the way, caused poison to be treacherously given him, of which he died.^x

It appears from the third and fourth chapters of the second

p 2 Maccab. iii. 4.

q Vide Grotium in Annotationibus ad tertio cap. 2. Libri Maccab. ver. 4.

r 2 Maccab. iv.

s Appian. in Syriacis.

t Sallianus sub Anni Mundi 3780.

u Vaillant in Hist. Regum Syriæ.

x Appian. in Syriacis.

Maccabees, and also from Josephus,^x that Seleucus had been in possession of Cœlo-Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea some time before his death. For Apollonius was governor of those provinces for him, and Heliodorus was sent to Jerusalem by his commission, when he would have there seized the treasure of the temple for his use; and Onias, when oppressed by Simon the Benjamite, and his faction, applied himself to Seleucus king of Syria, and not to Ptolemy king of Egypt, for redress of his grievances: all which plainly proves, that Seleucus was then in possession of the sovereignty of those provinces; but how he came by it is nowhere said in history. After the battle of Paneas, it is certain Antiochus the Great made himself master of all Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, and utterly excluded Ptolemy from the sovereignty, which, till then, the Egyptian kings had in those provinces. But when the same Antiochus married his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes, he agreed to restore them by way of dowry with her, reserving to himself one half of the revenues of those provinces. And if they were then restored to Ptolemy, the question ariseth herefrom. How then came Seleucus to be possessed of them? By what we find in Polybius,^z it may be inferred, that this agreement was never faithfully executed either by Antiochus, or by Seleucus his son; but that both of them held these provinces, notwithstanding that article of the marriage, whereby it was agreed to surrender them to the Egyptian king. For that author tells us,^z that from the time of the battle of Paneas, where Antiochus vanquished Scopas and the Egyptian army, all parts of the above-mentioned provinces were subject to the king of Syria. And he also tells us that Antiochus Epiphanes (who succeeded Seleucus,) in an answer which he gave to the ambassadors that came to him from Greece to compose the differences that were between him and Ptolemy Philometor, denied that Antiochus his father ever agreed to surrender Cœlo-Syria to Ptolemy Epiphanes on his marrying of his daughter to him;^a which may seem to infer, that Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, notwithstanding the said agreement, were still retained in the possession of the Syrian kings. But what Josephus^b saith of Hyrcanus's journey to congratulate king Ptolemy Epiphanes, and Cleopatra his queen, on the birth of Philometor their son, and the flocking of the nobles of Cœlo-Syria thither on the same account, is a clear proof of the contrary, that is, that Cœlo-Syria and Palestine were then in the possession of the Egyptian king, by what means soever it after-

y In Libro de Maccab. c. 4.

a Polyb. Legat. 82, p. 908.

z Legat. 72, p. 893.

b Antiq. lib. 12, c. 4

ward became that he was put out of it. It is most likely, that Seleucus, having just cause of war given him by the preparations that Ptolemy Epiphanes was making against him at the time of his death, took the advantage of the minority of Philometor his son, to prosecute this war against him which his father had begun, and therein seized these provinces;^c for it is certain, both from the Maccabees and from Josephus, that Seleucus was in possession of them at the time of his death.

The whole of this king's reign is expressed in Daniel xi. 20. For in that text it is foretold, that after Antiochus the Great, who is spoken of in the foregoing verses, *there should stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes.* And Seleucus was no more than such all his time; for the whole business of his reign was to raise the one thousand talents every year, which by the treaty of peace that his father made with the Romans, he was obliged for twelve years together, annually to pay that people; and the last of those twelve years was the last of his life. For, as the text saith, *That within a few years after he should be destroyed, and that neither in anger, nor in battle;*^d so accordingly it happened. For he reigned only eleven years, and his death was neither in battle nor in anger, that is, neither in war abroad, nor in sedition rebellion at home or but by the secret treachery of one of his own friends. His successor was Antiochus Epiphanes his brother, of whom we shall treat in the next book.

^c He was but six years old at the time of his father's death.

^d The Hebrew word *Yamim*, which in the English Bible is rendered days, signifieth also years, and is put as often for one as the other.

THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK III.

ON the death of Seleucus Philopater,^a Heliodorus, who had been the treacherous author of his death, endeavoured to seize the crown of Syria.^a Antiochus the brother of Seleucus was then on his return from Rome. While at Athens in his journey, he there heard of the death of his brother, and the attempt of Heliodorus to usurp the throne; and finding that the usurper had a great party with him to support him in his pretensions, and that there was another party also forming for Ptolemy,^c (who made some claim to the succession in right of his mother, she being sister to the deceased king,) and that both of them were agreed *not to give unto him the honour of the kingdom*, as the holy prophet Daniel foretold,^d he applied himself to Eumenes king of Pergamus,^a and Attalus his brother, and by *flattering speeches*, and great promises of friendship, prevailed with them to help him against Heliodorus.^d And by their means that usurper being suppressed, he was quietly placed on the throne, and all submitted to him,^e and permitted him, without any further opposition, peaceably to obtain the kingdom, as had been predicted of him in the same prophecy. Eumenes and Attalus, at this time having some suspicions of the Romans, were desirous of having the king of Syria on their side, in case a war should break out between them, and Antiochus's promises to stick by them, whenever such a war should happen, were the inducements that prevailed with them to do him this kindness.

^a Appian. in Syriacis.
^d Daniel xi. 21.

^c Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 21.
^e Appian. *ibid*.

On his being thus settled on the throne, he took the name of Epiphanes, that is, *The Illustrious*; but nothing could be more alien to his true character than this title.^h The prophet Daniel foretold of him, that he should be a *vile person*,ⁱ so our English version hath it; but the word *nibzeh* in the original rather signifieth *despicable* than *vile*. He was truly both in all that both these words can express, which will fully appear from the character given of him by Polybius,^k Philarchus,^l Livy,^m and Diodorus Siculus,ⁿ who were all heathen writers, and the two first of them his contemporaries. For they tell us, that he would get often out of the palace and ramble about the streets of Antioch, with two or three servants only accompanying him; that he would be often conversing with those that graved in silver, and cast vessels of gold, and be frequently found with them in their shops talking and nicely arguing with them about the mysteries of their trades; that he would very commonly debase himself to the meanest company, and on his going abroad would join in with such, as he happened to find them met together, although of the lowest of the people, and enter into discourse with any one of them whom he should first light on; that he would in his rambles frequently drink with strangers and foreigners, and even with the meanest and vilest of them; that, when he heard of any young company met together to feast, drink, or any otherwise to make merry together, he would, without giving any notice of his coming, intrude himself among them, and revel away the time with them in their cups and songs, and other frolics, without any regard had to common decency, or his own royal character; so that several being surprised with the strangeness of the thing, would, on his coming, get up and run away out of the company. And he would sometimes, as the freak took him, lay aside his royal habit, and, putting on a Roman gown, go round the city, as he had seen done in the election of magistrates at Rome, and ask the votes of the citizens, in the same manner as used to be there practised, now taking one man by the hand, and then embracing another, and would thus set himself up, sometimes for the office of ædile, and sometimes for that of tribune; and, having been thus voted into the office he sued for, he would take the curule chair, and, sitting down in it, hear petty causes of contracts, bargains, and sales, made in the market, and give judgment in them with that serious attention and earnestness, as if they had been matters of the

^h Appian. in Syriacis. Eusebius in Chronicon. Athenæus, lib. 5, p. 193.

ⁱ Dan. xi. 21.

^l Ibid. lib. 10, p. 438.

ⁿ In Excerptis Valesii, p. 304

^k Apud Athenæum, lib. 5, p. 193.

^m Lib. 41.

highest concern and importance. It is said also of him, that he was much given to drunkenness; and that he spent a great part of his revenues in revellings and drunken carousals; and would often go out into the streets while in these frolics, and there scatter his money by handfuls among the rabble, crying out, *Let him take to whom fortune gives it.*^o Sometimes he would go abroad with a crown of roses upon his head, and, wearing a Roman gown, would walk the streets alone, and, carrying stones under his arms, would throw them to those that should follow after him. And he would often wash himself in the public baths among the common people, and there expose himself by many absurd and ridiculous actions: Which odd and extravagant sort of conduct made many doubt how the matter stood with him;^p some thinking him a fool, and some a madman; the latter of these most thought to be his truest character; and therefore, instead of Epiphanes, or *the illustrious*, they called him Epimanes,^q that is, *the madman*. Jerome tells us also of him, that he was exceedingly given to lasciviousness, and often by the vilest acts of it debased the honour of his royal dignity;^r that he was frequently found in the company of mimics, pathics, and common prostitutes, and that, with the latter he would commit acts of lasciviousness, and gratify his lust on them publicly in the sight of the people. And it is further related of him, that having for his catamites two vile persons, called Timarchus and Heralclides,^s who were brothers, he made the first of them governor of Babylonia, and the other his treasurer in that province, and gave himself up to be governed and conducted by them in most that he did. And, having on a very whimsical occasion, exhibited games and shows at Daphne, near Antioch, with vast expense, and called thither a great multitude of people from foreign parts as well as from his own dominions, to be present at the solemnity; he there behaved himself to that degree of folly and absurdity, as to become the ridicule and scorn of all that were present:^t which actions of his are sufficient abundantly to demonstrate him both despicable and vile, though he had not added to them that most unreasonable and wicked persecution of God's people in Judea and Jerusalem; which will be hereafter related.

^o Athenæus, lib. 10, p. 438.

^p Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 306. Athenæus, lib. 5, p. 193.

^q Athenæus, *ibid.*

^r In Comment. ad Dan. xi. 37.

^s They are taken to be the same, who in Athenæus, p. 438, are called Aris-tus and Themison; though that author there seems to speak of Antiochus Magnus, and not of Antiochus Epiphanes.

^t Polyb. apud Athanæum, lib. 5, p. 194, & lib. 10, p. 439. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 320.

As soon as Antiochus was settled in the kingdom, Jason, the brother of Onias, being ambitious of the high-priesthood, by underhand means applied to him for it ; and by an offer of three hundred and sixty talents, besides eighty more which he promised on another account, obtained of him, that Onias was displaced from the office, and he advanced to it in his stead.^u And at the same time procured, that Onias was called to Antioch, and confined to dwell there. For Onias, by reason of his signal piety and righteousness, being of great esteem among the people throughout all Judea and Jerusalem, the intruder justly feared, that he should have but little authority in his new acquired office, as long as this good man, from whom he usurped it, should continue at Jerusalem;^x and therefore he procured from the king an order for his removal from thence to Antioch, and his confinement to that place ; where he accordingly continued till he was there put to death, as will be hereafter shown in its proper place.^y Antiochus coming poor to the crown, and finding the public treasury empty, by reason of the heavy tribute paid the Romans for the twelve years last foregoing, was greedy of the money which Jason offered, and therefore, for the obtaining of it, readily granted what he desired of him, and would have been glad to have granted more on the same terms ; which Jason perceiving, proposed to advance one hundred and fifty talents over and above what he had already offered, if he might have license to erect at Jerusalem a gymnasium, or a place of exercise, and an ephebeum, or a place for the training up of youth, according to the usage and fashion of the Greeks ; and, moreover, have authority of making as many of the inhabitants of Jerusalem freemen of Antioch as he should think fit ; which proposal being as readily accepted of as the former, all this was also granted him ;^z and, by these means, he doubted not he should be able to make a party among the Jews, to overbear all that might stand for Onias ; and, accordingly, on his return to Jerusalem with these grants and commissions, he had all the success herein which he proposed. For, at this time, there were many among the Jews fondly inclined to the ways of the Greeks, whom he gratified, by erecting his gymnasium for them to exercise in ; and the freedom of the city of Antioch being a privilege of great value, while the Syro-Macedonian king flourished there, by his power of granting that freedom he drew over many more to his bent ; so that, putting down the governments that were according to law, he brought up new customs against the law, drawing

^u 2 Maccab. iv. 7. Joseph. de Maccab. c. 4.

^x 2 Maccab. iii. 1 ; iv. 27.

^y 2 Maccab. iv. 33, 34.

^z 2 Maccab. vi. 8, 9.

the chief young men of the Jewish nation into his ephebeum, and there training them up after the manner of the Greeks;^a and, in all things else, he made as many of them as he could apostatize from the religion and usages of their forefathers, and conform themselves to the manners, customs, and rites of the heathens; whereon the service of the altar became neglected, and the priests, despising the temple, omitted there the public worship of God, and hastened to partake of the games and divertisements of the gymnasium, and all other the unlawful allowances of that place; whereby it came to pass, that all those privileges which, at the solicitation of John the father of Eupolemus, were by special favour obtained of king Seleucus Philopater, for the securing of the observance of the Jewish law in Judah and Jerusalem, were all overborne and taken away. And from hence was propagated that iniquity among the Jews, which drew after it, for its punishment, one of the greatest calamities, next the two terrible destructions executed upon their temple and country by Nebuchadnezzar and Titus, that ever befell that nation. Of all which mischief, the ambition of this wicked man was the original cause; for, sacrificing to it his religion and his country, he betrayed both to procure his own advancement. And, to render himself the more acceptable to those from whom he obtained it, he changed not only his religion, but also his name. For his name was at first Jesus;^b but, when he went over to the ways of the Greeks, he took also a Greek name, and called himself Jason; and, having thus given himself up to the heathen superstition, he laid hold of all opportunities to distinguish himself in expressing his zeal for it.

And therefore, the next year being the time of the quinquennial^c games that were celebrated at Tyre, in honour of Hercules, the patron god of that country, and Antiochus being present at them, he sent several Jews of his party, whom he had enfranchised, and made freemen of Antioch,^d to be spectators of those games,^e and to offer from him a donative of thirty-three hundred drachms,^f

An. 174.
Ptol. Philo-
meior 7.

a 2 Maccab. iv. 10, 11, 12, &c.

b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 6.

c 2 Maccab. iv. 18, 19.

d These quinquennial games at Tyre were in imitation of the quinquennial games in Greece, called the Olympics. They are called quinquennial, because they were celebrated in the beginning of the fifth year, though from one Olympic to another no more than four years intervened.

e The original calls them *Οεαπες*; which word among the Greeks signifieth such as were sent from one city to another in the name of the community, to be present at their sacred solemnities, and bear a part in them.

f In the English version it is three hundred drachms; and so it is also in the common printed books of the Greek original; but in the Arundel manuscript it is *τριακμιας τριακοντας*, that is, three thousand three hundred, which

to be expended in sacrifices to that heathen deity. But the bearers, being afraid of involving themselves in the guilt of this idolatry, gave the money to the Tyrians to be employed in the repairing of their fleet; and so the apostate was defeated of what he intended by this impious gift.

In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his queen, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had taken on her the government of the kingdom and the tuition of her infant son, who had succeeded him

An. 174.
Ptol. Philometor 8.

in it, and managed it with great care and prudence; but, she dying this year, the management of affairs there fell into the hands of Lennæus, a nobleman of that court, and Eulæus, an eunuch, who had the breeding up of the young king.^g As soon as they had entered on the administration, they made demand of Cælo-Syria and Palestine from Antiochus Epiphanes, which gave origin to the war that afterward ensued between Antiochus and Philometor.^h As long as Cleopatra lived, she, being mother to the one, and sister to the other, kept this matter from making a breach between them. But, after her death, those into whose hands the government next fell made no longer scruple to demand of Antiochus, in behalf of their master, what they thought his due. And it must be owned, that those provinces were always in the possession of the kings of Egypt, from the time of the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great wrested them out of the hands of Ptolemy Epiphanes; and by this title only Seleucus his son came to be in full possession of them, and, on his death,

is the truer reading. For three hundred drachms, at the highest valuation, making no more than seventy-five Jewish shekels, that is, eleven pounds five shillings sterling, it was too little to be sent on such an occasion (*vide Annales Usseii sub anno mundi 3830.*) But it is to be here observed, that the Tyrian god to whom this oblation was sent, is, in the place of the second book of Maccabees here cited, called Hercules, according to the style of the Greeks. Among the Tyrians themselves this name was not known. There his name was Malcarthus; which, being compounded of the two Phœnician words Melec and Kartha, did, in that language, signify the King or Lord of the city. The Greeks, from some similitude which they found in the worship of this god at Tyre, with that wherewith they worshipped Hercules in Greece, thought them to be both the same; and therefore called this Tyrian god Hercules; and hence came the name of Hercules Tyrius among them. This god seems to be the same with the Baal of the holy Scriptures, whose worship Jezebel brought from Tyre into the land of Israel: for Baal, with the addition of Kartha, signifieth the same as Melec with the same addition. For as the latter, in the Phœnician language, is *King of the city*, the other, in the same language, is *Lord of the city*. And as Baal is put alone to signify this Tyrian god in Scripture, so do we find Melec also put alone to signify the same god; for Hesychius tells us, *Μαλικὸς τοῦ Ἡρακλέα Αμαθυσίου*, that is Mulic is the name of Hercules among the Amathusians. And these Amathusians were a colony of the Tyrians in Cyprus. *Vide Sanchoniathonem apud Eusebium de Præp. Evang. lib. 1. Bocharti Phaleg. part 2, l. b. 1, c. 34, and lib. 2, c. 2. Seldenum de Diis Syris, syntag. 1, c. 6, and Fulleri Miscellan. lib. 2, c. 17.*

g Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 21.

h Polybius Legat. 82, p. 908

was succeeded in the same by Antiochus Epiphanes his brother. The Egyptians, in defence of their claim, argued, that in the last partition of the empire of Alexander, made after the battle of Ipsus, among those four of his successors who then survived, these provinces were assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that he and the succeeding kings of his race had held them ever after, till Antiochus the Great wrested them out of the hands of Ptolemy Epiphanes after the battle of Paneas: and that the same Antiochus had agreed on the marrying of his daughter to the same king Ptolemy, and made it the main article of that marriage, again to restore to him these provinces, by way of dowry with her.ⁱ But Antiochus denied both these allegations, pleading, in answer to them, that, by virtue of the last partition of the empire of Alexander above mentioned, all Syria, including Cœlo-Syria and Palestine, was assigned to Seleucus Nicator, and therefore it belonged to him as his rightful heir in the Syrian empire.^h And as to the article of marriage, whereby a restoration of those provinces to king Ptolemy was claimed, he utterly denied that there was any such thing. And having thus declared on both sides their pretensions, they joined issue hereon, and referred it to the sword to decide the matter.

Ptolemy Philometor being now fourteen years old, he was declared to be out of his minority; and thereon^l great preparations were made at Alexandria for his enthronization, as was usual there on this occasion.^m Hereon Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the prime nobles of his court, in an embassy thither, to be present at the solemnity, and to congratulate the young king thereon.ⁿ This he did in outward pretence, to express his respects to his nephew, and show him honour on this occasion; but in reality it was only to spy out how that court stood affected to him, and what measures they were proposing to take in reference to him, and the contested provinces of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine; and, on the return of this ambassador to him, finding by his report that war was intended against him, he came by sea to Joppa, to take a view of the frontiers towards Egypt, and to put them into a thorough posture of defence against any attempts which the Egyptians might make upon them:ⁿ and in this

ⁱ Polybius Legat. 72, p. 893.

^k Polybius Legat. 72, p. 893, & Legat. 82, p. 908.

^l Polybius Legat. 78, p. 902. ² Maccab. iv. 21.

^m This the Alexandrian Greeks called *Ἀνακλιση*, or the solemnity of salutation; because they then first saluted him as king. This the author of the second book of Maccabees, calls *πρωτοκλησια*, iv. 21; for so it ought to be read, according to the Alexandrian manuscript, and not *περιτοκλησια*, as in the printed books.

ⁿ 2 Maccabees iv. 21.

progress he came to Jerusalem, where he was received with great pomp and solemnity by Jason and all the city, and treated with great magnificence. But this operated nothing for the averting of that great mischief and calamity which he afterward brought upon that place, and the whole nation of the Jews. From Jerusalem he marched into Phœnicia; and, having there settled all matters, he returned again to Antioch.

The next year Jason sent Menelaus his brother to Antioch, there to pay the king his tribute money, and also to treat with him about other matters which he thought necessary to be done.^o But, on his admission to audience, instead of pursuing his commission in behalf of his brother, he treacherously supplanted him, and got into his place. For having first recommended himself to the favour of this vain prince by a flattering speech, wherein he greatly magnified the glorious appearance of his power, he took the opportunity of petitioning him for the high-priesthood for himself, offering more than Jason gave for it by three hundred talents. Which offer being readily accepted, Jason was deposed, after he had been, as high-priest, in the government of that nation three years, and Menelaus was advanced in his stead.^p This Menelaus, the author of the second book of Maccabees saith, *was brother to Simon the Benjamite*, who was of the house of Tobias,^p but this could not be: for none but such as were of the house of Aaron were capable of this office: and therefore in this particular, Josephus is rather to be credited, who positively tells us, that he was the brother of Onias and Jason, and the son of Simon the second of that name, high-priest of the Jews, and that he was the third of his sons that had been in that office.^r His name at first was Onias, the same with that of his eldest brother; but, running as fast as Jason into the ways of the Greeks, in imitation of him, he took a Greek name also, and called himself Menelaus. His father and his eldest brother were both of them holy and good men; but he chose rather to imitate the example of wicked Jason than theirs; for he followed him in all his ways of fraud, wickedness, and apostacy, and outdid him in each of them.^s Jason's being supplanted by him in the same manner as he had supplanted Onias, was a just retaliation of Providence; but Menelaus was a much more wicked instrument herein than the other, since he practised this fraud against Jason while he was in his confidence, and had on him the character of his ambas-

An. 172.
Phil. Philo-
metor 9.

^o 2 Maccabees iv. 23, 24, 25.

^p 2 Maccabees iv. 23.

^s 2 Maccabees iv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 6

^r Antiq. lib. 12, c. 6

sador, and by virtue of that character got that access to the king whereby he effected it. As soon as his mandate for the office was despatched at the Syrian court, Menelaus went with it to Jerusalem: and although, on his coming, the sons of Tobias, who then made a very potent faction in the Jewish state, joined with him; yet such a party stood for Jason, that Menelaus was forced with his friends of the house of Tobias, to quit the place, and return again to Antioch; where they having declared that they would no longer observe their country, laws, and institutions, but would go over to the religion of the king, and the worship of the Greeks;^t this so far gained them the favour of Antiochus, that he sent them back, assisted with such a power as Jason could not resist; and therefore, being forced to leave Jerusalem,^u he fled into the land of the Ammonites; and Menelaus took possession of his office without any further opposition; and thereon he proceeded to make good all that he and his party had declared at Antioch, by apostatizing from the law of Moses to the religion of the Greeks, and all other their rites and usages. and drawing as many others after him into the same impiety as he was able.^x For he did not desire the office of high-priest at Jerusalem for the sake of the Jewish religion, or that he intended to practise any part of the Jewish worship in it. That which made this office so desirable to him and Jason, and induced them both to give so much for it, was the temporal authority that went with the ecclesiastical. For at that time, and for some ages past, the high-priest of the Jews had, first under the Persian, and afterward under the Macedonian kings, the sole temporal government of that nation. This last most certainly was derived from the king, and this gave him the handle to dispose of both, though the priesthood itself was derived only from that divine authority under which it acted. And the case is the same in respect of the Christian priesthood. For to instance in Episcopacy, the first order of it, besides the ecclesiastical office, which is derived from Christ alone, it hath in Christian states annexed to it (as with us,) the temporal benefice (that is, the revenues of the bishopric,) and some branches of the temporal authority, as the probate of wills, causes of tithes, causes of defamation, &c.; all which latter most certainly is held under the temporal state, but not the former. Were this distinction duly considered, it would put an end to those Erastian notions which now so much prevail among us. For the want of this is the true cause that many, observing some branches of the Episcopal authority to be from the state.

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 6.

^u Maccabees iv. 26

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 6.

wrongfully from hence infer, that all the rest is so too; whereas, would they duly examine the matter, they would find, that, beside the temporal power and temporal revenues with which bishops are invested, there is also an ecclesiastical or spiritual power, which is derived from none other than Christ alone. And the same distinction may also serve to quash another controversy, which was much agitated among us in the reign of his late majesty king William III. about the act which deprived the bishops who would not take the oaths to that king. For the contest then was, that an act of parliament could not deprive a bishop. This we acknowledge to be true in respect of the spiritual office, but not in respect of the benefice, and other temporal advantages and powers annexed thereto. For these every bishop receiveth from the state, and the state can again deprive any bishop of them upon a just cause; and this was all that was done by the said act. For the bishops that were then deprived by it had still their episcopal office left entire to them, they being as much bishops of the church universal after their deprivation as they were before.

Menelaus, after he had got into the high-priesthood by outbidding his brother, took no care to pay the money;^y whereon the king calling upon Sostratus, the captain of the castle at Jerusalem, (who was also receiver of the king's revenues in Judea,) and he upon Menelaus for the money, they were both summoned to appear before the king at Antioch, to give an account hereof; but, on their arrival there, they found the king was gone from thence, to quell an insurrection that had been made against him at Malus and Tarsus, two cities of Cilicia. For the revenues of these cities having been assigned to Antiochis, one of the king's concubines, for her maintenance, the inhabitants, either out of indignation for this thing, or because the concubine exacted upon them, rose up in an uproar, and Antiochus was then hastened thither to appease it, leaving Andronicus, one of the prime nobles of his court, to govern Antioch during his absence. Menelaus, taking the advantage of the time, thus gained by the absence of the king, made the best use of it he could to raise the money he owed him before his return; in order whereto, having, by the means of Lysimachus, whom he left his deputy at Jerusalem, gotten many of the gold vessels out of the temple, he sold them at Tyre, and the cities round about; and thereby raised money enough, not only to pay the king, but also to bribe Andronicus and other courtiers to procure favour for him.^z Onias,

AN. 171.
Ptol. Philo-
metor 10.

who then lived at Antioch, as being confined to that place by the order of the king, having notice of this sacrilege, reproved Menelaus very severely for it; which the apostate not being able to bear, for the revenging of himself upon him for it, applied to Andronicus, and engaged him for a sum of money to cut Onias off; of which Onias having gained intelligence, fled to the asylum at Daphne, and there took sanctuary for the safety of his life.^a But Andronicus having, by fair words and false oaths, persuaded him to come forth out of that place, immediately put him to death, that thereby he might earn the money which Menelaus had promised him.^a But Onias having by his laudable carriage, while he lived at Antioch, gained much upon the affection and esteem of the inhabitants of the place, as well Greeks as Jews, they took this murder so ill, that they both joined in a petition to the king, on his return, against Andronicus for it;^c whereon cognizance being taken of the crime, and the wicked murderer convicted of it, Antiochus caused him with infamy to be carried to the place where the murder was committed, and there put to death for it in such manner as he deserved.^d For Antiochus, as wicked a tyrant as he was, had sorrow and regret upon him for the death of so good a man; and therefore, in his thus revenging of it, he executed his own resentments, as well as those of the persons who had petitioned for it.

This Onias was high-priest of the Jews twenty-four years. Eusebius mentioneth not at all the time of his being in the office, though he doth it of all the rest, from the time of the Babylonish captivity. But the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* doth assign him twenty-four years, which are to be reckoned to the time of his death.^e This *Chronicon*, in the assigning of the years of each pontificate from the time mentioned to the death of this Onias, much better agreeing both with the Scriptures and the history of Josephus, than either Africanus or Eusebius, I have rather chosen to follow that author in this matter than either of the other two, excepting only in the pontificate of Simon the Just. For, whereas the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* assigns to it fourteen years, and Eusebius

a 2 Maccab. iv. 33, 34.

c 2 Maccab. iv. 25, 26.

d 2 Maccab. iv. 27, 28.

e This *Chronicon* had first the name of *Fasti Siculi*, because first found in an old library in Sicily, and from thence conveyed to Rome, where Sigonius and Onufrius made use of it, and quote it under the name of *Fasti Siculi*. But Sylburgius having gotten another copy of it, presented it to Hoeschelius, who gave it to the library at Augsborg in Germany, from whence Rader the Jesuit published it with a Latin version, A. D. 1624, under the title of *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. He gave it this title, because in the manuscript from whence he printed it, there was a short preface premised under the name of Peter, patriarch of Alexandria.

only nine, I choose rather to follow Eusebius in this particular, that I might not carry down the last year of the high-priest-hood of Manasseh too far from the death of his father. For allowing Simon the Just fourteen years to his pontificate, it will carry down the time of the death of Manasseh to seventy-six years after the death of Jaddua his father, and make him to be near an hundred, if not more, at the time of his decease; and every year deducted from so great an age makes the account the more probable; and nothing can be deducted elsewhere to lessen it by the authority of either of those two authors, (and there is no other authority but theirs to be recurred to in this matter.) For all the years of the other pontificates, from the death of Jaddua to that of Manasseh, do, in both these authors, either equal or exceed the years of the said Chronicon; and, therefore, there is nowhere else where they can be lessened by the authority of either of them. And, unless they be thus lessened, another inconvenience would happen worse than the other. For otherwise, the last year of Onias would be carried down beyond what is consistent either with the history of Josephus, or that of the two books of the Maccabees. From the death of Onias, the pontificates following will be taken from the said books of the Maccabees as far as they go; and from the history of Josephus who hath them all to the end.

In the interim, there happened a great mutiny at Jerusalem, by reason of the vessels of gold that were carried out of the temple by the order of Menelaus. When he went to Antioch, he left Lysimachus, another of his brothers, as bad as himself, to execute his office during his absence,^f and by his means those vessels of gold were carried out of the temple, which Menelaus sold at Tyre and other places to raise the money above mentioned.^g When this came to be known, and the bruit hereof was spread abroad among the people, the multitude taking great indignation hereat, gathered themselves together against Lysimachus; whereon he got together about three thousand men of his party, under the command of one Tyrannus, an old soldier, to resist their rage, and defend himself against them; but the multitude fell on them with that fury, that, wounding some, and killing others, they forced the rest to flee; and then, falling on Lysimachus the sacrilegious robber, they slew him beside the treasury, within the temple, and thereby, for that time, put an end to this sacrilege.^h

Antiochus having, ever since the return of Apollonius

^f 2 Maccab. iv. 29.

^h 2 Maccab. iv. 40—42.

^g 2 Maccab. iv. 27.

from the Egyptian court, been preparing for the war which he found he must necessarily have with Ptolemy about the provinces of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, and being now ready for it, resolved to defer it no longer; but, instead of expecting the war in his own territories, determined to carry it into those of his enemy.ⁱ The youth of Ptolemy (he being then but sixteen years old,) and the weak conduct of the ministers into whose hands he was fallen, made him despise both; and the Romans (under whose protection Egypt then was) were not at leisure to afford them any help, by reason of the war which they were at that time engaged in with Perseus king of Macedon; and therefore, thinking he could not have a more favourable juncture for the bringing of this controversy to a successful decision, he resolved forthwith to begin the contest. However, to keep as fair with the Romans as the case would admit, he sent ambassadors to lay before the senate the right he had to the provinces of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, then in his possession, and to justify the war which he was forced to enter on in the defence of them;^k and then forthwith marched his army towards the frontiers of Egypt, where, being met by the forces of Ptolemy, between Mount Casius and Pelusium, it there came to a battle between them; in which Antiochus having gotten the victory, he took care on the advantage of it, well to fortify that border of his dominions, and to make the barrier in that quarter as strong as he could against any future attempt that Ptolemy might make upon these provinces;^l and then, without attempting any thing further this year, returned to Tyre, and there, and in the neighbouring cities, put his army into winter quarters.

While he lay at Tyre, there came thither to him three delegates from the sanhedrim, or senate of the Jews, to complain of the sacrileges of Menelaus, and the violences and disorders which, by Lysimachus his deputy, he had lately caused at Jerusalem; and having, on the hearing of the cause, plainly convicted him before the king of all that they had laid to his charge, Menelaus, to avoid the sentence which he deserved, and which he saw was ready to be pronounced against him, bribed Ptolemy Macron, the son of Dorymenes, with a great sum of money to befriend him with the king; whereon Ptolemy, taking the king aside, prevailed with him, contrary to what he intended, not only to absolve Menelaus, but also

ⁱ Livius, lib. 42, c. 29. Polyb. Legat. 71, p. 892. Justin. lib. 34, c. 2. Diodorus Siculus, Legat. 18. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 6. Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 22.

^k Polyb. Legat. 72, p. 893. Diodorus Siculus, Legat. 18

^l Hieronymus, *ibid.*

An. 178.
Ptol. Philometori 11.

to put to death the three delegates of the Jews, as if they had unjustly accused him, which was so manifest a piece of oppression and injustice in the eyes of all in that place, that the Tyrians, pitying their case, caused them to be honourably buried.^m

This Ptolemy Macron, having been formerly governor of Cyprus for king Ptolemy Philometor, had, during his minority, reserved all the king's revenues of that island in his hands, refusing to pay it to the ministers, notwithstanding their earnest call for it.ⁿ But as soon as the king was enthroned, he brought it all to Alexandria, and there paid the whole into the royal treasury; which being a supply which at that time came very conveniently to answer the exigencies of the government, he then obtained great applause for his good conduct in this matter; but afterward being disgusted, either by some ill treatment from the ministry, or for that his service was not rewarded according to his expectation, he revolted from king Ptolemy, and went over to Antiochus, and delivered the island of Cyprus into his hands.^o Whereon Antiochus received him with great favour, admitted him into the number of his principal friends,^p and made him governor of Cælo-Syria and Palestine,^q and sent Crates, who had been before deputy-governor of the castle at Jerusalem under Sostratus, to be chief commander of Cyprus in his stead.^r Thus much is proper to be said of him in this place, because there will be other occasions to make mention of him in the future series of this history.

About this time, for forty days together, there were seen at Jerusalem in the air, very strange sights of horsemen and footmen armed with shields, spears, and swords, and in great companies, fighting against, and charging each other, as in battle array; which foreboded those calamities of war and desolation which soon after happened to that city and nation.^s And the like were seen at the same place before the destruction of that city by the Romans. So Josephus^t tells us, who lived in that time, and attests it to have been vouched to him by such as had been eyewitnesses of the same.

Antiochus, having been making preparations during all the winter for a second expedition into Egypt, as soon as the season of the year would permit, again invaded that country both by sea and land;^u and having on the frontiers gained another victory over the forces of Ptolemy that were sent

m 2 Maccab. iv. 44—50.

n Valesii Excerpta ex Polyb. p. 126.

p 1 Maccab. iii. 38.

r 2 Maccab. iv. 29.

• De Bello Judaico. lib. 7. c. 12.

o 2 Maccab. x. 13.

q 2 Maccab. viii. 8.

s 2 Maccab. v. 2, 3

u 2 Maccab. v. 1

thither to oppose him, took Pelusium, and from thence made his way into the heart of the kingdom.^x In this last overthrow of the Egyptian army, it was in his power to have cut them all off to a man ; but, instead of pursuing this advantage, he took care to put a stop to the executing of it, riding about the field in person after the victory, to forbid the putting of any more to death ;^y which clemency of his so far reconciled and endeared him to the Egyptians, that, on his further march into the country, they all readily yielded to him, and he made himself, with very little trouble, master of Memphis, and all the other parts of Egypt, excepting Alexandria, which alone held out against him.^z

While Antiochus carried on his last invasion, Philometor came into his hands : whether he were taken prisoner by him, or else voluntarily came in unto him, is not said ; the latter seems most likely. For Antiochus took not from his liberty, but they did eat at the same table, conversed together as friends ; and for some time Antiochus pretended to take care of the interest of this young king his nephew, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom as tutor and guardian to him.^a But when he had, under this pretence, made himself master of the country, he seized all to himself ; and, having miserably pillaged all parts where he came, vastly enriched himself and his army with the spoils of them.^b During all this time, Philometor conducted himself with a very mean spirit, keeping himself, while in arms, at as great a distance from all danger as he was able, and never showing himself in the army that was to fight for him ;^c and afterward in a slothful cowardice submitting to Antiochus, and suffering himself to be deprived by him of so large a kingdom, without attempting any thing for the preserving of it ; which was not so much owing to his want of natural courage or capacity (for he afterward gave many instances of both,) as to the effeminate education in which he was bred up by his tutor Enlæus. For that wicked eunuch being also his prime minister of state, by corrupting him with all manner of luxury and effeminacy, to make him as unfit for government as he was able, that when he was grown up, he might still be as necessary to him, and have the same power in the kingdom, as he before had in the time of his minority ; which is a policy that hath often been practised by wicked ministers towards their princes in their minority, to the vast damage always of the country where it hath happened.

x 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18. Hieronymus in Comment. ad Danielis cap. xi. 24.

y Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 311.

z Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 25.

a 1 Maccab. i. 19.

c Justin. lib. 34. c. 2. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 310.

While Antiochus was in Egypt, a false rumour having been spread through all Palestine that he was dead, Jason, thinking this a fit opportunity for him again to recover his station at Jerusalem, which he formerly had there as high-priest, marched thither with above one thousand men; and having, by the assistance of the party he had there, taken the city, and driven Menelaus to flee for shelter into the castle, he acted all manner of cruelties upon his fellow-citizens, putting to death, without mercy, as many of those whom he thought his adversaries as he could light upon.^d

Antiochus, on his being informed of all this in Egypt supposed that the whole Jewish nation had revolted from him, and therefore marched with all haste out of Egypt into Judea to quell this rebellion;^e and being told, that the people of Jerusalem made great rejoicings on the news which came to them of his death, he was very much provoked thereat; and therefore, in a great rage, laying siege to Jerusalem, and taking the city by force,^f he slew of the inhabitants in three days time forty thousand persons; and having taken as many more captives, sold them for slaves to the neighbouring nations. And, not content with this, he impiously forced himself into the temple, and entered into the inner and most sacred recesses of it, polluting by his presence both the holy place, and also the holy of holies, the wicked traitor Menelaus being his conductor, and showing him the way into both. And to offer the greater indignity to this sacred place, and to affront in the highest manner he was able the religion whereby God was worshipped in it, he sacrificed a great sow upon the altar of burnt-offerings; and broth being by his command made, with some part of the flesh boiled in it, he caused it to be sprinkled all over the temple for the utmost defiling

d 1 Maccab. i. 20—25. 2 Maccab. v. 5, 6. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 8.

e 1 Maccab. i. 20—28. 2 Maccab. v. 11—20. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7, & lib. 13, c. 16. De Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 1. Contra Apionem, lib. 2, & in libro de Maccab. c. 4. Diodor. Siculus, lib. 34. Ecloga prima, p. 901. Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 27.

f That Antiochus at this time took Jerusalem by force, is said by the author of the second book of the Maccabees c. v. 11, and so also by Diodorus Siculus in the place above cited; but Josephus, in the twelfth book of his Antiquities, chap. 7, contrary hereto, tells us, that Antiochus entered the city *αμαρτυρί*, i. e. *without force*, those of his party within opening the gates to him; but herein he is also contrary to himself; for, in his history of the Jewish War, book 1, chap. 1, he saith, Antiochus took it *κατα κράτος*, i. e. *by force*, and there represents him as enraged by what he had suffered in the siege; and, in the 6th book of the same history, chap. 11, he speaks of those who were slain in this siege, fighting against Antiochus in defence of the place. And this is not the only place where Josephus is inconsistent with himself, many other instances may be shown of his giving different accounts of the same matter in different places. He having written his History of the Jewish War and his Antiquities at different times, between those two are most of these differences to be found.

of it : and after this, having sacrilegiously plundered it, by taking thence the altar of incense, the show-bread table, the candlestick of seven branches that stood in the holy place, which were all of gold, and several other golden vessels, utensils, and donatives of former kings, to the value of eighteen hundred talents of gold, and made the like plunder in the city, he returned to Antioch, carrying thither with him the spoils of Judea as well as of Egypt ; which both together amounted to an immense treasure of riches. On his departure from Jerusalem, for the further vexation of the Jews,^g he appointed Philip, a Phrygian, who was a man of a very cruel and barbarous temper, to be governor of Judea, and Andronicus, another of the like disposition, to be governor of Samaria, and left Menelaus to be still over them in the office of high-priest, who was worse to them than all the rest.

As to Jason, on the return of Antiochus out of Egypt, he durst not tarry his coming to Jerusalem, but, on his approach to that place, fled thence for fear of him back again into the land of the Ammonites ;^h but being there accused before Aretas king of the Arabians, whose kingdom reached into that country, he fled from thence also ; and after that being forced to shift from place to place, pursued of all men, and hated every where, for his wickedness toward God, his country, and his religion, and finding safety nowhere in those parts, he was cast out from thence, first into Egypt, and from thence again into Lacedemonia, where he perished in exile and misery, without having any one to give him a burial.

The Alexandrians, finding Philometor to be fallen under the power of Antiochus, and by him in a manner wholly deprived of the crown, looked on him as altogether lost to them ;ⁱ and therefore, having the younger brother with them, they put him on the throne, and made him their king instead of the other ; from which time he took the name of Ptolemy Euergetes the second, but afterward they gave him the name of Physcon, that is, *the fat guts*, or *great bellied*, by reason of the great and prominent belly which, by his luxury and gluttony, he afterward acquired ; and by this name he is most commonly mentioned by those who have written of him. On his thus ascending the throne, Cineas and Cumanus were made his prime ministers, and to them was committed the care of again restoring the broken affairs of that kingdom.^k

Antiochus, on his hearing of this,^l laid hold of the occasion

^g 2 Maccab. v. 22, 23.

^h 2 Maccab. v. 7—10.

ⁱ Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scalig. p. 60, 68.

^k Polyb. Legat. 81, p. 907.

^l Polyb. Legat. 80—82. p. 906. 907. Livius, lib. 44, c. 19

An. 196.
Ptol. Philo-
metor 12.

for his making of a third expedition into Egypt, under pretence of restoring the deposed king, but in reality to subject the whole kingdom to himself; and therefore, having vanquished the Alexandrians in a sea fight near Pelusium, he again entered the country with a great army, and marched directly towards Alexandria to lay siege to the place.^m Whereon the young king, consulting with his two ministers, agreed to call a council of the chief commanders of the army, and, upon advice had with them, pursue such methods for the stemming of the present difficulties as they should direct him unto;ⁿ who, having accordingly been called and met together, and having thoroughly considered the state of the then present affairs, advised to endeavour an accommodation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors who were then at Alexandria, on embassies from several of the Grecian states to the Egyptian court, should be desired to interpose their mediation for the effecting of it; who, having readily undertaken the matter, forthwith sailed up the river to meet Antiochus, with the proposals of peace which they were intrusted with, taking with them two ambassadors from Ptolemy himself for the same purpose.^o On their coming to his camp, he received them very kindly; and, having the first day entertained them at a splendid treat, appointed the next day to hear what they had to propose. The Achæans having then first opened the cause on which they were sent, all the rest spoke to it in their turns, and they all agreed in laying the blame of making the war on Eulæus's ill conduct, and the nonage of king Ptolemy Philometor; and on these two heads they apologized as much as they could for the present king, in order to mollify Antiochus, and bring him to terms of peace with him; and much urged the relation which was between them for a motive to induce him to it. Antiochus, in answer to them, acknowledged all to be true that they had said concerning the cause of the war; and then took the opportunity of setting forth his title to the provinces of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, alleging all the arguments for it which have been above mentioned,^p and producing instruments for the proof of all that he alleged; which he did in such a manner as fully satisfied all that were present of his right to those provinces. And then, as to the proposals of peace, he referred them to a future treaty, which he said he should be ready to enter into with them about this matter, when two persons then absent, whom he named, should come to him, without whom, he told them, he could do nothing herein; and then went to Naucratis, and

^m Livius, *ibid.*

^o Polyb. Legat. 82, p. 908

ⁿ Polyb. Legat. 81, p. 607.

^p *Supra*, sub Anno 173.

from thence to Alexandria, and there laid siege to the place. Ptolemy Euergetes and Cleopatra his sister, who were then shut up in the town, being hereby much distressed, sent ambassadors to the Romans to represent their case, and pray relief.^q And, a little after, there came ambassadors from the Rhodians, to endeavour to make peace between the two kings, who having landed at Alexandria, and receiving what instructions the ministers of that court would intrust them with, went thence to the camp in which Antiochus lay before the town, and used the best of their endeavours with him to bring him to an accommodation with the Egyptian king, insisting on the long friendship and alliance which they had hitherto enjoyed with both crowns, and the obligations which they thought themselves under on this account, to do the best offices they were able for the making of peace between them.^r But while they were proceeding in long harangues on these topics, Antiochus interrupted them, and in a few words told them, that there was no need of long orations as to this matter; that the kingdom belonged to Philometor the elder brother, with whom he had some time since made peace, and was now in perfect friendship with him; that, if they would recall him from banishment, and again restore him to his crown, the war would be at an end. This he said, not that he intended any such thing, but only out of craft further to embroil the kingdom, for the better obtaining of his own ends upon it; for, finding he could make no work of it at Alexandria, but that he must be forced to raise the siege, the scheme which he had now laid for the compassing of his designs, was to put the two brothers together by the ears, and engage them in a war against each other, that, when they had by intestine broils wasted and spent their strength, he might come upon them, while thus weakened and spent, and swallow both. And, with this view having withdrawn from Alexandria, he marched to Memphis, and there seemingly again restored the whole kingdom to Philometor, excepting only Pelusium, which he retained in his hands, that, having this key of Egypt still in his keeping, he might thereby again enter Egypt, when matters should there, according to the scheme which he had laid, be ripe for it, and to seize the whole kingdom; and, having thus disposed matters, he returned again to Antioch.^s

Ptolemy Philometor, now roused from his luxurious sloth by the misfortunes which he had suffered in these revolutions, had penetration enough to see into what Antiochus intended. His keeping of Pelusium was a sufficient indication unto him,

q Polyb. Legat. 90, p. 915. Livius, lib. 44, c. 19. Justin. lib. 34, c. 2.

r Polyb. Legat. 84, p. 909.

s Livius, lib. 45, c. 11.

that he held this gate of Egypt still in his power, only to enter through it again when he and his brother should have wasted themselves so far by their domestic feuds, as not to be able to resist him, and so make a prey of both.^t And therefore, for the preventing of this, as soon as Antiochus was gone, he sent to his brother to invite him to an accommodation; and, by the means of Cleopatra, who was sister to both, an agreement was made upon terms that the two brothers should jointly reign together. Whereon Philometor returning to Alexandria, peace was restored to Egypt, much to the satisfaction of the people, especially of the Alexandrians, who greatly suffered by the war; but, the two brothers being aware that Antiochus would return again upon them, sent ambassadors into Greece to get auxiliary forces from thence for their defence against him; and they had reason enough so to do.^u For Antiochus, hearing of this agreement of the two brothers, and finding his fine-spun scheme of policy, whereby he thought to have made himself master of Egypt, wholly baffled by it, he fell into a great rage, and resolved to carry on the war against both the brothers with greater force and fury than he had against either of them before.^x

And therefore, very early the next spring, he sent a fleet to Cyprus to secure that island to him, and, at the same time, in person marched by land with a numerous army to make another invasion upon Egypt; in which he purposed, without owning the interest of either of his nephews, to suppress them both, and make an absolute conquest of the whole kingdom.^y On his coming to Rhinocorura, he was there met by ambassadors from Philometor, by whom that prince, having acknowledged his restoration to his kingdom to be owing to him, desired him that he would not destroy his own work, but permit him peaceably to enjoy the crown which he wore by his favour. But Antiochus, not at all regarding the compliment, but waiving all those pretences of favour and affection for either of his nephews which he had hitherto made show of, now plainly declared himself an enemy to both, telling the ambassadors that he demanded the island of Cyprus, and the city of Pelusium, with all the lands that lay on that branch of the Nile on which Pelusium stood, to be yielded to him in perpetuity; and that he would on no other terms give peace to either of the brothers; and, having set them a day for their giving him an answer to this demand, as soon as that day was over, and

An. 168.
Ptol. Philometor 13.

^t Livius, lib. 45, c. 11. Justin. lib. 34, c. 2. Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scalig. p. 60, & in Eusebii Chronicon, p. 68.

^u Polybius, Legat. 89, p. 912.

^x Livius, lib. 45, c. 11.

^y Livius, lib. 45, c. 11.

no answer returned to his satisfaction, he again invaded Egypt with a numerous army; and, having subdued all the country as far as Memphis, and there received the submission of most of the rest, he marched towards Alexandria for the besieging of that city, the reduction of which would have made him absolute master of the whole kingdom; and this most certainly he would have accomplished, but that he met a Roman embassy in his way, which put a stop to his further progress, and totally dashed all the designs which he had been so long carrying on for the making of himself master of that country.

I have mentioned before, how Ptolemy Euergetes, the younger of the two brothers, and Cleopatra his sister, being distressed by the former siege which Antiochus had laid to Alexandria, sent ambassadors to the Romans to pray their relief. These being introduced into the senate, did there in a lamentable habit, and with a more lamentable oration, set forth their case, and, in the humblest manner prostrating themselves before that assembly, prayed their help;² with which the senate being moved, and having considered also, how much it was their own interest not to permit Antiochus to grow so great, as the annexing of Egypt to Syria would make him, decreed to send an embassy into Egypt to put an end to this war.^a The persons they appointed for it were Caius Popilius Lænas (who had been consul four years before,) Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius. Their commission was first to go to Antiochus, and after that to Ptolemy, and to signify to them, that it was the desire of the senate, that they should desist from making any further war upon each other; and that, if either of them should refuse so to do, him the Roman people would no longer hold to be either their friend or their ally. And, that these ambassadors might come soon enough to execute their instructions before Antiochus should make himself master of Egypt, they were despatched away in that haste, that within three days after they left Rome, and taking with them the Egyptian ambassadors, they hastened to Brundisium, and there passing over to the Grecian shore, from thence by the way of Chalcis, Delos, and Rhodes, came to Alexandria, just as Antiochus was making that second march to besiege this city which I have mentioned. On his arrival at Leusine, a place within four miles of Alexandria, the ambassadors there met him. On the sight of Popilius (with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship and familiarity while he was an hostage at Rome,) he put forth his hand to embrace him as his old friend and acquaintance; but

^a Livius, lib. 44. c. 19.

² Polyb. Legat. 90, p. 915. Livius, *ibid*

Popilius, refusing the compliment, told him, that the public interest of his country must take place of private friendship; that he must first know whether he were a friend or an enemy to the Roman state, before he could own him as a friend to himself; and then delivered into his hands the tables, in which were written the decree of the senate which they came to communicate to him, and required him to read it, and forthwith give his answer thereto. Antiochus, having read the decree, told Popilius he would consult with his friends about it, and speedily give him the answer they should advise; but Popilius, insisting on an immediate answer, forthwith drew a circle round him in the sand with the staff which he had in his hand, and required him to give his answer before he stirred out of that circle; at which strange and peremptory way of proceeding Antiochus being startled, after a little hesitation yielded to it, and told the ambassador, that he would obey the command of the senate; whereon Popilius, accepting his embraces, acted thenceforth according to his former friendship with him.^b That which made him so bold as to act with him after this peremptory manner, and the other so tame as to yield thus patiently to it, was the news which they had a little before received of the great victory of the Romans, which they had gotten over Perseus king of Macedonia. For, Paulus Æmilius having now vanquished that king, and thereby added Macedonia to the Roman empire, the name of the Romans after this carried that weight with it, as created a terror in all the neighbouring nations; so that none of them after this cared to dispute their commands, but were glad on any terms to maintain peace and cultivate a friendship with them. After Popilius had thus sent Antiochus back again into Syria, he returned with his colleagues to Alexandria; and, having there ratified and fully fixed the terms of agreement which had been before, but not so perfectly, made between the two brothers, he sailed to Cyprus; and having sent from thence Antiochus's fleet, as he had him and his army before from Egypt, and caused a thorough restoration of that island to be made to the Egyptian kings, to whom it of right belonged, he returned home to relate to the senate the full success of his embassy; and ambassadors followed him from the two Ptolemies to thank the senate for the great benefit they had received from it; for to this embassy they owed their kingdom, and that peaceable enjoyment whereby they were now settled in it.^c

^b Polyb. Legat. 92, p. 916. Livius, lib. 45, c. 11, 12. Justin. lib. 34, c. 3. Appian. in Syriacis. Valerius Maximus, lib. 6, c. 4. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 1, c. 10. Plutarch. in Apothegm. c. 32. Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 27.

^c Polyb. Legat. 92, p. 196. Livius, lib. 45, c. 11, 12.

Antiochus returning out of Egypt in great wrath and indignation, because of the baffle which he had there met with from the Romans of all his designs upon that country, he vented it all upon the Jews, who had noway offended him.^d For, on his marching back through Palestine, he detached off from his army twenty-two thousand men, under the command of Apollonius, who was over the tribute, and sent them to Jerusalem to destroy the place.^e

It was just two years after Antiochus had taken Jerusalem that Apollonius came thither with his army.^f On his first arrival he carried himself peaceably, concealing his purpose, and forbearing all hostilities till the next sabbath; but then, when the people were all assembled together in their synagogues, for the celebrating of the religious duties of the day, thinking this the properest time for the executing of his bloody commission, he let loose all his forces upon them, with command to slay all the men, and take captive the women and children to sell them for slaves; which they executed with the utmost rigour and cruelty, slaying all the men they could light on, without showing mercy to any, and filling the streets with their blood.^g After this, having spoiled the city of all its riches, they set it on fire in several places, demolished the houses, and pulled down the walls round about it; and then, with the ruins of the demolished city, built a strong fortress on the top of an eminence in the city of David, which was over against the temple, and overlooked and commanded the same, and there placed a strong garrison; and, making it a place of arms against the whole nation of the Jews, stored it with all manner of provisions of war, and there also they laid up the spoils which they had taken in the sacking of the city. And this fortress, by the advantage of its situation, being thus higher than the mountain of the temple, and commanding the same, from thence the garrison soldiers fell on all those that went up thither to worship, and shed their blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it with all manner of pollutions; so that from this time the temple became deserted, and the daily sacrifices omitted; and none of the true servants of God durst any more go up thither to worship, till Judas, after three years and an half, having recovered it out of the hands of the heathens, purged the place of its pollutions, and, by a new dedication, restored it again to its pristine use.^h For all that escaped this carnage,

^d Polyb. *ibid*.

^e 1 Maccab. i. 29—40. 2 Maccab. v. 24—26. Joseph. *Antiq. lib.* 12, c. 7.

^f 1 Maccab. i. 29.

^g 1 Maccab. i. 30—40. 2 Maccab. v. 24—26. Joseph. *Antiq. lib.* 21. c. 7.

^h Josephus in *Præfatione ad Hist. de Bello Judaico, & ejusdem Hist. lib.* 1, c. 1, & lib. 6, c. 11. 1 Maccab. iv. 2 Maccab. x.

being fled from Jerusalem, left that place wholly in the hands of strangers; so that the sanctuary was laid waste, and the whole city desolated of its natural inhabitants.ⁱ At this time Judas Maccabæus, with some others that accompanied him, fled into the wilderness, and there lived in great hardship, subsisting themselves upon herbs, and what else the mountains and the woods could afford them, till they gained an opportunity of taking up arms for themselves and their country, in manner as will be hereafter related.^k Josephus makes Antiochus himself to be present at this execution, and confounds what was now done by Apollonius with what himself did in his own person two years before;^l but the books of the Maccabees rightly distinguished these two actions as done at two different times, the one by Antiochus himself, after his second expedition into Egypt, and the other by Apollonius his lieutenant, sent by him for this purpose on his return from his fourth and last expedition into that country two years after, and hereby both are put in their true light.

This was done about the time of the year in which our Whitsuntide now falls. Livy tells us,^m that Antiochus made this his last expedition into Egypt *primo vere*, i. e. in the first beginning of the spring; and that the Roman ambassadors met him before he could in that march reach Alexandria, which could not be above a month or six weeks after his first entering into that country in this expedition; and, immediately on his meeting those ambassadors, he was forced to march back again, and in that march might reach Palestine about the end of May; and then Apollonius, being sent with his commission for the desolating of the city and temple of Jerusalem, there executed it, as above related, in the beginning of June following. For that desolation of the temple happened just three years and six months before it was again restored by Judas Maccabæus, as hath been already said;ⁿ and therefore, that restoration having been made on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of the Jews, called Cisleu, in the 148th year of the era of the Seleucidæ,^o it must follow, that the time of this desolation must have been on or about the twenty-fifth day of their third month, called Sivan, in the era of the Seleucidæ 145, which answers to the era before Christ 163, under which I have placed it. And the Jewish month Sivan answering in part to the month of May, and in part to the month of June, in the Julian calendar, the twenty-fifth of

i 1 Maccab. i. 38, 39.

l Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7.

n Josephus in Præfatione ad Historiam de Bello Judaico, & in ejusdem Historia, lib. 1, c. 1, & lib. 6, c. 11.

o 1 Maccab. i. 59; iv. 52. 54. 2 Maccab. x. 5.

k 2 Maccab. v. 27.

m Lib. 45, c. 11.

that month must happen near or about the time of our Whitsuntide, as I have said; and then it was, that, by the command of Antiochus, and the wicked agency of Apollonius, the daily sacrifices, whereby God was honoured every morning and evening at Jerusalem, were made to cease, and the temple turned into desolation.

And this was not all the mischief that was done that people this year. For, as soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he issued out a decree, that all nations within his dominions, leaving their former rites and usages, should conform to the religion of the king,^p and worship the same gods, and in the same manner as he did; which, although couched in general terms, was levelled mainly against the Jews, that thereby an handle might be afforded for the further oppressing of that people; and it seems for no other end to have been extended to all the nations of the Syrian empire, but that thereby it might reach all of the Jewish worship, wherever they were dispersed among them, it being resolved by Antiochus, through the advice of Ptolemy Macron, to carry on this persecution, not only against the Jews of Palestine, but against all others of that religion who were settled any where else within his dominions.^q And this indeed was most conformable to his intention, his design being to cut off all of them, wherever they were, within his reach, that would not conform to his decree, by apostatizing from their God and his law, that so he might, as far as in him lay, extinguish both the Jewish religion and the Jewish name and nation at the same time. And, for the more effectual executing of this decree, he sent overseers into all the provinces of his empire, to see to the observance of it, and to instruct the people in all the rites which they were to conform to.^r And all the heathen nations readily obeyed his commands herein, one sort of idolatry being as acceptable to them as another; and none did more readily run into this change than the Samaritans.^s As long as the Jews were in prosperity, it was their usage to challenge kindred with them, and profess themselves to be of the stock of Israel, and of the sons of Joseph.^t But, when the Jews were under any calamity or persecution, then they would say, that they had nothing to do with them, that they were of the race of the Medes and Persians (as in truth they were,) and not of the Israelites, and would thus utterly disown all manner of relation to them; of which they gave a very

p 1 Maccab. i. 41—64. 2 Maccab. vi. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7, & de Bello Judaico, lib. i. c. 1, & lib. de Maccab. c. 4. Hieronymus in Danielis, cap. viii. xi.

q 2 Maccab. vi. 8.

s 1 Maccab. i. 42.

r 1 Maccab. i. 61.

t Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7.

signal instance at this time. For, finding the Jews under so severe a persecution, and fearing lest they also might be involved in it, they addressed themselves to the king by a petition; wherein having set forth, that, though their forefathers had formerly, for the avoiding of frequent plagues that happened in their country, been induced to observe the sabbaths and other religious rites of the Jews, and had on Mount Gerizim a temple like theirs at Jerusalem, and therein sacrificed to a god without a name, as they did, and, through the superstition of an ancient custom, they had ever since gone on in the same way, yet they were not of that nation, or were any way related to them, but were descended from the Sidonians, and were ready to conform to all the rites and usages of the Greeks, according as the king had commanded; they therefore prayed, that, seeing the king had ordered the punishing of that wicked people, they might not be involved with them therein as guilty with them of the same crimes.^u And they further petitioned, that their temple, which had hitherto been dedicated to no especial deity, might thenceforth be made the temple of the Grecian Jupiter, and be so called for the future. To which petition Antiochus having given a favourable answer, sent his order to Nicanor, the deputy governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter, according to their desire, and no more to give them any molestation.^z

And the Samaritans were not the only apostates that forsook their God and his law on this trial. Many of the Jews, either to avoid the persecution, or to curry favour with the king and his officers, by their compliance, or else, out of their own wicked inclinations, did the same thing.^y And there were hereon great fallings away in Israel, and many of those who were guilty herein, joining with the king's forces then in the land, became much bitterer enemies to their brethren than any of the heathen themselves who were sent of purpose to persecute them.^z

The overseer, who was sent to see this decree of the king's executed in Judea and Samaria, was one Athenæus, an old man, who, being well versed in all the rites of the Grecian idolatry, was thought a very proper person to initiate those people into the observance of them.^a On his coming to Je-

^u For Jehovah, which was the proper name of the God of Israel, was among them *ανεφαινον*, that is, never to be spoken. unless once in a year, by the high priest, on his entering into the holy of holies on the great day of expiation; and hence it is said to be a god without a name.

^x One Apollonius was then governor of Samaria, and Nicanor was his deputy. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 10. 1 Maccab. iii. 10.

^y 1 Maccab. i. 43—52; vi. 21—27.

^z 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7.

^a 2 Maccab. vi. 1.

Jerusalem, and there executing his commission, all sacrifices to the God of Israel were made to cease, all the observances of the Jewish religion were suppressed, the temple itself was polluted, and made unfit for God's worship, their sabbaths and festivals were profaned, their children forbidden to be circumcised, and their law, wherever it could be found, was taken away or destroyed, and the ordinances which God commanded them were wholly suppressed throughout the land, and every one was put to death that was discovered in any of these particulars to have acted against what the king had decreed.^b The Syrian soldiers under this overseer were the chief missionaries, and by them this conversion of the Jews to the king's religion was effected in the same manner as a late neighbouring prince converted his Protestant subjects to the idolatrous superstition of Rome, which falls very little short of being altogether as bad. Having thus expelled the Jewish worship out of the temple, they introduced thither the heathen in its stead, and, consecrating it to the chief of their false gods, called it *the temple of Jupiter Olympius*;^c and, having erected his image upon one part of the altar of Holocaust, that stood in the inner court of the temple, upon another part of it, just before that image, they built another lesser altar, whereon they sacrificed to him. This was done on the fifteenth day of the Jewish month Cisleu,^d which answers in part to November and in part to December in our calendar; and on the twenty-fifth day of the same month they there begun their sacrifices to him.^e And they did the same to the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim,^f consecrating it to the same Grecian god Jupiter, by the name of *Jupiter the Protector of Strangers*. That it was the request of the Samaritans themselves to have their temple consecrated to the Grecian Jupiter hath been already shown; and it was also at their desire that it was consecrated to him under this additional title of *Protector of strangers*, that thereby it might be expressed, that they were strangers in that land, and not of the race of Israel, who were the old inhabitants of it.^g And, whereas two women were found at Jerusalem to have circumcised their male children, of which they had been lately delivered, they hanged those children about their necks, and, having led them in this manner through the city, cast them headlong over the steepest part of the walls, and also slew all those who had been accessory with them in the performance of

b 1 Maccab. i. 44—64. 2 Maccab. vi. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7, de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 1, de Maccab. c. 4.

c 2 Maccab. vi. 2.

d 1 Maccab. i. 54.

e 1 Maccab. i. 59; iv. 54. 2 Maccab. x. 5.

f 2 Maccab. vi. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. c. 7.

g 2 Maccab. vi. 2.

this forbidden rite.^h And with the same severity they treated all others who were found in the practice of any one of their former religious usages, contrary to what the king had commanded. And, the more to propagate among the people that heathen worship which was enjoined, and to bring all to conform thereto, they did set up altars, groves, and chapels, of idols in every city;ⁱ and officers were sent to them, who, on the day of the king's birth, in every month, forced all to offer sacrifices to the Grecian gods,^k and eat of the flesh of swine, and other unclean beasts then sacrificed to them.^l And when the feast of Bacchus, the god of drunkenness, came, and processions were made as usual, among the heathen Greeks, to the honour of that abominable deity, the Jews were forced to join therein,^m and carry ivy,ⁿ as the rest of the heathens did, according to the idolatrous usage of the day.

When these officers were thus sent to make all Judea conform to the king's religion, and sacrifice to his gods, one of them, called Apelles, came to Modin,^o where dwelt Mattathias, a priest of the course of Joarib, a very honourable person, and one truly zealous for the law of his God.^p He was the son of John, the son of Simon, the son of Asmonæus, from whom the family had the name of Asmonæans, and he had with him five sons, all very valiant men, and equally with himself zealous observers of the law of their God; Johanan, called Kaddis, Simon, called Thassi, Judas, called Maccabæus, Eleazar, called Avaran, and Jônathan, whose surname was Aphus.^q Apellus, on his coming to this city, having called the people together, and declared unto them for what intent he was come, addressed himself, in the first place, to Mattathias, to persuade him to comply with the king's commands, that, by the example of so honourable and great a man, all the rest of the people of the place might be induced to do the same; promising him, that thereon he should be taken into the number of the king's friends, and he and his sons should be promoted to honour and riches.^r To this Mattathias answered with a loud voice, in the hearing of all the people of the place, that no consideration whatsoever should induce him, or any of his family, ever to forsake the law of their God; but that they would still walk in the cove-

h 1 Maccab. i. 60, 62, 63. 2 Maccab. vi. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7.

i 1 Maccab. i. 47.

k 1 Maccab. i. 61, 58; ii. 15.

l 1 Maccab. i. 47. Diodor. Sic. lib. 34, eclog. 1.

m 2 Maccab. vi. 7.

n Ivy was sacred to Bacchus, and therefore the Bacchanals always carried it in their processions.

o 1 Maccab. ii. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12.

p The course of Joarib was the first of the twenty-four courses of the priests that served in the temple, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7.

q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 8.

r 1 Maccab. ii. 15—28.

nant which he had made with their forefathers, and observe all the ordinances of it, and that no commands of the king should make any of them to depart herefrom. And when he had said thus much, seeing one of the Jews of the place presenting himself at the heathen altar which was there erected, to sacrifice on it, according to the king's commands, he was moved hereat with a religious zeal, like that of Phinehas, and ran upon the apostate and slew him; and then, in the heat of his wrath, fell also on the king's commissioner, and by the assistance of his sons and others that joined with them, slew him and all that attended him. And after this, getting together all of his family, and calling all others to follow who were zealous for the law, he retired with them to the mountains; and many others followed the same example, whereby the deserts of Judea became filled with those who fled from this persecution.^s One company of them, to the number of one thousand persons, being gotten into a cave in the desert that lay nearest to Jerusalem, Philip the Phrygian,^t (whom Antiochus had left governor of Judea and Jerusalem, on his last being there,) went out against them with his forces.^u At first he endeavoured to persuade them to a submission to the king's commands, promising them, on this condition, a thorough impunity for what was past: but they all resolutely answering, that they would rather die than forsake the law of their God, he thereon laid siege to the cave which they had possessed themselves of, omitting all other hostilities till the next sabbath, expecting then to master them without resistance, and so it accordingly happened. For they then refusing, out of an over scrupulous zeal for the observance of that day, to do any thing for their own defence, when fallen on by the enemy, were all cut off, men, women, and children, without one being spared of the whole company. Mattathias and his followers being much grieved at the hearing of this, and considering that, if they should follow the same example, they must all of them in the same manner be destroyed, on full debate had among them of the matter, they all came into this resolution, that the law of the sabbath in such a case of necessity did not bind; and therefore they unanimously decreed, that, whenever they should be assaulted on the sabbath-day, they would fight for their lives, and that it was lawful for them so to do: and, having ratified this decree, by the consent of all the priests and elders among them, they sent it to all others who stood out in the observance of the law, wherever dispersed through the land; by whom it being re-

^s 1 Maccab. ii. 29, 30. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 8.

^t 2 Maccab. v. 22.

^u 1 Maccab. ii. 31—38. 2 Maccab. vi. 11. Josephus, *ibid.*

ceived with the like consent and approbation, it was made their rule in all the wars which they afterward waged against any of their enemies.^x

Antiochus, hearing that his commands did not meet with such a thorough conformity to them in Judea as in other places, came thither in person further to enforce the observance of them;^y and, for the accomplishing hereof, executed very great cruelties on all non-apostatizing Jews that fell into his hands, hoping thereby to terrify all the rest into a compliance; and on this occasion happened the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the mother and her seven sons, which we have described to us by the author of the second book of the Maccabees,^z and by Josephus;^a by both of which a full account having been given of this matter, especially by the latter, who had written a book particularly hereof, I refer the reader to them. Ruffinus, in his Latin paraphrase of this book of Josephus concerning the Maccabees, gives us the names of the seven brothers and their mother, and tells us, that as well they as Eleazar were carried from Judea to Antioch, and that it was there that they were judged by Antiochus, but without any authority that we know of for either, except his own invention.^b The reason of the thing, as well as the tenor of the history, which is given us of it by both the authors I have mentioned, make it much more likely that Jerusalem, and not Antioch, was made the scene of this cruelty; and that especially, since it being designed for an example of terror unto the Jews of Judea, it would have lost its force if executed any where else than in that country.

In the interim, Mattathias and his company lay close in the fastnesses of the mountains, where no easy access could be made to them;^c and, as soon as Antiochus was again returned to Antioch, great numbers of such as were adherers to the law there resorted to him to fight for the law of their God, and the liberties of their country.^d Among these, there were a company of Asidæans,^e men mighty in valour, and of great zeal for the law, as having voluntarily devoted themselves to a more rigid observation of it than other men, from whence they had the name of Chasidim, or Asidæans. For, after the settling of the Jewish church again in Judea, on their

x 1 Maccab. ii. 40, 41. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 8.

y Josephus de Maccab. c. 4, 5.

z Chap. vi. vii.

a In libro de Maccab. sive de Imperio Rationis.

b Their names, according to Ruffinus, were Maccabæus, Abner, Machir, Judas, Ahas, Areth, and Jacob, and their mother's name Solomona, but the latter Jewish historians call her Hanna.

c 1 Maccab. ii. 28, 29.

d 1 Maccab. ii. 43, 44.

e 1 Maccab. ii. 42.

return from the Babylonish captivity, there were two sorts of men among the members of it :^f the one who contented themselves with that only which was written in the law of Moses, and these were called *Zadikim*, that is, *the righteous* ; and the other, who, over and above the law, superadded the constitutions and traditions of the elders, and other rigorous observances, which, by way of supererogation, they voluntarily devoted themselves to ; and these, being reckoned in a degree of holiness above the others, were called *Chasidim*, that is, *the pious*.^g From the former of them were derived the sects of the Samaritans, Sadducees, and Karaites, and from the latter the Pharisees and the Essenes. Of all which a fuller account will be given in the place proper for it. Of these Chasidim were those Asidæans (or Chasidæans, for so it ought to be written^h) who joined Mattathias on this occasion, and he was much strengthened by them : for to fight zealously for their religion, and the defence of the temple and its worship, was one of those main points of piety which they had devoted themselves to.

Mattathias having thus gotten such a company together, as made the appearance of a small army, came out of his fastnesses, and took the field with them ; and, going round the cities of Judah, he pulled down all the heathen altars, caused all male children whom he found any where without circumcision to be circumcised, cut off all apostates that fell into his hands, and destroyed all the persecutors wherever he came.ⁱ And, thus going on, he prospered in the work of purging the land of the idolatry which the persecutors had imposed upon it, and again re-established the true worship of God^k in its former state in all the places where he prevailed. For, having recovered several copies of the law out of the hands of the heathen, he restored the service of the synagogue, and caused it again to be read therein, as before used to be done.^l When Antiochus issued out his decree for the suppressing of the Jewish religion, one main instruction given his agents for this purpose, was, every where to take away and suppress the law of Moses ;^m for that being the rule of their religion, were that taken away, he thought the religion itself must ne-

f Vide Grotium in Comment. ad 1 Maccab. ii. 42.

g Vide Josephi Scaligeri Elenchum Trihaeresii Nicolai Seratii, c. 22.

h For the word in the Hebrew is written with the letter Cheth, which answers to our ch ; and, by the translators of the Hebrew text, is sometimes expressed in Greek by an aspirate, and in Latin by the letter H, and sometimes is left wholly out, as in the word Asidæans.

i 1 Maccab. ii. 44, 45, &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 8.

k That is, the Synagogue worship ; for the temple worship was still obstructed, by reason that the temple was still in the hands of the heathen.

l 1 Maccab. ii. 48.

m 1 Maccab. ii. 56, 57. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7.

cessarily cease with it. And therefore orders were issued out, commanding all that had any copies of the law to deliver them up; and the punishment of death was severely inflicted upon all who were afterward found retaining any of them. And by this means the persecutors got into their hands all the copies of the law which were in the land, excepting only such as those who fled into the deserts carried with them thither. For all others were forced to deliver them up unto them: and, when they had gotten them, some they destroyed, and the others, which they thought to preserve, they polluted, by painting on them the pictures of their gods, that so they might no more be of use to any true Israelite:ⁿ for their pictures were forbidden by the law of God, as much as their images, and to have either of them was equally esteemed an abomination among that people.^o But this order of persecution extending only to the five books of Moses, and not to the writings of the prophets, those who persisted still in the Jewish worship, instead of the lessons which had hitherto, from the time of Ezra, been read out of the law on every sabbath, did read like portions out of the prophets; and, upon this occasion, the public reading of the prophets was first introduced into their synagogues; and, it being thus introduced, it continued there ever after. And therefore, when the persecution was over, and the reading of the law was again restored in their synagogues, the prophets were also there read with it; and, instead of the one lesson which was there read before, they thenceforth had two, the first out of the law, and the second out of the prophets, as hath been already observed in the first part of this history.^p All those copies of the law which the heathen had gotten into their hands on this occasion, and had not destroyed, Mattathias, wherever he came, made diligent search for, and thereby recovered several of them. Those which the heathen had not polluted were restored to their pristine use; the others might serve for the writing out of other copies by them, but were judged unfit for all other uses, by reason of their idol pictures painted on them, the Jews being as scrupulous of avoiding all appearances of idolatry after the Babylonish captivity, as they were prone to run into it before.

But Mattathias, being very aged, was soon worn out with

ⁿ 1 Maccab. iii. 48.

^o Levit. xxvi. 1. Numb. xxxiii. 52. For whereas, in the place in Leviticus here cited, the English translators render it any image of stone, the Hebrew original is any stone of picture; and so it is noted in the margin at that place, by which the Jews understand stones painted with pictures.

^p Book v.

the fatigues of this warfare, and therefore died the next year after he had first entered on it. The author of the first book of Maccabees placeth his death in the 146th year of the kingdom of the Greeks, that is, of the era of the Seleucidæ, the latter end of which was the beginning of the 166th Julian year before Christ.^q For the Julian year beginning from the first of January, and the years of the Seleucidæ, according to the first book of the Maccabees, from the first of Nisan, which fell in our March, the months intervening were in the latter end of the one and in the beginning of the other. Before his death, he called his five sons together; and, having exhorted them to stand up valiantly for the law of God, and, with a steady constancy and courage, to fight the battles of Israel against the present persecutors, he appointed Judas to be their captain in his stead, and Simon to be their counsellor; and then, giving up the ghost, was buried at Modin, in the sepulchres of his forefathers, and great lamentation was made for him by all the faithful in Israel.^r

An. 166.
Judas Mac-
cabæus 1.

But this loss was sufficiently compensated by the succession of Judas Maccabæus, his son, in the same station. For, as soon as his father's funeral was over, he stood up in his stead;^s and, according as appointed by him, took on him the chief command of those forces which he had with him at his death; and his brothers and all others that were zealous for the law, resorted to him, till they had made up the number of an army: whereon he erected his standard, and led them forth under it to fight the battles of Israel, against their common enemies, the heathen, that oppressed them. His motto in that standard being this Hebrew sentence taken out of Exodus xv. 11, *Mi Camo-ka Baelim Jehovah*, i. e. Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah; and it not being wrote thereon in words at length, but by an abbreviation formed by the initial letters of these words put together,^t which made the artificial word Maccabi,^u hence all that fought under that standard were called Maccabees, or Maccabæans; and he in an especial manner, had the name above the rest by way of eminence, who was the captain of them;^x and thus to abbreviate sentences, and names of many words, by putting together the initial letters of those words,

q 1 Maccab. ii. 70.

r 1 Maccab. ii. 49—79. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 8.

s 1 Maccab. iii. 1. 2 Maccab. viii. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 9.

t Thus *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, was expressed on the Roman standards and ensigns by the initial letters of these words, *S. P. Q. R.*

u Vide Grotium in Præfatione ad Comment. in primum librum Maccabæum et Buxtorfium de Abbreviaturis, p. 132. aliosque.

x 1 Maccab. ii. 4.

and making out of them an artificial word to express the whole, hath been a common practice among the Jews. Thus among them Rambam is the name of *Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon*,^y and Ralbag is the name of *Rabbi Levi Ben Gerson*,^z because the initial letters of the four words, of which these names do consist, when put together, make those artificial words; and it is common to call these persons by them. And abbreviations made this way, both of whole sentences, as well as of names, do so frequently occur in all their books, that there is no understanding of them without a key to explain these abbreviations by; and therefore Buxtorf, for the help of students in the Hebrew learning, hath written a book on purpose to explain these abbreviations, which is entitled *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis*, wherein hundreds of instances may be seen of this kind. Ruffinus having given names to the seven brothers that suffered martyrdom together under Antiochus, as hath been above mentioned, calls the eldest of them Maccabæus; and therefore from him some would derive this name of the Maccabees to all that are called by it. But with how little authority Ruffinus gives to those brothers the names which he mentions, hath been already observed. It is most probable this name had no other original than that which I have mentioned. But in its use it did not rest only on those to whom it was first given. For, not only Judas and his brethren were called Maccabees, but the name was extended in aftertimes to all those who joined with them in the same cause, and not only to them, but also to all others who suffered in the like cause under any of the Grecian kings, whether of Syria or Egypt, although some of them lived long before them.^a For those who suffered under Ptolemy Philopater at Alexandria, fifty years before, were afterward called Maccabees; and so were Eleazar, and the mother and her seven sons, though they suffered before Judas erected his standard with the motto above mentioned. And therefore, as those books which give us the history of Judas and his brothers, and their wars against the Syrian kings, in defence of their religion and their liberties, are called the first and second book of the Maccabees; so that book which gives us the history of those, who, in the like cause, under Ptolemy Philopater, were exposed to his elephants at Alexandria, is called the third book of the Maccabees, and that

^y Buxtorfium de Abbreviaturis, p. 186.

^z Idem in eodem Libro, p. 185.

^a Scaliger in Animadversionibus in Chronologica Euseb. No. 1853, p. 143, ubi dicit, 'Omnes qui, ob legis observationem, excruciat, cæsi, & male tractati sunt, a veteribus Christianis dicuntur Maccabæi, ut qui propter Christum, dicti martyres.'

which is written by Josephus of the martyrdom of Eleazar, and the seven brothers and their mother, is called the fourth book of the Maccabees. Of the two latter I have already given an account. The two others are those which we have in our Bibles among the Apocrypha.

The first of them, which is a very accurate and excellent history, and comes the nearest to the style and manner of the sacred historical writings of any extant, was written originally in Chaldee language of the Jerusalem dialect; which was the language spoken in Judea from the return of the Jews thither from the Babylonish captivity. And it was extant in this language in the time of Jerome,^b for he tells us, that he had seen it. The title which it then bore was *Sharbet Sar Bene El*,^c i. e. *The sceptre of the Prince of the sons of God*, a title which well suited Judas, who was so valiant a commander of God's people then under persecution. The author of it, some conjecture, was John Hyrcanus the son of Simon, who was prince and high-priest of the Jews near thirty years, and began his government at the time where this history ends. It is most likely it was composed in his time, when those wars of the Maccabees were over, either by him, or else by some others employed by him. For it reacheth no further than where his government begins, and therefore in the time immediately following it seems most likely to have been composed; and public records being made use of, and referred to in this history, this makes it very probable, that it was composed under the direction of some public authority. From the Chaldee it was translated into Greek, and after that a translation was made of it from the Greek into Latin; and we have our English version from the same Greek fountain. Theodotion is conjectured to have first translated it into Greek; but it seems most probable, that this version was ancients, because of the use made of it by authors as ancient, as by Tertullian,^d Origen,^e and others.

The second book of the Maccabees consists of several pieces compiled together, by what author is utterly uncertain. It begins with two epistles sent from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Alexandria and Egypt, to exhort them to the observing of the feast of the dedication of the new altar erected by Judas, on his purifying of the temple, which was celebrated on the 25th day of their month Cisleu. The first of them was written in the 169th year of the era of the Seleucidæ,^f (i. e. in the year before Christ 144,) and, begin-

^b In Prologo Galeato.

^c Origenes in Comment. ad Psalmos, vol. i. p. 47, editionis Huetianæ. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6, c. 25.

^d Adversus Judæos, p. 210. Edit. Rigalt. 2.

^e Origenes, ibid & alibi.

^f 2 Maccab. i. 7.

ning at the first verse of the first chapter, endeth at the ninth verse of the same chapter inclusively. And the second was written in the 183th year of the same era,^g (i. e. in the year before Christ 125,) and, beginning at the tenth verse of the same chapter, endeth with the eighteenth verse of the second chapter. Both these epistles seem to be spurious, wherever the compiler of this book picked them up. The first of them calls the feast of the dedication, Σκηνοπηγία ἐν Κισλεύ; i. e. *The feast of making tabernacles, or booths in Cisleu*, which is very improper. For although they might, during that solemnity, carry some winter-greens in their hands to express their rejoicing, yet they could not then make such booths as in the feast of tabernacles; because the month Cisleu falling in the middle of winter, they could not then lie abroad in such booths, nor find green boughs enough to make them. And as to the second epistle, it is not only written in the name of Judas Maccabæus who was slain thirty-six years before, but also contains such fabulous and absurd stuff, as could never have been written by the great council of the Jews assembled at Jerusalem for the whole nation, as this pretends to be. What followeth after this last epistle, to the end of the chapter, is the preface of the author to his abridgment of his history of Jason, which beginning from the first verse of the third chapter, is carried on to the end of the thirty-seventh verse of the last chapter; and the two next verses that follow to the end, are the author's conclusion of the whole work. This Jason, the abridgment of whose history makes the main of this book, was an hellenist Jew of Cyrene, of the race of those Jews whom Ptolemy Soter sent thither, as hath been afore related.^h He wrote in Greek the history of Judas Maccabæus and his brethren,ⁱ and of the purification of the temple at Jerusalem, and the dedication of the altar, and the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes, and Eupator his son, in five books. These five books the author abridged,ⁱ and of this abridgment, and the other particulars above mentioned, compiled the whole book in the same Greek language, and this proves that author to have been an hellenist also, and most likely he was of Alexandria; which one expression in the book, and there more than once occurring, seems very strongly to prove. For there, in speaking of the temple of Jerusalem, he calls it the great temple,^k which cannot there be understood to be said otherwise than by way of contradistinction from another temple which was lesser; and that could be none other than the temple built in Egypt by Onias, which will be hereafter spo-

^g 2 Maccab. i. 10.

ⁱ 2 Maccab. ii. 19—24.

^h See part I, book 8, under the year 320.

^k 2 Maccab. ii. 19: xiv. 13.

ken of.¹ This the Jews of Egypt did acknowledge as a daughter temple to that of Jerusalem, still retaining the prime honour to that as the mother temple; and therefore very properly the temple at Jerusalem might be called the great temple by them, in that they had a lesser, but not by any other Jews. For none others of them acknowledged this temple in Egypt at all, or any other but that at Jerusalem only, but looked on all those as schismatics that sacrificed any where else. And therefore none but an Egyptian Jew, who acknowledged the lesser temple in Egypt, as well as the greater temple at Jerusalem, could thus express himself, as is above mentioned; and consequently none but an Egyptian Jew could be the author of this book. And of all the Egyptian Jews, the Alexandrian being the most polite and learned, this makes it most likely that there this book was composed. But this second book of the Maccabees doth by no means equal the accurateness and excellency of the first: There are, in the Polyglot Bibles both of Paris and London, Syriac versions of both these books, but they are both of them of a later date, and made from the Greek, though they are observed in some places to differ from it. And from the same Greek are also made the English versions of both these books which we have among the apocryphal writers in our Bibles.

Antiochus, hearing that Paulus Æmilius, the Roman general, after having conquered Perseus king of Macedon, and subdued that whole realm, had celebrated games at Amphipolis, on the river Strymon, in that country, in imitation hereof, proposed to do the same at Daphne, near Antioch;^m and therefore, having set a day for it, sent out emissaries into all parts to invite spectators to the place, whereby he drew great numbers thither to see the shows, which he there celebrated with great pomp and prodigious expense for several days together: through all which, to verify the character prophetically given of him by the holy prophet Daniel,ⁿ he acted the part of a most vile and despicable person, agreeable to what hath been afore mentioned of him, exposing himself before that numerous assembly, by the meanest and most indecent actions of behaviour, to the contempt, scorn, and ridicule, of all that were present; and to that degree, that several, not being able to bear the sight of so absurd and profligate a conduct, fled from his feasts to avoid it. Polybius wrote a full description of all this, and Athenæus hath

¹ It is in Greek, *τα μεν τα μεγαλα*, 2 Maccab. ii. 19.

^m Polyb. apud Athenæum, lib. 5, c. 4, p. 194, 195; lib. 10, c. 12, p. 439. Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 321.

ⁿ Dan. xi. 21.

copied it from him at large; and the same may be seen in epitome out of Diodorus Siculus among the Excerpta published by Valesius.

But, while Antiochus was thus playing the fool at Daphne, Judas was acting another kind of part in Judea. For having gotten together such an army as is mentioned, he went round the cities of Judea in the same manner as his father had begun to do, destroying every where all utensils and implements of idolatry, and cutting off, in all places, the heathen idolaters, and all others who had apostatized to them;^o and hereby having delivered the true lovers of the law, wherever he came, from all those that oppressed them, for the better securing of them from all such for the future, he fortified their towns, rebuilt their fortresses, and placed strong garrisons in them for their protection and defence; and hereby made himself strong and powerful in the land. Whereon Apollonius, who was governor for Antiochus in Samaria, thinking to put a stop to his future progress, got an army together, and marched against him.^p But Judas having vanquished and slain him in battle, made a great slaughter of his forces, and took their spoils; among which finding the sword of Apollonius, he took it to his own use, and fought with it all his life after.^q

Seron, who was a deputy governor of some part of Cœlo-Syria under Ptolemy Macron,^r (for this Ptolemy was then chief governor of that province,^s) hearing of the defeat of Apollonius, got all the forces together that were under his command, and marched with them into Judea, with hopes of revenging this blow, and gaining thereby great honour to himself on Judas, and those that followed him;^t but, instead hereof, he met with the same fate that Apollonius did, being vanquished by Judas, and slain in battle, in the same manner as the other had been.

When Antiochus heard of these two defeats, he was moved with great fury and indignation; and therefore, in his rage, forthwith sent and gathered together all his forces, even a very great army, resolving in his wrath to march immediately with them into Judea, and there utterly destroy the whole nation of the Jews, and give their land to others to be divided among them: but, when he came to pay his army, he found his treasury so exhausted, that there was not money therein sufficient for it; which forced him to suspend his revenge upon the Jews for the present, and put a stop to

^o 1 Maccab. iii. 8; 2 Maccab. viii. 5—7.

^p 1 Maccab. iii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 10.

^q 1 Maccab. iii. 10—12. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 10.

^r 2 Maccab. iii. 13.

^s 2 Maccab. viii. 8

^t 1 Maccab. iii. 13—24. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 10

all those violent designs which he had formed in his mind for the speedy executing of it.^u He had expended vast sums in his late shows, and, besides, he was on all occasions very magnificent and profuse in his gifts and donatives, frequently dealing out to his followers and others vast sums with both hands, sometimes to good purposes, but oftener to none at all;^x which made good what the prophet Daniel foretold of him,^y that *he should scatter among his followers the prey, and the spoil, and riches*;^z and from hence he had the character of *the magnanimous and the munificent*.^a For, in the liberal giving of gifts, we are told in the Maccabees, that he abounded above all the kings that were before him.^b And besides at the same time he was further perplexed, according to the predictions of the same holy prophet, *by tidings that came to him out of the East, and out of the North, that troubled him*.^c For in the North, Artaxias king of Armenia, his tributary, had revolted from him, and in Persia, which was in the East, his taxes were no more duly paid; for there, as well as in other parts of his empire, a failure herein was caused by reason of the dissension and plague which he had brought upon them, by taking away the laws which had been of old time among them, out of a fond desire of bringing all to an uniformity with the Greeks.^d For, had it not been for these disturbances, such payments from so large and rich an empire would regularly have come into his treasury, as would constantly have made amends for all his goings out of it; but, when the goings out of it continued, and the flowings in failed, had his treasure been as the ocean, it must have grown empty at last; and this now was his case.

And therefore, for the remedying of this, as well as other inconveniences which then perplexed his affairs, he resolved to divide his army into two parts, and to leave one of them with Lysias, a nobleman of the royal family, to subdue the Jews, and with the other to march himself first into Armenia, and afterward into Persia, for the restoring of his affairs in those

u 1 Maccab. iii. 27, 28, &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 11.

x Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 11. Athen. lib. 5, p. 194; lib. 10, p. 438.

y Dan. xi. 24.

z How he came by these riches, spoil, and prey, Athenæus tells in these following words: 'All these expenses were made partly out of the prey, which, contrary to his faith given, he took in Egypt from king Philometor, then a minor, and partly out of the gifts of his friends; but, the greatest part was from the spoils of the many temples which he sacrilegiously robbed.' Deipnosoph. lib. 5, p. 195.

a Μεγαλόψυχος καὶ φιλόδοτος. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 11.

b Maccab. iii. 30.

c Daniel xi. 44. Vide Hieronymum in Comment. ad illum locum.

d 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

countries.^e And accordingly, having left the same Lysias governor of all that part of his empire which lay on this side of the Euphrates, and committed to his care the breeding up of his son, who was then a minor but of seven years old,^f he passed over mount Taurus, into Armenia, and, having^g vanquished Artaxias, and taken him prisoner, marched thence into Persia, hoping that by taking the tribute of that rich country, and the other provinces of the East, for which they were in arrear to him, he should gather money sufficient wherewith to repair all the deficiencies of his treasury, and thereby restore all his other affairs to their former order and prosperity.

While he was on these projects abroad, Lysias was intent on the executing of his orders at home, especially in reference to the Jews; concerning whom the king's command left with him was,^h utterly to extirpate that people out of their country, and to place strangers in all its quarters, and divide the land by lot among them. And the progress which Judas made with his forces, in bringing all places under him wherever he came, hastened Lysias to a speedy execution of what the king had commanded in reference to them. For Philip,ⁱ whom Antiochus had left at Jerusalem in the government of Judea, seeing how Judas grew and increased, wrote hereof to Ptolemy Macron, then governor of the province of Cælo-Syria and Phœnicia, to which the government of Judea was an appendant, pressing him to a speedy care of the king's interest in this matter, and Ptolemy communicated it to Lysias;^k whereon it being resolved forthwith to send an army into Judea, Ptolemy Macron was appointed to have the chief conduct of the war;^l who, choosing Nicanor, one of his especial friends, for his lieutenant, sent him before with twenty thousand men, joining with him Gorgias, an old soldier, greatly experienced in matters of war, for his assistant. These having entered the country, were speedily followed thither by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces designed for this expedition; which, when all joined together,ⁿ encamped at Emmaus near Jerusalem, and there made up an army of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse;^o and thither resorted to them another army of merchants for the buying of the captives which they reckoned would be taken in this war. For Nicanor proposing to raise great

^e 1 Maccab. iii. 31, 32, &c. Joseph. *ibid*.

^f He was, when he succeeded his father two years after, a youth of nine years old.

^g Appian. in Syriacis. Porphyrius apud Hieronymum in Dan. xi. 44.

^h 2 Maccab. iii. 34, 35, 36. Joseph. *Antiq. lib.* 12, c. 11.

ⁱ 2 Maccab. v. 22.

^k 2 Maccab. viii. 8.


^l 1 Maccab. iii. 38. Joseph. *Antiq. lib.* 12, c. 11.

^m 2 Maccab. viii. 9.

ⁿ 1 Maccab. iii. 40. Joseph. *ibid*.

^o 1 Maccab. iii. 39. Joseph. *ibid*.

sums of money this way, even as much as would be sufficient to pay the debt of two thousand talents which the king then owed the Romans for arrear of tribute due to them, by the treaty of peace made with them by his father, after the battle of Mount Sipylus, he caused the sale to be proclaimed in all the neighbouring countries, promising to sell no fewer than ninety Jews for every talent.^p For it was resolved to slay all the full-grown men, and sell all the rest for slaves; and one hundred and eighty thousand of the latter at the price promised, would raise the sum proposed. Hereon the merchants, promising themselves great gains from so cheap a market, flocked thither with their silver and gold in great numbers, they being no fewer than one thousand principal merchants that came to the Syrian camp on this occasion, besides a much greater number of servants and assistants, whom they brought thither with them, to help them in carrying off the slaves they should purchase.^q

Judas and his brethren, seeing the great danger which they were threatened with from this numerous army (for they knew that they came with orders to destroy and utterly abolish the whole Jewish nation,) resolved to stand to their defence, and fight for their lives, their law, and their liberties, and either conquer or die in the attempt.^r And six thousand men being gathered together after them for this intent,^s Judas divided them into four bands, each consisting of fifteen hundred men; ^t one of these Judas himself took the command of, and committed that of the other three to three of his brothers, and then led them all to Mizpah,^u there to offer up their prayers to God for his merciful assistance to them in the time of this great danger. For Jerusalem being at that time in the hands of the heathen, and the sanctuary trodden under foot, they could not assemble there for this purpose; and therefore Mizpah being the place where men prayed aforetime in Israel, there they met together, and addressed themselves to God in solemn fasting and prayer, for the imploring of his mercy upon them in this their great distress, and then marched forth to fight the enemy.^x But when proclamation was made, according to the law,^y that all such as had that year built houses, betrothed wives, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, should depart;^z the six thousand men which Judas had at first, were reduced to three thousand.^a However,  valiant captain of God's people resol-

p 2 Maccab. viii. 10, 11.

q 1 Maccab. iii. 41. 2 Maccab. viii. 34. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 11.

r 1 Maccab. iii. 42, &c. 2 Maccab. viii. 12, &c. Joseph. ibid.

s 2 Maccab. viii. 16. t 2 Maccab. viii. 21, 22.

u 1 Maccab. iii. 46, &c.

x Judges xx. 1. 1 Sam. vii. 5.

y Deut. xx. 5.

z 1 Maccab. iii. 56.

a 1 Maccab. iv. 6.

ving even with these to fight this numerous army, and commit the event to God, led forth this small company into the field, and pitched his camp very near that of the enemy ; and there, having encouraged them with what was proper to be spoken to them on such an occasion, did let them know that he purposed the next morning to join battle with the Syrians, and ordered them to provide for it accordingly.^b But, having gotten intelligence that evening, that Gorgias was marched out of the Syrian camp with five thousand chosen foot, and one thousand of their best horse, and was leading them through by-ways, under the guidance of some apostate Jews, upon a design of falling on him in the night, for the cutting of him off, and all there with him, by a sudden surprise, he countermined his plot by another of the same kind, and executed it with much better success.^c For immediately quitting his camp, and leaving it quite empty, he marched toward that of the enemy, and fell upon them, while Gorgias was absent on his night project with their best men, by which they being surprised, and put into great confusion, soon fled, and left Judas master of their camp, and three thousand of their men dead upon the spot.^d But Gorgias and his detachment being still entire, Judas withheld his men from the spoil and the pursuit till these were also vanquished, and this was done without any further fighting.^e For Gorgias, after having in vain sought for Judas in his camp, and also in the mountains where he thought him fled, returning back, and finding on his return the camp on fire, and the main army broken and fled, he could no longer keep his men together, but they all flung down their arms. and fled also ; whereon Judas, with all his men put himself on the pursuit, and therein slew great numbers more of the Syrian host, so that the slain in the whole amounted to nine thousand men ; and most of the rest were sore wounded and maimed that escaped from the battle.^f After this Judas led back his men to take the spoils of the camp, where they found great riches, and got all that money for a prey which the merchants brought thither to buy them with, and several of them they sold for slaves who came thither, as to a market, to have bought them for such. And the next day after being their sabbath, they solemnized it with great devotion, rejoicing and giving praise to God for this great and merciful deliverance which he had now given unto them.^h

b 1 Maccab. iii. 57, 58.

c 1 Maccab. iv. 1. 2 Maccab. viii. 16, &c. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 11.

d 1 Maccab. iv. 15.

e 2 Maccab. iv. 18, &c.

f 2 Maccab. viii. 24.

g 1 Maccab. iv. 23, 24, &c. Joseph. *ibid.*

h 2 Maccab. viii. 26, 27.

Judas and his followers being flushed with this victory, and being also by the reputation of it much increased in their strength, through the numbers of those that resorted to them hereon, resolved to pursue the advantage they had gotten for the suppressing of all other their enemies; and therefore, understanding that Timotheus, governor of the country beyond Jordan, and Bacchides, another of Antiochus's lieutenants, in those parts, were drawing forces together to annoy them, they marched forthwith against them, and, having overthrown them in a great battle, slew above twenty thousand of their men; and, having taken their spoils, they thereby not only enriched themselves, but also got provisions of arms, and many other necessities, for the future carrying on of the war.ⁱ And in this victory they had the satisfaction of executing their just revenge on two very signal enemies of theirs,^k the one called Philarches, who with Timotheus had done them much mischief, and the other Calisthenes,^l who was the person that put fire to the gates of the temple whereby they were burned down. The first they slew in battle, and the other being driven in the pursuit into a little house, they set it on fire over his head, and there made him die in it, such a death as well suited the crime whereby he deserved it. And as to Nicanor, though he escaped with life, yet it was in a very ignominious manner. For finding the army broken, and the expedition thereby defeated, he changed his glorious apparel for that of a servant, and in this disguise made his escape through the midland to Antioch, where he was in great dishonour and disgrace, by reason of his miscarriage in this enterprise, and losing thereby so great an army.^m For the excusing of himself in this case he was forced to acknowledge the great power of the God of Israel; alleging, that he fought for his people, because they kept his law; and that as long as they did so, they would always have him for their Protector, and no hurt could be done unto them. It is most likely Ptolemy Macron was not present in any of these battles, there being no mention made of him in any of them. Perchance the affairs of Syria, of which he was governor, then kept him otherwise employed. And therefore, though he came at first to the camp at Emmaus, yet he was not present when the battle there was fought with Judas, but left it wholly to be conducted by Nicanor his deputy. And therefore the whole of it is in the history attributed to Nicanor, without naming Ptolemy at all, unless only in the first appointment of that expedition.

ⁱ 2 Maccab. viii. 30, 31.

^l 2 Maccab. viii. 33.

^k 2 Maccab. viii. 32.

^m 2 Maccab. viii. 34, 35, 36.

Lysias, on the hearing of the ill success of the king's army in Judea, and the great losses sustained thereby, was much confounded at it.ⁿ But knowing how earnest the king's commands were for the executing of his wrath upon that people, he made great preparations for another expedition against them; and, having gotten together an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse, all choice men, he put himself at the head of them, and marched with them in person into Judea, purposing no less than the utter destruction of that country, and all the inhabitants of it. With this design, being entered into it, he pitched his camp at Bethsura, a town lying to the south of Jerusalem, near the confines of Idumea. There Judas met him with ten thousand men; and having, through his great confidence in God's assistance, with this much inferior force, engaged the numerous army of Lysias, and, having slain five thousand of them, he put all the rest to flight; whereby Lysias being much dismayed, and also equally astonished at the valour of Judas's soldiers, who fought as men ready prepared either to live or die valiantly, returned with his baffled army to Antioch, purposing to come again with greater force against them another year.

Upon this retreat of Lysias, Judas being left master of the country, proposed to his followers their going up to Jerusalem for the recovery of the sanctuary out of the hands of the heathen, and to cleanse and dedicate it anew for the service of the Lord their God, that his worship might be there again restored, and daily carried on as in former times; to which all consenting, he led them up thither, where they found all things in a very lamentable state; for the city was in rubbish, the sanctuary desolated, the altar profaned, the gates of the temple burnt up, shrubs were in its courts as in a forest, and the priests' chambers pulled down.^o At the sight hereof the whole assembly fell into great lamentation, and pressed earnestly to have all these desolations and profanations removed out of the house of God, that so his worship might be again performed in it as in former times. And accordingly, in order hereto, Judas having chosen priests of unblamable conversation, appointed them to the work; who, having cleansed the sanctuary, pulled down the altars which the heathen had there erected, borne out all the defiled stones of them into an unclean place, taken down the old altar which the heathen had profaned, built a new one in its stead of unhewn stones, according to the law,^p and hallowed

ⁿ 1 Maccab. iv. 26, 27, &c. Joseph. *ibid.*

^o 1 Maccab. iv. 36, &c. 2 Maccab. x. 1, 2, &c. Joseph. *Antiq. lib. 12, c. 11.*

^p Exodus xx. 25. Deut. xxvii. 5. Josh. viii. 31.

the courts, made thereby the whole temple in all things again fit for its former service. But whereas Antiochus had, in his sacrilegious pillage of it, taken away the golden altar of incense, the show-bread table, which was all overlaid with gold, and the golden candlestick, (which all three stood in the holy place,) and had also robbed it of all its other vessels and utensils, and the service of the temple could not be perfectly performed without them. Judas took care that all these defects should be supplied.^q For, out of the spoils which he had taken from the enemy, he caused to be made a new altar of incense, and a new candlestick all of gold, and a new show-bread table all overlaid with gold, all three formed in the same manner as they were before.^r And, by his care, all other vessels and utensils, both of gold and silver, that were necessary for the divine service, were again provided, and a new vail was also made to separate between the holy place and the holy of holies, and there hung in its proper place. And, when all these things were made ready, and all placed according to their former order, each in the particular place, and each for the particular use which they were ordained for, a new dedication of the altar was resolved on. The day appointed for it was the 25th day of their ninth month, called Cisleu,^s which fell about the time of the winter solstice. This was the very same day of the year on which, three years before,^t it had been profaned in the manner as above related,^u just three years and an half after the city and temple had been desolated by Apollonius,^x two years after Judas had taken on him the chief command of the Jews, on his father's death. They began the day early, by offering sacrifices, according to the law, upon the new altar which they had made,^y having first struck fire for it, by dashing two flints against each other, and from the same fire having lighted the seven lamps on the golden candlestick that stood in the holy place, beside the altar of incense, they went on in all the other service, restoring it, according to their former rule, in all the particulars of the divine worship which were there used to be performed;^z and so it continued to be there

q 1 Maccab. i. 21—23. 2 Maccab. v. 16.

r 1 Maccab. iv. 49.

s 1 Maccab. iv. 52. 2 Maccab. x. 5.

t 1 Maccab. i. 59; iv. 54. 2 Maccab. x. 5.

u Josephus in Prefatione ad librum de Bello Judaico, et in ipso libro de Bello Judaico, lib. 1, c. 1; lib. 6, c. 11.

x 2 Maccab. x. 3.

y 1 Maccab. iv. 52, &c. 2 Maccab. x. 1, 2, &c.

z 2 Maccab. x. 3. N. B. The sacred fire which came down from heaven, at the dedication of Solomon's temple, was extinguished in the destruction of the temple by the Babylonians, till which time it had there been kept constantly burning. After that, they used no other than common fire in the temple; but still they avoided the bringing thither of any culinary fire which had been profaned by other uses, and therefore kindled it by dashing two stones one against the other, as is here said.

ever after celebrated, without any other interruption, till the Romans finally destroyed the temple, and thereby put an end to all the ritual worship of that place.

The solemnity of this dedication was continued for eight days together, which they celebrated with great joy and thanksgiving, for the deliverance which God had given unto them.^a And, for the more solemn acknowledgment hereof, they decreed the like festival to be ever after annually kept in commemoration of it. This was called the feast of dedication. It began every year on the said 25th day of Cisleu, and was continued to the eighth day after, in the same manner as were the passover and the feast of tabernacles;^b during all which time they all illuminated their houses, by setting up of candles at every man's door; from whence it was called the feast of lights.^c

This festival Christ honoured with his presence at Jerusalem, coming thither of purpose to bear a part in the solemnizing of it, which implies his approbation of it;^d and therefore from hence Grotius^e very justly infers, that festival days in memorial of public blessings may piously be instituted by persons in authority without a divine command, or (it may be added) the example of a person divinely directed observing the same. For the institution of this festival was without either, there being neither any divine precept, nor the example of any prophet, for the observance of it. Neither can it be said, that it was the feast of any other dedication that Christ was present at, save this only which was instituted by Judas Maccabæus. As to the two former dedications of the temple which were had before, first that of Solomon, and afterward that of Zerubbabel, though they were very solemnly celebrated at the time on which they were performed, yet there was no anniversary feast in commemoration of either of them celebrated afterward, as there was of this of Judas Maccabæus. And, if there had, yet the text in the gospel clearly pins down the dedication mentioned in it to the dedication of Judas only: for it tells us, that the time of its celebration was in the winter; which could be said only of this, and not of either of the other two; for that of Solomon was in the seventh month, then called Ethanim,^f afterward Tizri, which fell about the time of the autumnal equinox; and that of Zerubbabel was in their twelfth month, called Adar,^g which fell in the beginning of the spring; but that of Judas Maccabæus being on

a 1 Maccab. iv. 56. 2 Maccab. x. 6. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 11.

b Maimonides in Chanucah.

c Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 11.

d John x. 22.

e In Comment. ad Evangelium St. Johan. x. 22.

f 1 Kings viii. 2. 2 Chron. v. 3.

g Ezra vi. 15—17.

the 25th day of the month Cisleu, which fell in the middle of winter, this plainly demonstrates, that the feast of dedication which Christ was present at in Jerusalem, could be no other feast than that which was celebrated in commemoration of the dedication performed by Judas Maccabæus, and instituted by him for this purpose.

When the old altar which the heathen had polluted was pulled down, a dispute arose how the stones of it were to be disposed of. The heathens having sacrificed on this altar to their idol gods, and some of those sacrifices having been of unclean beasts, the worshippers of the true God then looked on it, and all the stones of which it was built, as doubly polluted hereby, and therefore no more to be made use of in his service. And, on the other side, they having been for many ages sanctified by the sacrifices which had been offered thereon to the true God, they were afraid, after this, of applying them to any profane or common use. And therefore, being in this doubt,^b they resolved to lay up these stones in some convenient place within the mountain of the house, till there should a prophet arise, who should show them what was to be done with them;ⁱ so scrupulous were they in this case. The place in which, according to the Mishnah, these stones were laid up, was one of the four closets of the Beth-Moked,^k or the common fire-room of the priests attending the service, that is, that closet which lay on the northwest corner of that room. But that closet, according to the description of it in the same Mishnah, could not be large enough to hold the tenth part of those stones. I cannot take upon me to solve this difficulty.

But, though the Jews had recovered their temple, and restored it again to its former sacred use, yet still there remained one great thorn in their sides; for the fortress was still in the hands of the enemy, and strongly garrisoned by them, partly with heathen soldiers, and partly with apostate Jews, which were the worse of the two,^l from whence they much annoyed those that went up to the temple to worship, often sallying from thence upon them, and slaying several of them.^m This fortress was built by Apollonius wheu

^h 1 Maccab. iv. 46.

ⁱ All within the outer wall of the temple, which made the great square, five hundred cubits on every side, was called *Har Habbeth*, i. e. *the mountain of the house*. All that was within the wall, that included the court of the women, and the inner court in which the temple stood, was called *Mikdash*, i. e. *the sanctuary*. And the temple itself, including the porch, the holy place, and the holy of holies, was called *Hecal*, i. e. *the temple*. This is to be understood strictly speaking; for often all these words are used promiscuously for the temple in general.

^k Middoth. c. 1, sec. 6.

^m 1 Maccab. i. 36, 37.

^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 7.

he sacked and destroyed Jerusalem, as hath been above related, and stood upon an eminence over against the mountain of the temple;^a for which reason the place was called Mount Acra, from the Greek word *Ακρη*, which signifieth an eminence, or fortress on the top of an hill; which eminence overtopping the mountain of the temple, as being then the higher of the two, had thereby the command of it, which gave the soldiers there in garrison the advantage which I have mentioned, of annoying all those who went up thither to worship. For the preventing of this, Judas at first appointed part of his army to shut them up within their fortress, and to fight against all such as should sally out of it upon any of the people.^o But, finding he could not spare so many of his men as was necessary for this blockade, he caused the mountain of the house to be fortified with strong walls and high towers built round about it, and placed there a strong garrison to defend it, and secure those that went up thither to worship from all future insults that might be made upon them, either from the fortress or any other place.^p

And whereas the Idumeans were at that time great enemies to the Jews, to secure Jerusalem from all insults from that quarter, he fortified Bethsura to be a barrier against them.^q I have formerly shown,^r that the Idumea, or land of Edom, in which those people now dwelt, was not the Idumea, or land of Edom, which is mentioned in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Wherever this name occurs in any of those ancient holy writings, it is to be understood of that Idumea, or land of Edom, only, which lay between the lake of Sodom and the Red Sea, and was afterward called Arabia Petræa; nor are any other Edomites spoken of in them, than those which inhabited in that country, excepting only in one passage in the prophet Malachi.^s But these Edomites being driven from thence by the Nabatheans, while the Jews were in the Babylonish captivity, and their land lay desolate, they then took possession of as much of the southern part of it as contained what had formerly been the whole inheritance of

n 1 Maccab. i. 33—35. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7.

o 1 Maccab. iv. 41. Joseph. ibid.

p 1 Maccab. iv. 60. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 11.

q 1 Maccab. iv. 61. Joseph. ibid. r Part I, book 1.

s Malachi i. 3, 4. There God speaks, (ver. 3,) of his having *laid the mountains and heritage of Esau waste*; which was done on their expulsion by the Nabatheans out of that mountainous country, lying between the Red Sea and the lake of Sodom, where they formerly had their inheritance. The fourth verse contains their brag, *that they would return again into this their ancient country, rebuild the desolated cities, which they formerly there possessed, and again dwell in them.* But hereto God, by the mouth of his holy prophet, denies them success, telling them, *that as fast as they should build, he would pull down again*; and so it accordingly happened; for the Edomites could never again recover that country

the tribe of Simeon, and also half of that which had been the inheritance of the tribe of Judah, and there dwelt ever after, till at length, going over into the religion of the Jews, they became incorporated with them into the same nation.^t And this only is the Idumea, and the inhabitants of it the only Edomites, or Idumeans, which are any where spoken of after the Babylonish captivity. After their coming into this country, Hebron, which had formerly been the metropolis of the tribe of Judah, thenceforth became the metropolis of Idumea; and in the road between that and Jerusalem lay Bethsura, at the distance of five furlongs from the latter, saith the author of the second book of Maccabees;^u but others put it at much greater distance, and these seem to be nearest to the truth of the matter.

When the neighbouring nations round about heard that the Jews had again recovered the city and temple of Jerusalem, new dedicated the sanctuary, erected a new altar in it, and again restored the Jewish worship in that place, they were much moved with envy and hatred against them hereon;^x and therefore, taking counsel together against them, resolved to act in concert together for their utter extirpation, and began to execute this resolution, by putting all of them to death who were found sojourning any where among them, purposing to join with Antiochus for the effecting of all the rest in the utter destruction of the whole race of Israel.

But Antiochus dying in the interim, this broke all the measures which they had concerted together for this mischief. For, on his passing into Persia, to gather up the arrears of tribute which were there due to him, being told, that the city of Elymais^y in that country was greatly renowned for its riches both of gold and silver, and that there was in it a temple of Diana,^z in which were vast treasures, he marched thither, with intent to take the city, and spoil that and the temple in it, in the same manner as he had done at Jerusalem. But, on fore-notice had of this design, the people of the country round about, as well as the inhabitants of the city, joining together in defence of their temple, beat him off with shame and confusion; whereon he retired to Ecbatana in Media, greatly grieved for this baffle and disappoint-

^t See an account hereof in the first part of this history, book 1, under the year 740.

^u Chap. ii. ver. 5.

^x 1 Maccab. v. 1, 2.

^y 1 Maccab. vi. 1, 2, &c.

^z Polybius saith it was a temple of Diana, (in *Excerptis Valesii*, p. 144.) and so saith Josephus, (*Antiq. lib. 12, c. 13.*) But Appian. (in *Syriacis*.) saith, that it was a temple of Venus.

ment.^a On his arrival thither, news came to him of what had happened to Nicanor and Timotheus in Judea;^b at which being exceedingly enraged, he hastened back, with all the speed he was able, to execute the utmost of his wrath upon the people of the Jews, breathing nothing else but threats of utter destruction and utter extirpation against them all the way as he went. As he was thus hastening towards the country of Babylonia;^c through which he was to pass in his return, he met on the road with other messengers,^d which brought him an account how the Jews had defeated Lysias, recovered the temple of Jerusalem, pulled down the images and altars which he had there erected, and restored that place to its former worship; at which being enraged to the utmost fury, he commanded his charioteer to double his speed, that he might be sooner on the place to execute his revenge upon this people, threatening, as he went, that he would make Jerusalem a place of sepulture for the Jews, wherein he would bury the whole nation, destroying them all to a man. But while these proud words were in his mouth, the judgments of God overtook him; for he had no sooner spoken them, but he was smitten with an incurable plague, a great pain seizing his bowels, and a grievous torment following thereupon in his inward parts, which no remedy could abate.^e However, he would not slacken his speed;^f but, still continuing in the same wrath, he drove on in the same haste to execute it, till at length, his chariot overthrowing, he was cast to the ground with such violence, that he was sorely bruised and hurt in all the members of his body; whereon he was put into a litter; but not being able long to bear that, he was forced to put in at a town called Tabæ, lying in the mountains of Parætacene, in the confines of Persia and Babylonia,^g and there betake himself to his bed, where he suffered horrid torments both in body and mind.^h For in his body a filthy ulcer broke out in his secret parts, wherein were bred an innumerable quantity of vermin continually flowing from it; and such a stench proceeded from the same, as neither those that attended him nor he himself could well bear;ⁱ and in this condition he lay languishing and rotting till he died.^m All this while the torments of his mind were as great as the torments of his body, caused by the re-

a 2 Maccab. ix. 3.

c 1 Maccab. vi. 4.

e 2 Maccab. ix. 5, 6.

g Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 144.

i Strabo, lib. 11, p. 622, 624.

k 2 Maccab. ix. 9.

m Appian. in Syriacis. 1 Maccab. vi. 9, 10. 2 Maccab. ix. 9—11.

b 2 Maccab. ibid.

d 1 Maccab. vi. 6.

f 2 Maccab. ix. 7.

h Q. Curtius, lib. v. c. 13.

k 1 Maccab. vi. 8.

flections which he made on his former actions.^a Polybius tells us of this,^o as well as Josephus, and the authors of the first and second books of Maccabees ; and adds hereto, that it grew so far upon him as to come to a constant delirium, or state of madness, by reason of several spectres and apparitions of evil spirits, which he imagined were continually about him reproaching and stinging his conscience with accusations of his past evil deeds which he had been guilty of. Polybius saith, this was for the sacrilegious attempt which he made upon the temple of Diana in Elymais, overlooking that which he had actually executed upon the temple at Jerusalem. Josephus reproves him for this, and, with much more reason and justice lays the whole cause of his suffering in this sickness,^p as did also Antiochus himself,^q to what he did at Jerusalem, and the temple of God in that place, and the horrid persecution which he thereon raised against all that worshipped him there. For the sacrilege at Elymais was only attempted, that at Jerusalem was fully committed, with horrid impiety against God, and with as horrid cruelty against all those that served him there ; and the former sacrilege, if it had been committed, had been only against a false deity ; but the latter was against the true God, the great and almighty Creator of heaven and earth. However, it is a great confirmation of what is above related out of Josephus and the two books of the Maccabees, of the signal judgment of God which was executed upon this wicked tyrant, that Polybius, an heathen author, doth agree with them herein as to the matter of fact, though he differs from them in assigning a wrong cause for it. It seems Antiochus, being at length awakened by his afflictions, became himself fully sensible, that all his sufferings in them were from the hand of God upon him for what he had done against the temple at Jerusalem, and his servants that worshipped him there. For he acknowledged all this before his death, with many vows of what he would do for the repairing of all the evil which he had there done, in case he should again recover.^q But his repentance came too late ; God would not then hear him : and therefore after having languished out a while in this miserable condition, and under these horrid torments of body and mind,^s he at length, being half consumed with the rottenness of his ulcer, gave up the ghost and died, after he had reigned

n 1 Maccab. vi. 8—13.

o In Excerptis Valesii, p. 144.

p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 13.

q 1 Maccab. vi. 12, 13. 2 Maccab. ix. 11—17. Joseph. *ibid*.

s 1 Maccab. vi. 16. 2 Maccab. ix. 28. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 13. Ap-
pian. in Syriacis. Polybius in Excerptis Valesii, p. 144. Hieronymus ad
Dan. xi. 36. Eusebius in Chronico.

full eleven years.^t And I cannot forbear here remarking, that most of the great persecutors have died the like death, by being smitten of God in like manner in the secret parts. Thus died Herod, the great persecutor of Christ and the infants at Bethlehem; and thus died Galerius Maximianus, the author and the great persecutor of the tenth and greatest persecution against the primitive Christians; and thus also died Philip II. king of Spain, as infamous for the cruelty of his persecutions, and the numbers destroyed by it, as any of the other three. As to the manner of Herod's death, I shall have occasion to speak of it hereafter in its proper place; and, as to the death of the other two, that of Galerius is described by Eusebius^u and Lactantius,^x and that of Philip II. by Mezeray;^y and to these authors I remit the reader for an account of them.

Antiochus the Great, having attempted the like sacrilege in the country of Elymais, as Antiochus his son did in the city of Elymais, and perished in it, as hath been above related,^z this hath made some think, that the parity of names hath been the cause of this parity of facts being attributed to both, and that only one of them was guilty of this sacrilegious attempt which is related of both. And, on this supposition, Scaliger chargeth Jerome with a blunder,^a for saying, in his comment on the eleventh chapter of Daniel, that Antiochus the Great, fighting against the Elymeans, was cut off by them with all his army. For he will have it, that this was not true of Antiochus the Great, but only of Antiochus Epiphanes; and yet many other authors attest the same thing with Jerome, that Antiochus the Great was thus cut off in the sacrilegious attempt, and none say it of Antiochus Epiphanes; for he escaped from the battle, though he lost many of his men in it, and died afterward. So saith Appian,^b and so saith Polybius,^c as well as Josephus, and both the authors of the first and second books of the Maccabees. And although both the sacrileges were attempted in the country of the Elymeans, yet it was not upon the same temple that the attempt was made. That of Antiochus the Great was upon the temple of Belus, the great god of the East;

^t So saith Porphyry, Eusebius, Jerome, and Sulpitius Severus. But the author of the first book of Maccabees saith, he began his reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks, and died the 149th year, which makes him reign twelve years. For the reconciling of this it must be said, that he began his reign in the ending of the 137th year, and ended it in the beginning of the 149th year of that era.

^u Hist. Eccl. viii. 16.

^x De Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 33.

^y History of France, under the year 1598.

^z Part 2, book 2, under the year 187.

^a In Animad. ad Eusebii Chronicon, sub No. 1825, p. 140.

^b In Syriacis.

^c In Excerptis Valesii. p. 144.

and that of Epiphanes was upon the temple of Diana ; and there was a Persian Diana, Tacitus tells us ;^d and, that this goddess had a temple among the Elymeans, is attested by Strabo,^e who tells us also of it, and that it was very rich ; for he saith, that it being afterward plundered by one of the Parthian kings, he took from it ten thousand talents.^f This temple, Strabo tells us, was called Azara, or rather, as Casaubon^g corrects it, Zara. Hence Diana was called Zaretis among the Persians.^h

Antiochus Epiphanes having been a great oppressor of the church of God, under the Jewish economy, and the type of Antichrist, which was to oppress it in after ages under the Christian, more is prophetically said of him in the prophecies of Daniel, than of any other prince which these prophecies relate to ; the better half of the eleventh chapter, that is, from the twentieth verse to the forty-fifth, which is the last of that chapter, is wholly concerning him ; and there are several passages also in the eighth and twelfth chapters which relate to him. The whole may be divided into two parts, whereof the first is concerning his wars with Egypt, and the second is concerning the persecutions and oppressions brought by him upon the Jewish church and nation, and these were all fulfilled in the actions of his reign.

And first, as to his wars with Egypt, which is said, (chap. xi. ver. 25, 40, 42, 43,) was accomplished in his second expedition into that country, and the actions done by him therein, which are above related. What is in ver. 26, was fulfilled by the revolt of Ptolemy Macron from king Philometor, and the treachery and maladministration of Lenæus, Eulæus, and other ministers and officers employed under him. What is in ver. 27, had its completion in the meeting of Antiochus and Philometor at Memphis, where the two kings, both in the time of the second and of the third expedition of Antiochus into Egypt, did frequently eat at the same table, and conferred together seemingly as friends ; Antiochus pretending to take upon him the care of the kingdom for the interest of Philometor, his nephew, and Philometor pretending to confide in Antiochus, as his uncle, in all that he was thus doing.ⁱ But both herein *spoke lies* to each other ; for, in reality, they both intended quite the contrary ; Antiochus's design being, under the pretence above mentioned, to seize all Egypt to himself, and Philometor's to take the first opportunity to disappoint him of it, as accordingly at length he did by his agreement with his brother and the Alexandrians, as is above related.

d Annalium, lib. 3, c. 62.

f Strabo, *ibid.*

h Hesychius in voce *Ζαρετίς*

e Lib. 16, p. 744.

g In notis ad p. 744.

i Hieronymus in Dan. xi, 27

Whereon followed what is foretold, (ver. 29, 30,) of the same chapter. For Antiochus, on his hearing of this agreement, pulled off his vizard, and openly owned his design for the usurping of Egypt to himself, and, for the full executing of it, *returned and came again towards the South*, that is, into Egypt, in his last expedition into that country. *But he did not then prevail, as in the former and the latter*, (i. e. in his two preceding attempts upon that country,) because of *the ships that came from Chittim*, (i. e. the country of the Grecians,) against him, which brought Popilius Lænas and the other Roman ambassadors to Alexandria, who made him, *to his great grief, return out of Egypt*, and quit all his designs upon that country. However, what is foretold, (ver. 42, 43,) of *stretching forth his hand upon the land of Egypt, and his having power over the treasures of gold and silver, and all other the precious things of that country*, had its thorough completion; for he miserably harassed and wasted the whole land of Egypt in all his expeditions into it, carrying thence vast treasures of gold and silver, and other riches, in the prey and spoils taken in it by him and his followers.^k And there ended all the prophecies of Daniel which relate to the wars that were between the kings of Syria, and the kings of Egypt; for in those prophecies, *the kings of the North* were the kings of Syria, and *the kings of the South* the kings of Egypt, as hath been above related.

As to the other part of Daniel's prophecies of this king, which relate to the persecutions and oppressions which he brought upon the Jewish church and nation, what is said, (xi. 22,) of *the Prince of the covenant being broken before him*, foreshowed what he did to Onias the high-priest, who was deposed and banished by him, and at length murdered by one of his lieutenants; for the high-priest of the Jews was the prince of the Mosaic covenant. What is said, (ver. 2^a,) of *his heart being set against the holy covenant, on his returning from Egypt, and of the exploits which he did thereon*, foreshowed what he did to Judah and Jerusalem, on his return from his second expedition into the said country of Egypt, when, without a cause, he murdered and enslaved so many of the Jewish nation, and robbed the city and temple of Jerusalem of all their riches and treasure. What is said, (ver. 30,) foretold *the grief with which he returned* from his fourth and last expedition into Egypt, by reason of the battle which he then met with from the Romans of all his designs upon that country, and *the indignation and wrath which then, in his irrational fury, he vented upon the Jewish church and nation*,

^k Vide Athenazum, lib. 5, p. 195. F

in sending Apollonius to destroy Jerusalem, and make to cease the Jewish worship in that place. What is contained, (ver. 31.) and those that follow to ver. 40, agreeable to what was before prophesied, (viii. 9—12, 23—25,) foretold *his taking away the daily sacrifice*, and all else that he did for the suppressing of the Jewish worship, and the destroying of the whole Jewish nation, which is above related. The forty-fourth and forty-fifth verses of the same eleventh chapter, foretold his last expedition which he made, first into Armenia, and from thence into the East, and *his there coming to an end*, and perishing in that miserable manner as hath been related, having first *planted the tabernacles of his palace*, that is, his absolute regal authority, *in the glorious holy mountain between the seas*, that is, in Jerusalem, which stood in a mountainous situation between the Mediterranean Sea and the Sea of Sodom; for it was built in the midway betwixt both, on the mountains of Judea.

Never were any prophecies delivered more clearly, or fulfilled more exactly, than all these prophecies of Daniel were. Porphyry, who was a great enemy to the holy Scriptures, as well of the Old Testament as of the New, acknowledged this.¹ And therefore he contends, that they were historical narratives, written after the facts were done, and not prophetical predictions foretelling them to come. This Porphyry^m was a learned heathen, born at Tyre in the year of Christ 233, and there called Malchus;ⁿ which name, on his going among the Greeks, he changed into that of Porphyry, that signifying the same in the Greek language which Malchus did in the Phœnician, the language then spoken at Tyre. He being a bitter enemy to the Christian religion,^o wrote a large volume against it, containing fifteen books, whereof the twelfth was wholly against the prophecies of Daniel. These concerning the Persian kings and the Macedonian that reigned as well in Egypt as in Asia, having been all, according to the best historians, exactly fulfilled, he could not disprove them by denying their completion; and therefore, for the overthrowing of their authority, he took the quite contrary course, and laboured to prove their truth; and from hence alleged, that, being so exactly true in all particulars, they could not therefore be written by Daniel so many years before the facts were done, but by some one

¹ Apud Hieronymum in Proœmio ad Comment. in Daniele.

^m Vide Holstenium in Vita Porphyrii, et Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 2, c. 16.

ⁿ Malchus, from the Phœnician or Hebrew word Melec, signifieth King, and Πορφυρος did the same in Greek, that is, one that wore purple, which none but kings and royal persons then did.

^o Hieronymus in Proœmio ad Comment. in Daniele.

else under his name who lived after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.^o For the making out of which, his main argument was, that all contained in the prophecies of Daniel relating to the times preceding the death of Antiochus Epiphanes was true, and that all that related to the times which followed after was false. The latter proposition he belaboured, thereby to overthrow all that the Christians alleged from these prophecies for the Messiah, which he would have thought to be all false; and the other proposition he endeavoured to clear, thereby to make out, that the whole book was spurious, not written by Daniel, but by some one else, after the facts therein spoken of were done, as if that could not be prophetically foretold which was so exactly fulfilled. And for this reason was it, that he took upon him to prove those facts to be so exactly true as in those prophecies contained. For which purpose he made use of the best Greek historians then extant. Such were Callinicus Sutorius, Diodorus Siculus, Hieronymus, Polybius, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus Alypius;^q and from them made evident proof, that all that is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, was truly, in every particular, acted and done in the order as there related; and from this exactness of completion endeavoured to infer the assertion mentioned, that these prophecies were written after the facts were done, and therefore are rather historical narratives relating things past, than prophetic predictions foreshowing things afterward to come. But Jerome turns the argument upon him, and with more strength of reason infers, that this way of opposing these prophecies gives the greatest evidence of their truth, in that what the prophet foretold is hereby allowed to be so exactly fulfilled, that he seemed to unbelievers not to foretell things to come, but to relate things past.^r Jerome, in his comments on Daniel, makes use of the same authors that Porphyry did; and what is in these comments are all the remains which we now have of this work of that learned heathen, or of most of those authors which he made use of in it. For this whole work of Porphyry is now lost, as are also most of the histories above mentioned which he quotes in it. For the histories of Callinicus Sutorius, Hieronymus,^s Posidonius^t, Claudius

^o Hieronymus in Proœmio ad Comment. in Danielelem.

^q Hieronymus in Proœmio ad Comment. in Danielelem.

^r Jerome, speaking of Porphyry as to this matter, hath these words: 'Cujus impugnatio testimonium veritatis est. Tanta enim dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse præterita.' In Proœmio ad Comment. in Danielelem.

^s This Hieronymus wrote an history of the successors of Alexander. See of him above, part 1, book 8, under the year 311.

^t Posidonius was of Apamea in Syria, and wrote, in fifty-two books, a continuation of Polybius down to the wars of Cæsar and Pompey, in which time he flourished.

Theon,^u and Andronicus Alypius,^x are wholly perished; as is also the greatest part of Polybius and Diodorus Siculus. Had we all these extant, we might from them be enabled to make a much clearer and fuller explication of these prophecies, especially from Callinicus Sutorius,^y who lived in the time of Antonius Pius, the Roman emperor; and having, in ten books, written an history of the affairs of Alexandria, included therein much of the Jewish transactions.^z And it is to be lamented, that not only these authors, and this work of Porphyry, in which he made so much use of them, are now lost, but that also the books of Eusebius, Apollonarius, and Methodius,^a which they wrote in answer to this heathen adversary, have all undergone the same fate, and are, in like manner, to the great damage both of divine and human knowledge, wholly lost, excepting only some few scraps of Methodius. preserved in quotations out of him by John Damascen and Nicetas. For, were these still extant, especially that of Apollonarius,^b who wrote with the greatest exactness of the three, no doubt, much more of those authors would have been preserved in citations from them than we now have of them, there being at present no other remains of those ancient historians (excepting Polybius and Diodorus Siculus) but what we have in Jerome's comments on Daniel, and his poem to them.

Jerome and Porphyry exactly agree in their explication of the eleventh chapter of Daniel,^c till they come to the twenty-first verse. For what follows from thence to the end of the chapter was all explained by Porphyry to belong to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to have been all transacted in the time of his reign. But Jerome here differs from him, and saith, that most of this, as well as some parts of the eighth and twelfth chapters of the same book, relate principally to Antichrist; that, although some particulars in these prophecies had a typical completion in Antiochus Epiphanes, yet they were all of them wholly and ultimately fulfilled only in Antichrist; and this, he saith, was the general sense of the fathers of the Christian church in his time. And he explains it by a parallel taken from the seventy-first Psalm, (that is, the seventy-second, according to the Septuagint,) which in some parts of

u Who Claudius Theon and Andronicus Alypius were, or of what times they wrote, we have no account.

x Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 1, 2, 3, &c.

y For he was contemporary with Galen, who lived in that time. Suidas in Κελλεμικος.

z Suidas, ibid.

a Hieronymus in Proœmio prædicto.

b Philostorgius, lib. 8, c. 14.

c Hieronymus in comment. ad Dan. xi. 21, & in Proœmio ad Comment. prædict.

it was typically true of Solomon, and therefore it is called a psalm for Solomon, but was wholly and ultimately only so of Christ. And therefore he would have these prophecies which are in Daniel viii. 9—12, 23—26 ; xi. 21—45 ; xii. 6—13, to be fulfilled in the same manner, that is, in part and typically in Antiochus, but wholly and ultimately only in Antichrist. The truth of the matter seems to be this, that as much of these prophecies as relate to the wars of the king of the North and the king of the South, (that is, the king of Syria and the king of Egypt) was wholly and ultimately fulfilled in those wars; but as much of these prophecies as related to the profanation and persecution which Antiochus Epiphanes brought upon the Jewish church was all typically fulfilled in them; but they were to have their ultimate and thorough completion only in those profanations and persecutions which Antichrist was to bring upon the church of Christ in after times.

One particular mentioned in these prophecies of Daniel, and fulfilled under Antiochus, is especially taken notice of, as typifying in him what was to happen under Antichrist in after times, that is, the profanation of the temple at Jerusalem, and the ceasing of the daily sacrifices in it. This Daniel said was to continue *for a time, and times, and an half of time*,^d this is three years and an half, a time in that place signifying a year, and times two years, and an half of a time an half year, as all agree; and so long, Josephus tells us,^e the profanation of the temple and the interrupting of the daily sacrifices in it lasted, that is, from the coming of Apollonius, and his profanation of the said temple,^f to the purifying of it, and the new dedication of that and the new altar in it by Judas Maccabæus.^g This prophecy, therefore, was primarily and typically fulfilled in that profanation and new dedication of the temple and altar at Jerusalem: but its chief and ultimate completion was to be in that profanation of the church of Christ which it was to suffer under the reign of Antichrist for the space of those twelve hundred and sixty days mentioned in the Revelation.^h For those days there signify so many years, and three years and an half, reckoning them by months of thirty days length, make just twelve hundred and sixty days. These days, therefore, literally understood, make the three years and an half, during which the profanation and persecution of Antiochus remained in the church of the Jews; and the same,

^d Daniel xii. 7.

^e In Præfatione ad Historiam de Bello Judaico, & in ipsa Historia, lib. 1. c. 1; lib. 6, c. 11.

^f 1 Maccab. i. 29—40. 2 Maccab. v. 24—26.

^g 1 Maccab. iv. 41—60.

^h Rev. xi. 3; xii. 6.

mystically understood, make the twelve hundred and sixty years during which the profanation and persecution of Antichrist was to remain in the church of Christ, at the end whereof the church of Christ is to be cleansed and purified of all the profanations and pollutions of Antichrist, in the same manner as at the end of three years and an half the temple at Jerusalem was cleansed and purified from all the profanations and pollutions of Antiochus. One objection against this is, that Daniel, (xii. 11,) reckons the duration of this profanation by the number of twelve hundred and ninety days, which can neither be applied to the days of the profanation of Antiochus nor to those of Antichrist, for it exceeds both by the number of thirty. Many things may be said for the probable solving of this difficulty, but I shall offer at none of them. Those that shall live to see the extirpation of Antichrist, which will be at the end of those years, will best be able to unfold this matter, it being of the nature of such prophecies not thoroughly to be understood till they are thoroughly fulfilled.

But in the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, all the prophecies of Daniel that were concerning him, or any other of the Macedonian kings that reigned either in Egypt or Asia, having, as far as they related only to them, a full ending, I shall here also end this book.

THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS
CONNECTED, &c.

BOOK IV.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES being dead, was succeeded in the kingdom by Antiochus his son, a minor of nine years old.^a Before his death, he called to him Philip, a favourite of his, and one of those who had been brought up with him, and constituting him regent of the Syrian empire, during the minority of his son, delivered to him his crown, his signet, and all other his ensigns of royalty, giving him in especial charge carefully to bring up his son in such manner as should best qualify him to reign. But when Philip came to Antioch, he found this office there usurped by another. For Lysias, as soon as he heard of the death of Epiphanes, took Antiochus his son, who was then under his care, and placed him on the throne, giving him the name of Antiochus Eupator, and assumed to himself the tuition of his person, and the government of his kingdom, without any regard had to the appointment of the dead king.^f And Philip, finding himself too weak to contend with him about it, fled into Egypt, hoping there to have such assistance as should enable him to make good his claim to that which Lysias had usurped from him.^c

At this time Ptolemy Macron,^d governor of Cælo-Syria and Phœnicia, from being a great enemy to the Jews, becoming their friend, remitted of the rigour of his persecutions against them, and, as far as in him lay, endeavoured to have peace made with them; which handle being laid hold of by some the courtiers to accuse him before the king, they set very

^a Appianus in Syriacis. Euseb. in Chron. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29; x. 10, 11. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 14.

^b 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. x. 11. Appian & Joseph. *ibid.*

^c 2 Maccab. ix, 29

^d 2 Maccab. x. 11—13.

hard upon him, calling him traitor at every word, because, having been trusted by Ptolemy Philometor with the government of Cyprus, he had gone over to Antiochus Epiphanes, and treacherously delivered up that island unto him: for it seems, how beneficial soever the treason was, the traitor was still odious unto them for it. Whereon he was deprived of his government, and Lysias was placed in it in his stead; and, no other station being assigned him where he might be supported with honour, or sufficiency of maintenance suitable to his degree, he could not bear this fall, and therefore poisoned himself and died. And this was an end which his treachery to his former master, and the great hand he had in the cruel and unjust persecution of the Jews sufficiently deserved.

In the interim, Judas Maccabæus was not idle: for hearing how the neighbouring nations of the heathen had confederated to destroy the whole race of Israel, and had already begun it by cutting off as many of them as were within their power, (as hath been above mentioned,) he marched out with his forces to be revenged on them:^e and whereas the Edomites had been the forwardest in this conspiracy, and, having joined with Gorgias, who was governor for the king of Syria in the parts thereabout, and had done them much mischief,^f he began first with them, and, having fallen into that part of their country which was called Acrabattene, he there slew of them no fewer than twenty thousand men.^g From thence he led them against the children of Bean, another tribe of the Edomites that had been very troublesome to them. and, having beaten them out of the field, shut them up in two of their strongest fortresses; and, after having besieged them there for some time, at length took them both, and put all he found in them to the sword, who were above twenty thousand more.^h Some few were saved from this carnage by bribing some of the soldiers to let them escape; but Judas, having gotten knowledge of it, convicted them of the treachery before the rest of the people of the Jews that were with him, and caused them to be put to death for it.ⁱ

After this Judas passed over Jordan into the land of the Ammonites, where he had many conflicts with the enemies of the Jews; and, having slain great numbers of them, took Jazar, with the villages belonging thereto, and then returned again into Judea.^k

Timotheus, who was governor for the king of Syria in those parts, the same whom Judas had overcome two years

e 1 Maccab. v. 1, 2.

f 2 Maccab. x. 14, 15.

g 1 Maccab. v. 3. 2 Maccab. x. 16, 17.

h 1 Maccab. v. 4, 5. 2 Maccab. x. 18—23.

i 2 Maccab. x. 21, 22.

k 1 Maccab. v. 6—8

before, being much exasperated by this inroad made upon his province, gathered together all the forces he was able, even a very great army both of horse and foot, and with them invaded Judea, purposing no less than utterly to destroy the whole nation of the Jews. Whereon Judas went forth with his army to meet him, and having all, with humble supplication and earnest prayer, recommended their cause to God, in confidence of his merciful assistance, engaged these numerous forces with such courage and vigour, that they overthrew them with a great slaughter, there being then slain of them twenty thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horsemen. Whereon Timotheus fled to Gazara, a city of the tribe of Ephraim near the field of battle, where Chereas his brother was governor. Judas, pursuing them thither, beset the place; and, having taken it on the fifth day, there slew Timotheus, Chereas his brother, and Apollophanes, another prime leader of the army.^l

The heathen nations that lived about the land of Gilead hearing of this overthrow, and the death of so many of their friends that were slain in it, for the revenge hereof, gathered together with purpose to cut off and destroy all the Jews in those parts:^m and, falling first on those that dwelt in the land of Tob, which lay to the east of Gilead, slew one thousand men of them, took their goods for a spoil, and carried their wives and children into captivity. Whereon most of the other Jews that dwelt in those parts, for the avoiding of the like ruin, fled to a strong fortress in Gilead called Dathema, and there resolved to defend themselves: which the heathen hearing of, forthwith drew thither in a great body, under the command of another Timotheus, the successor, and most likely the son of the former Timotheus that was slain at Gazara, to besiege them. At the same time the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, and the other heathen thereabout, were drawing together, to cut off and destroy all the Jews of Galilee, in the same manner as had been attempted in Gilead.ⁿ Judas being hereon sent to for help both from Gilead and Galilee on this exigency, by the advice of the sanhedrim, or general council of the Jews, whom he consulted on this occasion, divided his army into three parts.^o With the first part, consisting of eight thousand men, he and Jonathan his brother marched for the relief of the Gileadites;^p with the second, consisting of three thousand, Simon, another of his brothers, was sent into Galilee;^p and the rest were left at Jerusalem, under the command of Joseph and Azarias, two prime lead-

^l 2 Maccab. x. 24—38.

ⁿ 1 Maccab. v. 13, 14.

^p 1 Maccab. v. 20

^m 1 Maccab. v. 9—13.

^o 1 Maccab. v. 16, 17.

ers, for the defence of that place and the country adjacent, to whom Judas gave strict charge not to engage with any of the enemy, but to stand wholly on the defensive, till he and Simon should be again returned.^q

Judas and Jonathan passing over Jordan, in their way from thence to Gilead, marched through some part of the country of the Nabatheans; with whom having peace, they learned from them the great distress which their friends were then in; for not only those in Dathema were hardly pressed by a strict siege, but all the rest of the Jewish nation that were in Bossora, Bosor, Casphon, Maked, and the other cities of Gilead, were there closely shut up and imprisoned, with intention, on the taking of the fortress of Dathema, to have them all put to death in one day.^r Whereon Judas and Jonathan, immediately falling on Bossora, surprised the city, and, having slain all the males, taken their spoils, and freed their brethren who were there imprisoned for slaughter, set the city on fire; and then, marching all night from thence towards Dathema, came thither the next morning, just as Timotheus and all his forces were storming the place; whereon, falling on them behind, they put them all to the rout; for, being surprised with this sudden and unexpected assault, and terrified with the name of Judas, they were seized with a panic fright, and therefore immediately flung down their arms and fled; and Judas slew of them in the pursuit about eight thousand men. After this, Judas took Maspha, Casphon, Maked, Bosor, and all the other cities of Gilead where the Jews were oppressed; and, having thereby delivered them from the destruction designed for them, he treated all those places in the same manner as he had Bossora, that is, slew all the males, took their spoils, and set the cities on fire, and then returned to Jerusalem.

And Simon's success in Galilee was not much inferior: for, on his coming into that country, he had there many conflicts and encounters with the enemy, in all which carrying the victory, he at length drove all those oppressors out of the country, and, having pursued them to the very gates of Ptolemais, slew of them in that pursuit about three thousand men, and took their spoils. But, finding that the Jews of those parts could not well be any longer there protected, by reason of the great number of their enemies in the regions round about them, and the difficulty of succouring them at so great a distance from Jerusalem, he gathered them all together, men, women, and children, with their stuff and all other their substance, to carry them with him into the land

^q 1 Maccab. v. 18, 19.^r 1 Maccab. v. 24—36.

of Judah, where, being nearer to the protection of their brethren, they might live under it in better security. And he having accordingly, on his return, brought them thither with him, they were disposed of for the re-peopling those places which had been desolated by the enemy during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes.^s

Thus the two parties, that were sent forth on the two expeditions mentioned, had both full success in them, and returned with honour and triumph. But it did not so happen to the third party that was left at home. For Joseph and Azarias, who were intrusted with the command of them, hearing of the noble exploits which Judas and Jonathan did in Gilead, and Simon in Galilee, thought to get them also a name by doing the like; and therefore, contrary to the orders that had been strictly given them by Judas on his departure, not to fight with any till he and Simon should be again returned, led forth their forces in an ill-projected expedition against Jamnia, a sea-port on the Mediterranean, thinking to take the place. But Gorgias, who commanded in those parts for the king of Syria, falling upon them, put their whole army to flight, and slew of them in the pursuit about two thousand men. Thus this rash attempt, made contrary to orders given, ended in the confusion of those that undertook it.^t But Judas and his brothers, for their noble deeds and many valiant exploits, grew greatly renowned in the sight of all Israel, and also among the heathen wherever their names were heard of.^u

Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopater, who had, from the year in which his father died, been an hostage at Rome, and was now grown up to the twenty-third year of his age, hearing of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the succession of Eupator his son in the kingdom of Syria, which of right belonged to him, as son of the elder brother of Epiphanes, moved the senate for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom; and, for the inducing them hereto, alleged, that having been bred up in that city from his childhood, he should always look on Rome as his country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. But the senate, having more regard to their own interest than to the right of Demetrius, judged it would be more for the advantage of the Romans to have a boy reign in Syria than a thorough grown man, and one of mature understanding, as Demetrius was then known to be; and therefore decreed for the confirming of Eupator in the kingdom, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, ambassadors into Syria, there to settle his affairs, and regulate them according to the articles of the

^s 1 Maccab. v. 21—23

^u 1 Maccab. v. 63

^t 1 Maccab. v. 55—62

peace which they had made with Antiochus the Great, his grandfather.^x

Lysias, having received an account of the exploits of the Jews in Gilead and Galilee, was thereby much exasperated against them; and therefore, for the revenge-^{An. 163. Judas Mac- cabæus 4.} hereof, having gotten together an army of eighty thousand men, with all the horse of the kingdom, and eighty elephants, marched with all this power to invade Judea, purposing to make Jerusalem an habitation for the Gentiles, and to make a gain of the temple as of the other temples of the heathen, and to set the high-priesthood to sale; and, being entered the country, he began the war with the siege of Bethsura, a strong fortress lying between Jerusalem and Idumea, which hath been before spoken of. But there Judas falling upon him, slew of his army eleven thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horsemen, and put all the rest to flight. Whereon Lysias, growing weary of so unprosperous a war, came to terms of peace with Judas and his people, and Antiochus ratified the same, in which matter the Jews found Q. Memmius and T. Manlius, who were then ambassadors from the Romans in Syria, to be very friendly and helpful to them. By the terms of this peace, the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes for the obliging of the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks was wholly rescinded, and liberty was granted them every where to live according to their own laws. This treaty was managed on the part of Judas by two Jews, named John and Absalom, whom he sent to Lysias with his demands.^y The letter which Lysias wrote back in answer hereto bore date in the month *Dioscorinthus*,^z (or, as in the vulgar Latin, *Dioscorus*) in the year 148. But there is no such name of a month to be found either in the Syro-Macedonian, or in any other calendar of those times. Scaliger^a and archbishop Usher^b conjecture, that it was an intercalary month cast in between the months Dystrus and Xanthicus in the Chaldean calendar, in the same manner as the month Veadar was cast in between the months Adar and Nisan in the Jewish calendar. And they are the more confirmed in this opinion, because the month Xanthicus, which seems to have followed immediately after the said month called *Dioscorinthus*, or *Dioscorus*, (for all the other letters and instruments that after followed relating to this peace are dated in the month Xanthicus in the same year,) answered to the Jewish month Ni-

^x Polyb. legat. 107, p. 937. Justin. lib. 34, c. 3. Appian. in Syriacis.

^y 2 Maccab. xi. 1—38.

^z 2 Maccab. xi. 21.

^a De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 2, c. de Periodo Syro-Macedonum, p. 98.

^b In Annalibus sub anno J. P. 4551.

san, and, beginning about the same time with it, was the first month of the spring among the Syrians, as Nisan was among the Jews. But neither the Syrians, Macedonians, nor Chaldeans, having any such intercalary month in their year, it seems more likely, that *Dioscorinthius*, or *Dioscorus*, was a corrupt writing for *Dystrus* (the month immediately preceding Xanthicus in the Syro-Macedonian calendar,) made by the error of the scribes. If any one will say, that the month *Dius* among the Corinthians did answer to the month *Dystrus* of the Syro-Macedonians, because *Dius* among the Bithynians did so;^c and that, for this reason, it is in the place above cited called *Δίος Κορίνθιος*, I have nothing to say against it, because it is not any where said, that I know of, what form the Corinthians framed their year by. And it is further to be taken notice of, that, whereas the dates of all the instruments concerning this peace, as registered in the places cited,^d are in the 148th year of the Seleucidæ, this is to be understood according to the style of Chaldea, and not according to the style of Syria. For the style of Chaldea began one year after the style of Syria, as hath been before observed;^e and therefore, what is here said to have been done in the 148th year of the Chaldean reckoning, was in the 149th year of the Syrian. And whereas, in the Chronological Table at the end of this work, the 150th year, and not the 149th year, of the era of the Seleucidæ, is put over against the 163d year before Christ, under which I place this treaty, it is not to be understood that these two years run parallel with each other from beginning to end, so as exactly to answer each other in every part, but only, that the said 150th year had its beginning in the said 163d year before Christ, though not at the same time with it; for the Julian year, by which I reckon the years before Christ, begins from the first of January; but the years of the era of the Seleucidæ, according to the reckoning of the first book of Maccabees, did not begin till about the time of the vernal equinox, three months after, and, according to the reckoning of the second book of Maccabees, not till about the time of the autumnal equinox, nine months after. And therefore the said three months of the 163d year before Christ, which precede the beginning of the 150th year, according to the reckoning of the first book of Maccabees, and the said nine months of the same 163d year before Christ, which precede the beginning of the same 150th year, according to the reckoning of the second book of Maccabees, are not to be accounted to the said 150th year, but to the year

^c Vide Jacobum Usserium *Armachanum de Macedonum & Asianorum Anno Solari*, c. 4.

^d 2 Maccab. xi. 21, 33, 38.

^e Part 1, book 8, sub annis 312, 311.

preceding, that is, to the 149th year according to the style of Syria, which was the 148th year according to the style of Chaldea. And what is said in this place of this 163d year before Christ, and of the said 150th year of the era of the Seleucidæ, is to be understood of all the rest of the years of the said two eras as placed against each other in the said tables, for they no otherwise answer each other than is here expressed.

But this peace granted the Jews was not long lived. Those^f who governed in the neighbouring places round about them, not being pleased with it, broke it as soon as Lysias was gone again to Antioch, and took all opportunities to renew their former vexations against them, among whom Timotheus, Nicanor, and Apollonius, the son of Gemæus, were the most forward and active in troubling them. But that war was first begun by the men of Joppa; for they having there drowned in the sea two hundred of the Jews that dwelt among them in that city, Judas, for the revenging of this cruelty, fell upon them by night, and burned their shipping, slaying all those whom he found therein;^g and then turning upon the Jamnites, who intended to do the like, he set fire to their haven, and burned all their navy, that was there laid up in it.^h

After this he was called again to help the Jews of Gilead against Timotheus.ⁱ In his march thither, he was encountered by some of the Nomad, or wandering Arabs; but, he having vanquished them, they were forced to sue for peace; which Judas having granted to them, marched on against Timotheus;^k but meeting with obstructions in his march, from the men of Caspis, a city that lay in his way, he fell upon them, and, having taken their city, slew the inhabitants, took their spoils, and destroyed the place.^l After this he came to Caraca in the land of Tob; but finding that Timotheus was gone from thence, leaving strong garrisons in the fenced places of that country, he sent Dositheus and Sosipator, two of his captains, with a detachment against those garrisons, and he himself marched with the main army to find out Timotheus.^m Dositheus and Sosipator soon made themselves masters of those fenced places which they were sent against, and slew those that were garrisoned in them to the number of ten thousand men. In the meanwhile Timotheus, having drawn all his forces together, to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twenty-five hundred horse, sent

m 2 Maccab. xii. 17—19.

f 1 Maccab. xii. 2—4.

h 2 Maccab. xii. 8, 9.

k 2 Maccab. xii. 11, 12.

g 2 Maccab. xii. 5, 6.

i 2 Maccab. xii. 10.

l 2 Maccab. xii. 13—16.

the women and children that followed the army, with the baggage, into Carnion, a strong city in Gilead, and then pitched his camp not far from it, at a place called Raphon, lying on the river Jabboc. There Judas having found him, with his numerous army, passed over the river, and fell upon him; and, having gained the victory, slew of his army thirty thousand men;ⁿ and Timotheus himself, as he fled, falling into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipator, then returning from their conquests in the land of Tob to the rest of the army, was taken prisoner by them. But having promised, for the saving of his life, the release of many Jews then captives in the places under his command, who were several of them parents or brothers to some then present in the Jewish army, upon this condition they gave him both his life and his liberty, and permitted him to go freely off.^o A great part of the rest of the vanquished army fled to Carnion, where Judas pursuing them, took the place;^p and whereas many of them thereon fled to the temple of Atargatis,^q which was in that city, thinking there to find safety,^r he set fire to it, and burned it with all that were therein, and then, with fire and sword desolating the rest of the city, there slew in the whole twenty-five thousand more of Timotheus's forces that had taken refuge in it. And then gathering together all of the race of Israel that were in the land of Gilead, or any of the parts adjoining, he carried them with him, in his return to Judea, in the same manner and for the same reason that Simon had the Israelites of Galilee the year before, and, for the same end as he did, planted them in the desolated places of the land of Judah.^s But, being in his way thither to pass through Ephron, which lay directly in the road, so as not to afford any other passage either to the right-hand or the left, through which he might else march his army, he was necessitated to take his way through the city itself;^t but it being a great and strong city, and well garrisoned by Lysias, they refused him passage, though he prayed it of them in a peaceable manner: where-

n 1 Maccab. v. 37—43. 2 Maccab. xii. 20 —23.

o 2 Maccab. xii. 24, 25.

p This city, in the first book of Maccabees, is called Carnaim. Strabo and Ptolemy make mention of it by the name of Carno. a city in Arabia.

q This deity is by Strabo (lib. 16, p. 748,) said to be a Syrian goddess. Pliny (lib. 5, c. 23,) saith, that she was the same with Dorceto; and he tells us (c. 13,) that she was worshipped at Joppa in Phœnicia. Diodorus Siculus (lib. 2,) saith, that she was worshipped at Ascalon, and was there represented by an image having the form of a woman in the upper part, and that of a fish in the lower part. Hence this deity is conjectured to have been the same with Dagon of the Philistines. See Selden de Diis Syris, syntag. 2, c. 3.

r 1 Maccab. v. 44. 2 Maccab. xii. 26.

s 1 Maccab. v. 45.

t 1 Maccab. v. 46—51. 2 Maccab. xii. 27, 28.

on he assaulted the place, and, having taken it by storm, put all the males to the sword, to the number of twenty-five thousand persons, took their spoils, and razed the city to the ground, and then, marching over the bellies of the slain, re-passed Jordan into the plains of Bethsan, then called Scythopolis; ^s and from thence returning to Jerusalem, he and all his company went up to the temple in great joy to give thanks unto God for the great success with which he had been pleased to prosper this expedition, and especially for that they were all of them returned in safety, without losing any one man of all their whole number, notwithstanding the hazardous march and the many dangerous enterprises they had been engaged in, which was a very extraordinary instance of God's merciful protection over them.^t This their return happened about the time of Pentecost.^u

After the festival was over, Judas led forth his forces again to make war upon Gorgias and the Idumeans, who had been very vexatious to the Jews.^x In the battle which he fought with them several of the Jews were slain; ^y but in the result Judas got the victory, and Gorgias, difficultly escaping, fled to Marisa. The next day after being the sabbath, Judas withdrew with his forces to Odollam, a city near the field of battle, there to keep the day in all the duties of it.^z The next day following, going forth to bury such of their brethren as were slain in the battle, they found about every one of them some of the things that had been dedicated to the idols of the heathen; ^a which, though taken by them among the spoils of that war, were forbidden by the law to be kept by them; ^b whereby perceiving for what cause God had given them up to be slain, Judas and all his company gave praise unto him, and humbly offered up their prayers for the pardon of the sin. And then making a collection through the whole camp, which amounted to two thousand drachms, sent it to Jerusalem to provide sin-offerings, there to be offered up for the expiating of this offence, that wrath for it might not fall upon the whole congregation of Israel, as formerly it had in the case of Achan.

After this Judas,^c carrying the war into the southern parts of Idumea, smote Hebron and all the towns thereof; and, after having dismantled this city, then the metropolis of Idumea, he passed from thence into the land of the Philistines; and, having taken Azotus, formerly called Ashdod, he pulled

s 1 Maccab. v. 52. 2 Maccab. xii. 29—31.

u 2 Maccab. xii. 31.

x 1 Maccab. v. 65. 2 Maccab. xii. 32, 33.

z 2 Maccab. xii. 38.

b Deut. vii. 25, 26.

t 1 Maccab. v. 54.

y 2 Maccab. xii. 33—37.

a 2 Maccab. xii. 39—45.

c 1 Maccab. vi. 19, 20.

down their heathen altars, burned their carved images, and took the spoils of the place; and, having done the same to the rest of the cities of that country over which he had prevailed, he led back his men, loaded with the spoils of their enemies, again into Judea.

But the garrison of the Syrians still holding the fortress of Acra in Jerusalem, they were a great thorn in the sides of the Jews, often sallying out upon them as they passed up to the temple to worship, and cutting several of them off as often as they had the advantage so to do. Wherefore Judas, for the removal of this mischief, called all the people together, and laid siege to the place, purposing to destroy it; and, in order hereto, having provided all manner of engines of war fit for the purpose, he pressed on hard all the methods of assault whereby he might take it.^d Hereon some of the apostate Jews who had listed themselves in the garrison, knowing they were to have no mercy, should the place be taken, found means to get forth, and, flying to Antioch, there made known to the king and his council the distress which this garrison at Jerusalem was in,^e and moved so effectually for their relief, that forthwith an army was drawn together of one hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, with thirty-two elephants, and three hundred armed chariots of war; and the king in person, with his tutor Lysias, having put himself at the head of them, marched with them into Judea, and, passing on to the borders of Idumea, there began the war with the siege of Bethsura.^f Judas, having gotten his forces together, though far inferior to those of the enemy, there fell on them in the night, and, having slain four thousand of them before they had light enough to see where to oppose him, and thereby put the whole camp into confusion, he retreated, on break of day, without suffering any loss in the attempt.^g But, as soon as morning was up, both sides prepared for an open battle, and Judas and his men, with great fierceness, began the onset;^h but, after having slain about six hundred of the king's men, finding they must be overpowered at length by so great a number, they withdrew from the fight, and made a safe retreat to Jerusalem.ⁱ In this fight Eleazar,^k surnamed Avaran, one of Judas's brothers, was lost by a very rash and desperate attempt which he made upon one of the king's elephants. For, seeing it to be higher than all the rest, and armed with royal harness, he supposed that the king himself

d 1 Maccab. vi. 28—31 2 Maccab. xiii. 1, 2, 9.

e 1 Maccab. vi. 2. Maccab. viii. 15—17.

f 1 Maccab. v. 65—68.

h 1 Maccab. vi. 33—42.

k 1 Maccab. vi. 43—46.

g 1 Maccab. vi. 21—27.

i 1 Maccab. vi. 47.

was upon it; and therefore thinking, that, by slaying this elephant, he might with the fall of it cause the death of the king also, and thereby deliver his people, and gain to himself a perpetual name, he ran furiously to the beast, slaying on each hand all that stood in his way, till, being gotten under its belly, he thrust up his spear and slew him; whereon the beast falling dead upon him, crushed him to death with the weight thereof. After this Antiochus returned to the siege of Bethsura; and, although the besieged defended themselves with great valour, and in several sallies beat back the enemy, and burned their engines of battery, yet at length, their provisions failing them, they were forced to yield, and surrender the place upon articles of safety to their persons and effects.^l

From thence Antiochus marched to Jerusalem, and there besieged the sanctuary;^m and, when they within were almost reduced to the same necessity of surrendering that those of Bethsura had been, by reason of the like failure of provisions, they were relieved by an unexpected accident. For Lysias, having received an account, that Philip, whom Antiochus Epiphanes had at his death appointed guardian of his son, had, in his absence, seized Antioch, and there taken upon him the government of the Syrian empire,ⁿ he found it necessary to make peace with the Jews, that he might thereby be at liberty to return into Syria for expelling of this intruder; and accordingly peace being granted to them upon honourable and advantageous conditions, and sworn to by Antiochus, he was admitted within the fortifications of the sanctuary;^o but, when he saw how strong they were, he caused them, contrary to the articles he had sworn to, to be all pulled down and demolished, and then returned towards Syria.^p

Menelaus the high-priest, in expectation not only of recovering his station at Jerusalem, but also of being made governor there, accompanied the king in this expedition, and was very forward and busy in offering him his service in it against his own people.^q But Lysias, when he found what great inconveniences attended this war, and was, by the ill consequences of it, forced to make the peace I have mentioned, being much exasperated against this wretch, as the true and original author of all this mischief, accused him to the king for it; whereon he was condemned to death, and, being carried

l 1 Maccab. vi. 49, 50. 2 Maccab. xii. 18—22.

m 1 Maccab. vi. 48, 51—54.

n 1 Maccab. vi. 55, 56. 2 Maccab. xiii. 23.

o 1 Maccab. vi. 57—61.

q 2 Maccab. xiii. 3—8.

p 1 Maccab. vi. 62.

to Berhœa,^r a city of Syria, was there cast headlong into a tower of ashes which was in that place, and there miserably perished. This was a punishment then used for sacrilege, treason, and such other great crimes which this wretch was very signally guilty of: in what manner it was executed hath been before described. On his death, the office of high-priest was granted to Alcimus, who was called also Jacimus, a man altogether as wicked.^s Whereon Onias, the son of that Onias, who, by the procurement of Menelaus, was slain at Antioch, whose right it was to have succeeded in this office, not being able to bear the injustice whereby he was disappointed of it, fled from Antioch, where he had hitherto resided since his father's death, and went into Egypt; where, having insinuated himself into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor, and Cleopatra his queen, he lived there all the rest of his life, and will hereafter more than once be again spoken of in the future series of this history.^t

This expedition into Judea is said, in the second book of Maccabees,^u to have been begun in the 149th year, that is, of the era of the Seleucidæ, and, in the first book of Maccabees, its beginning is placed in the 150th of same era.^x But what hath been before observed, that the first book of Maccabees reckons the beginning of these years from the time of the vernal equinox, and the second book of Maccabees from the time of the autumnal equinox, easily reconciles this difference; for the six months of this very same year which were between these two equinoxes will be in the 150th year, according to the reckoning of the first book of Maccabees, and in the 149th, according to the reckoning of the second. And therefore all that can be inferred from hence is, that this expedition was first made within the time of these six months, and I reckon it was so towards the latter end of them.

On the king's return to Antioch, Philip was driven thence and suppressed.^y I have before mentioned the flight of this Philip into Egypt, in expectation there to be assisted against Lysias. But the two brothers who there jointly reigned at this time, being then fallen out, and at great variance with each other, he found nothing could be there done for him; and therefore returning again into the East, and having there gathered together an army out of Media and Persia, took the advantage of the king's absence on this expedition into Judea to seize the imperial city, but, being on the king's return again expelled

^r The same that is now called Aleppo.

^s 2 Maccab. xiv. 3. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 15; lib. 20, c. 8.

^t Josephus, *ibid*.

^u 2 Maccab. xiii. 1.

^x 1 Maccab. vi. 20.

^y 1 Maccab. vi. 63. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 34.

thence, he failed of success in this attempt, and perished in it.^z

The variance between the two Ptolemies in Egypt, which I have last above mentioned, running to a great height, the senate of Rome wrote to their ambassadors Cneius Octavius, Spurius Lucretius, and Lucius Aurelius, whom they had a little before sent into Syria, to pass from thence to Alexandria for the composing of it.^a But, before they could go thither, Physcon, the younger brother, prevailing over Philometor, the elder, had driven him out of the kingdom.^b Whereon, taking shipping for Italy, he landed at Brundisium, and from thence travelled to Rome on foot in a sordid habit, and, with a mean attendance, there to pray the help of the senate for his restoration.^c Demetrius,^c the son of Seleucus Philopater, late king of Syria, who was then an hostage at Rome, as above mentioned, having gotten notice hereof, provided a royal equipage, and royal robes for him, that he might appear at Rome as a king, and rode forth to carry all this to him; but, on his meeting him on the road, at twenty-six miles distance from Rome, and presenting him with it, Ptolemy, though he very much thanked him for the kindness and respect hereby offered unto him, yet was so far from accepting any thing of it, that he would not permit him so much as to accompany him the remainder of the journey, but entered Rome on foot, with no other than the same mean attendance and the same sordid habit with which he first put himself on this journey, and took up his lodging in the private house of an Alexandrian painter then living at Rome. Thus he chose to do, that, by his coming in so low and mean a manner, he might the better express the calamity of his case, and the more effectually move the compassion of the Romans towards him. As soon as the senate heard of his arrival, they sent for him to the senate-house, and there excused themselves to him, that they had not provided him with lodgings, nor received him with those ceremonies which were usual in this case, telling him, that this was not from any neglect of theirs, but merely that his coming was so sudden and private, that they knew not of it till his arrival. And then, having exhorted him to lay aside his sordid habit, and ask a day to be publicly heard concerning the matter he came thither about, they, by some of their body, conducted him to lodgings suiting his royal dignity, and appointed one of their treasurers there to attend him, and provide him with all things fitting at the public charge, as long as he should stay in Rome. And when he had

^z 1 Maccab. vi. 56.

^a Polyb. legat. 107, p. 938.

^b Porphyrius in Græcis Euseb. Scalig. p. 69, 68.

^c Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 322. Val. Maximus, lib. 5, c. 1.

a day of audience, and made known his case, they immediately decreed his restoration, and sent Quintus and Canuleius, two of their body, ambassadors with him to Alexandria, there to see it executed; who, on their arrival thither, compounded the matter between the two brothers, by assigning to Physcon the country of Libya and Cyrene, and to Philometor Egypt and Cyprus, there to reign apart, without interfering with each other in the government.^d

Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, the Roman ambassadors above mentioned, being come into Syria, and finding that the king had more ships in his navy, and more elephants in his army, than the treaty made with Antiochus the Great, after the battle of Mount Sipylus, allowed him to have, they caused those ships to be burned, and those elephants to be slain, that exceeded the number allowed, and settled all other things there according as they thought would best be for the Roman interest; which many not being able to bear, and great heart-burning and discontents being thereby caused among the people, one of them, called Leptines, out of a more than ordinary indignation which he had conceived hereat, fell upon Octavius, while he was anointing himself in the gymnasium at Laodicea, and there slew him.^e This Octavius had been a little before consul of Rome, and was the first that brought that dignity into his family.^f From him was descended Octavius Cæsar, who, under the name of Augustus, was afterward made emperor of Rome. Lysias was thought underhand to have excited this act. However, as soon as it was done, he took care that ambassadors were sent to Rome, to purge the king with the senate from having had any hand in it. But the senate, after having heard those ambassadors, sent them away without giving them any answer, seeming thereby to express their resentment for the murder of their ambassador by an angry silence, and to reserve their judgment as to the authors of it to a future inquiry.

Demetrius, thinking this murder of Octavius might so far have alienated the senate from Eupator, as that they would no longer for his sake retard his dismission, addressed himself the second time to them for it.^g Apollonius, a young nobleman of Syria, who was bred up with him, and son to that Apollonius who was governor of Cælo-Syria and Phœnicia in the reign of Seleucus Philopater, advised him to this address, contrary to the advice of his other friends, whose opinion

^d Polyb. legat. 113, 114, p. 291, 293. Epit. Livii, lib. 46. Zonor. lib. 2.

^e Appian. in Syria is. Poly. legat. 114, p. 944, ad legat. 122, p. 954. Ciceronis Philippic. 9.

^f Cicero, ibid.

^g Polyb. legat. 114, p. 943. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 4, c. 33.

was, that he had nothing else to do for his getting away but to make his escape as privately as he could.^h And the second repulse which he had from the senate (for they, still having the same reason for their interest to detain him, persisted still in the same resolution so to do) soon convinced him, that this last was the only course he had to take for his return into his own country, and the recovering of the crown which was there due unto him. And Polybius the historian, who was then at Rome, and with whom Demetrius consulted in all this matter, earnestly pressed him to the attempt. Whereon having, by the help of Menithyllus of Alabanda, hired passage in a Carthaginian ship, then lying at Ostia, and bound for Tyre, he sent most of his retinue, with his hunting equipage to Anagnia, making show of following them the next day thither to divert himself in that country for some time in hunting. But, as soon as he was risen from supper, getting privately that night to Ostia, he there went on board the Carthaginian ship, and, causing it forthwith to set sail, made his escape therein. For, it being thought that he had been at the place where he had appointed his hunting, it was the fourth day after he had sailed from Ostia before his escape was known at Rome; and, when on the fifth day the senate was met about it, they computed, that by that time he had passed the straits of Messina, and got on from thence in his voyage too far to be overtaken, and therefore took no further notice of it. Only some few days after, they appointed Tiberius Gracchus, L. Lentulus. and Servilius Glaucias, their ambassadors, to pass into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius into that country would there produce.

The occasion which brought Menithyllus of Alabanda to Rome at this time, was an embassy on which he was sent thither by Ptolemy Philometor to defend his cause before the senate against Physcon his brother:ⁱ for Physcon, not being contented with the share allotted him in the partition of the Egyptian empire between him and his brother, desired that, besides Libya and Cyrene, he might have Cyprus also assigned to him. And, when he could not obtain this of the ambassadors, he went himself to Rome, there to solicit the senate for it. When he appeared before the senate with his petition, Menithyllus made it out, that Physcon owed not only Lybya and Cyrene, but his life also, to the favour and kindness of his brother. For he had made himself so odious to the people, by his many flagitious mal-administrations in the government, that they would have permitted him neither

^h 1 Maccab. ii. 3, 5.

ⁱ Polyb. legat. p. 941, & legat. 117, p. 950.

to reign nor live, had not Philometor interposed, to save him from their rage. And Quintus and Canuleius, who were the ambassadors that made the agreement between the two brothers, being then present in the senate, did there attest all this to be true; yet, notwithstanding, the senate, having more regard to their own interest than the justice of the cause, decreed Cyprus to be given to Physcon, because they thought Philometor would be too potent with that and Egypt together: and therefore they appointed Titus Torquatus and Cneius Merula to go with him as their ambassadors for the putting him in possession of it, according as they had decreed.

While Physcon was at Rome on this occasion, he courted Cornelia, the mother of Gracchi, desiring to have her for his queen: but, being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul, and once censor of Rome, she despised the offer, thinking it to be a greater honour to be one of the prime matrons of Rome, than to reign with Physcon in Libya and Cyrene.^k

In the interim Demetrius, landing at Tripolis in Syria, made it believed, that he was sent by the Roman senate to take possession of the kingdom, and that he would be supported by them in it.^l Whereon Eupator's cause being in the general opinion given for lost, all deserted from him to Demetrius; and Eupator, and Lysias his tutor, being seized by their own soldiers, in order to be delivered up to the new comer, were by his order both put to death. And so without any further opposition he became thoroughly settled in the whole kingdom.

As soon as Demetrius was fixed on the throne, one of the first things he did was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides. These being the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, he made the first of them governor, and the other treasurer of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him be put to death, and the other he drove into banishment.^m This was so acceptable a deliverance to the Babylonians, whom these two brothers had most grievously oppressed, that they from hence called him *Soter*, that is, *the Saviour*; which name he ever afterward bore.

Alcimus, who, on the death of Menelaus, was by Antiochus Eupator appointed high-priest of the Jews,ⁿ not being received by them, because he had polluted himself, by conforming to the ways of the Greeks in the time of Antiochus

^k Plutarch. in Tiberio Graccho.

^l 1 Maccab. vii. 1—4. ² Maccab. xiv. 1, 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 16. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 34, c. 3.

^m Appianus in Syriacis.

ⁿ 2 Maccabees xiv. 3.

Epiphanes, got together all the other apostate Jews, then living at Antioch, who had for their apostacy been expelled Judea, and went on at the head of them to the new king, to pray his relief against Judas and his brethren, accusing them of slaying many of the king's friends, and driving others out of the country, as particularly they had them his petitioners, for no other reason, but that they had obeyed the royal edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes his uncle, who had reigned before him.^o And hereby he so exasperated Demetrius against Judas and the people with him, that he forthwith ordered Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, with an army into Judea, and having confirmed Alcimus in the office of high-priest, joined in the same commission with Bacchides for the carrying on of this war.^p On their first coming to Judea, they thought to have circumvented Judas and his brethren, and, by fair words, under the show of making peace with them, to have drawn them into their power, and so have taken them. But they being aware of the fraud, kept out of their reach; which others not being so cautious of, fell into their snare, and being taken in it, were all destroyed by them; among whom were sixty of the Asidæans, and several of the scribes or doctors of their law. For being fond of having an high-priest again settled among them, and thinking they could suffer no wrong from one that was of the sons of Aaron, they took his oath of peace, and trusted themselves with him. But he had no sooner gotten them within his power, but he put them all to death; with which the rest being terrified, durst no more confide in him. After this Bacchides returned to the king, leaving with Alcimus part of his forces, to secure him in the possession of the country; with which prevailing for a while, and drawing many deserters to him, he much disturbed the state of Israel.^q For the remedy whereof, Judas, after Bacchides was fully gone, coming out with his forces again into the field, went round the country, and took vengeance of those that had revolted from him, so that Alcimus and his party were no more able to stand against him.^r Whereon that wicked disturber of his people, went again to the king, and having presented him with a crown of gold and other gifts, renewed his complaints against Judas and his brethren, telling him, that, as long as Judas lived, his authority could never be quietly settled in that country, or matters be there ever brought to a lasting state of peace;^s and all that were about the king, out of hatred to the Jews, saying the same

o 1 Maccab. vii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 16.

p 1 Maccab. vii. 8—20.

q 1 Maccab. vii. 21, 22.

r 1 Maccab. ii. 23, 24.

s 1 Maccab. vii. 25. 2 Maccab. xiv. 3, 11.

thing, Demetrius was hereby so incensed, that he sent another army against the Jews, under the command of Nicanor their old enemy, commanding him, that he should cut off Judas, disperse his followers, and thoroughly establish Alcimus in his office of high-priest.^t But Nicanor, knowing the prowess of Judas, as having been vanquished by him in a former expedition, was loath to make another trial of it for fear of another defeat; and therefore endeavoured to compose matters by a treaty; and accordingly articles of peace were agreed on between them.^u And after this Judas and Nicanor conversed in a friendly manner together: but Alcimus not liking this peace, as thinking his interest not sufficiently provided for in it, went the third time to the king, and so prepossessed him against it, that he refused to ratify what was agreed, and sent his positive orders to Nicanor, to go on with the war, and not to cease prosecuting it, till he should have slain Judas, or taken him prisoner, and sent him bound to Antioch.^x Whereon Nicanor was forced, much against his will, again to renew his former hostilities against Judas and his brethren.

Ptolemy Physcon, having had the island of Cyprus assigned to him by the determination of the senate of Rome, returned thitherward with the two Roman ambassadors, Cneius Merula and Titus Torquatus, who were sent to see him put in possession of it.^y On his coming into Greece, in his way to it, he hired a great number of mercenaries, thinking by the ^u forthwith to possess himself of the island.^z But the ambassadors, having acquainted him, that they were sent to introduce him into it, only by way of treaty with his brother, and not by arms, persuaded him again to dismiss all his forces. Whereon, taking Merula with him, he returned into Libya, and Torquatus went to Alexandria. The purpose of these two ambassadors was to bring the two brothers to meet on the borders of their dominions, and there agree the matter between them according to the sentiments of the Roman senate. But when Torquatus came to Alexandria, he found Philometor not easily to be brought to comply with what the senate had decreed concerning this matter. He insisted upon the former agreement made between him and his brother by Quintus and Canuleius the former ambassadors, which assigned Cyprus to him; and therefore thought it very hard, that it should, contrary to the tenor of that agreement, be now taken from him, and given to his brother. However, he did not at first preumptorially refuse to yield to

t 1 Maccab. vii. 26—29. 2 Maccab. xiv. 17—25.

u 1 Maccab. iv. 2 Maccab. viii.

y Polyb. legat. 113, p. 942.

x 2 Maccab. xiv. 26—29.

z Polyb. legat. 115, p. 948.

the decree of the senate, but wiredrew the treaty to a great length, and between promising as to some things, and excusing himself as to others, he did artfully beat the bush at a distance, and so wasted away the time, without coming to any determination about the matter in hand. In the interim Physcon, with the other ambassador, lay at the port of Apis in Libya, there expecting the result of Torquatus's agency: after long waiting, receiving no intelligence from him to his content, he sent Merula also to Alexandria, thinking, that both the ambassadors together might act the more effectually with Philometor to bring him to their bent. But Philometor still observed the same conduct, treating them both with all manner of kindness and complaisance, flattering them with courtly words, and endeavouring in all things to please them with as courtly actions; and by this means drilled on the matter with them, for forty days together, without coming to the point, which was the end of their embassy to him, detaining them all this while at his court rather by force than with their good liking, till at length, finding they could be put off no longer, he plainly declared, that he would stand by the first agreement, and would not yield to the making of any other. And, with this answer, Merula returned again to Physcon and Torquatus to Rome. In the interim, the Cyrenians, understanding how ill Physcon had behaved himself while he reigned at Alexandria, entertained from hence such an aversion against having him for their king, that they rose in arms to keep him out of their country. Whereon Physcon, fearing lest while he tarried at Apis, in expectation of the investiture of Cyprus, he should lose Cyrene, he hastened thither with all his forces, which he had then with him; but he had the misfortune at first to be overthrown by his rebel subjects, and it is not to be doubted, but that Philometor had an hand in the raising of this combustion, and that it was with a view hereto, that he had delayed so long to give an answer to the Roman ambassadors, that thereby he might give scope for these designs to ripen to execution. Physcon being hereby involved in great difficulties, Merula found him under the pressures of them on his return to him; and they were not a little aggravated by the account, which he brought him of his brother's final refusing to yield any more to him, than what was given him by the first agreement. He durst not himself go again to Rome, to renew his complaint against his brother about this matter, till the troubles raised against him in Cyrene were again appeased. All, therefore, that he could at present do, was to send two ambassadors with Merula in his stead.^a to

^a Polybius, legat. 116, p. 950

solicit his cause with the senate. These and Merula meeting with Torquatus, on his return from Alexandria, they went all four together to Rome, and there all made their report of the case, much to the disadvantage of Philometor; so that, when the cause came to be heard in the senate, though Menithyllus, Philometor's ambassador, spoke much in his behalf, he was not heard with any regard, the senators being generally prepossessed against him, because of his refusal to submit to their decree about Cyprus.^b And therefore, to express the anger they had conceived against him on this account, they renounced all friendship and alliance with him, and ordered his ambassador to depart Rome within five days, and sent two ambassadors from them to Cyrene, to acquaint Physcon with what they had done.

In this year Bucherius placeth the beginning of the cycle of eighty-four years, by which the Jews settled the times of their new moons, full moons, and festivals.^c I have before shown, in the Preface to the first part of this history, how they anciently went by the phasis or appearance of the new moon for all this matter: and according hereto the new moons and festivals were then constantly settled by the sanhedrim at Jerusalem. Towards the end of every month they sent out persons into places of the greatest height and eminence about Jerusalem, to observe the appearance of the new moon; and as soon as they saw it appear, they returned and made report thereof to that assembly; and according thereto they appointed their new moons, or first days of every month; and immediately by signs from mountain to mountain, gave notice thereof through the whole land of Judea: according to their new moons and full moons were all their other festivals fixed.^d And all this might well enough be done as long as the Jews lived within the narrow bounds of Judea. But when, after the time of *Alexander the Great*, they became dispersed through all the Grecian Colonies in the East, and had in great numbers settled at Alexandria, Antioch, and other cities of Egypt, Lybia, Cyrene, Syria, and Lesser Asia, under the Syro-Macedonian and Egypto-Macedonian kings; this method grew impracticable as to them. And therefore from that time they were necessitated to come to astronomical calculations, and the use of cycles, for the settling of this matter, that so they might know at all distant places when to begin their months, when to make their intercalations, and when to solemnize their festivals, all in a uniform manner at the same time.

^b Polybius, legat. 117, p. 950, 951.

^c De Antiquo Judaeorum Paschali Cyclo, c. 5, p. 377.

^d Mishna in Rosh Hashana. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Light-foot's Temple Service, c. 11.

How the eastern Jews, who had ever since the Assyrian and Babolynish captivities been settled in Babylonia, Persia, Media, and other eastern provinces beyond the Euphrates, ordered this matter is uncertain. But, since they had in Babylonia a prince of the captivity for the governing of them in all things according to their law, and a sanhedrim there to assist him herein, no doubt they had fixed methods for the settling of this matter according to the truest rules of astronomy, especially since that science was in those parts cultivated beyond what it was in any other country.^e Most likely it is, that they had an astronomical cycle by which they fixed the new moons, and according to them regulated all the rest. But as to the other Jews, that they all made use of the cycle of eighty-four years for this purpose, is certain. For several of the ancient fathers of the Christian church make mention of it, as that which had been of ancient use among the Jews, and was afterward borrowed from them by the primitive Christians for the fixing of the time of their Easter, and was the first cycle which was made use of by them for this purpose.^f It seems to have been made up of the Calippic cycle and the Octoeteris joined together. For it contains just so many days as both these cycles do when added to each other, reckoning the eight years of the Octoeteris and the seventy-six years of the Calippic cycle by Julian years. For eight Julian years contain two thousand nine hundred and twenty-two days, and seventy-six Julian years twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine days, and these being added together, make thirty thousand six hundred and eighty-one; which is exactly the number of days that are contained in eighty-four Julian years, which was the number of this cycle. And therefore it is most likely, that the Jews first began with the use of the Calippic cycle, or, more properly speaking, of the Calippic period; (for, in the language of chronologers, a cycle is a round of several years; and a period, a round of several cycles) and afterward added the

^e The Jews anciently had, in most countries of their dispersion, a chief magistrate over them of their own, by whom they were governed in all matters relating to their law, and for whose superintendency they usually purchased a commission from the kings under whom they lived. This magistrate in Babylonia, was called in the Jewish language *Rosh Golah*, that is, *The head of the captivity*; in Greek, *Æmolotarcha*, which is a name of the same signification; and it is pretended that all that bore this office there were of the seed of David. And so in like manner the Jews of Alexandria had their *Alabarcha*, and the Jews of Antioch their *Ethnarcha*; and after this they had in most places of their dispersions their patriarchs for the same purpose; and there are, in the imperial laws, edicts concerning them.

^f Annatolius, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Epiphanius, Prosper, Victorius Beda, àllique.

Octoeteris to it, both to render it the more proper for their purpose, and also to make it look as wholly their own. And it is possible so much might have been done this year. But that the Jews at this time, when, after having newly recovered their temple, and restored the true worship of God in it, they were mostly zealously employed in extirpating all heathen rites from among them, should first introduce this cycle borrowed from the heathen, and employ it to a religious use, that is, for the fixing of the times of their new moons and festivals, seems utterly improbable. That which seems most probably to be conjectured concerning this matter, (for nothing but conjecture can be had in it) is, that, when the Jews, in the dispersions after the time of *Alexander the Great* through the countries I have mentioned, saw a necessity of coming to astronomical calculations, and settled rules for the fixing of their new moons and festivals, that so they might observe them all on the same day in all places, they borrowed from the Greeks the cycle or period of Calippus, which they found used among them for the same purpose. For the Greeks reckoning their months by the course of the moon, and their years by that of the sun, and thinking themselves also obliged, for the reason which I have already mentioned, annually to keep all their festivals on the same day of the month, and on the same season of the year, in like manner as the Jews were, had long been endeavouring to find out such a cycle of years, in which, by the help of intercalations, the motions of the sun and the moon might be so adjusted to each other, that both luminaries setting forth together at the same point of time, might come round again exactly to the same, and all the new moons and full moons come over again in every cycle in the same manner as they had in the former. For could such a cycle be once fixed, the observing how the new moons and full moons happened in any one of them, would be sufficient to direct where to find them for ever in all cycles after, and there would need no more to be done than to know what year of the cycle it is, in order to know and discover the very moment of time when every new moon and full moon should happen therein through each month of it; because, in every year of the said cycle, the new moons and full moons would all come over again at the same points of time as they had in the same year of the former cycle, and so on in all following cycles for ever. Of the attempts which had been made to come at such a cycle by the Dieteris, Tetraeteris, Octoeteris, and Enneadecacteris, and how they all failed hereof, mention hath been already made. The last came nearest to it of any; the author whereof was Meto, an Athenian, who published it at

Athens, in the year before Christ 432, which was in the year immediately preceding the Peloponnesian war, where I have at large treated of it. But Meto having reckoned, that the nineteen years of his cycle contained just six thousand nine hundred and forty days, it was found, after one hundred years usage of it, that, in this computation, he had overshot what he aimed at by a quarter of a day. For nineteen Julian years contain no more than six thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine days and eighteen hours; and therefore, to mend this fault, Calippus invented his cycle, or period of seventy-six years, which consisting of four Metonic cycles joined together, he thought to bring all to rights, by leaving out one day at the end of this cycle, making it to consist of no more than twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine days, whereas four Metonic cycles joined together make twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and sixty days. This Calippus was a famous astronomer of Cyzicus in Mysia, and published his cycle in the year before Christ 330, beginning it from the summer solstice of that year, which was the same year in which Alexander overthrew Darius at the battle of Arbela. And this being the cycle which was most in reputation among the Greeks, for the bringing of the reckonings of the sun and moon's motions to an agreement at that time, when the Jews wanted such a cycle for the settling the time of their new moons and full moons and festivals by certain rules of astronomical calculations, it is most likely they then borrowed it from them for this use; and that they might not seem to have any thing among them relating to their religion which was of heathen usage, they added the Octoeteris to this period of seventy-six years; and thereby, making it a cycle of eighty-four years, by this disguise rendered it wholly their own. For no other nation but the Jews alone used this cycle, till it was borrowed from them by the primitive Christians for the same use, that is, to settle the time of their Easter. But the Jews by this addition rather marred than any way mended the matter. For, although the period of Calippus fell short of what it intended, (that is, of bringing the motions of the two greater luminaries to an exact agreement) yet it brought them within the reach of five hours and fifty minutes of it. But the addition of the Octoeteris did set them at the distance of one day, six hours, and fifty-one minutes. However, this they used till Rabbi Hillel's reformation of their calendar, which was about the year of our Lord 360; during all which time they must necessarily have made some interpolations for the correcting of those excesses whereby one of those luminaries did overrun the other according to that cycle. For other-

wise the phasis or appearances of the new moons and full moons would have contradicted the calculations of it to every man's view. But what these interpolations were, or how or when used, we have no account any where given us. Prosper placeth the beginning of the first of those cycles which was used by the Christians in the year of our Lord 46 ; and, if we reckon backward from thence, we shall find one of them to have its beginning in the year before Christ 291, which was the first year of the pontificate of Eleazar at Jerusalem, and the seventh before the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt. And then it seems most probable that the Jews began the use of this cycle. For about this time their dispersions, especially in Egypt, made it necessary for them to settle the times of their new moons, full moons, and festivals, by astronomical calculations ; because at such distances they could not have the order of the sanhedrim at Jerusalem for the directing of them in this matter. But had they then taken the period of Calippus without disguising it by the adding of the eight years of the Octoeteris, to make it look as their own, it would much better have served their purpose. Though I have above said, it is possible that the eight years might have been added were Bucherius placeth the first use of this cycle, yet I mean no more thereby than a bare possibility, and not but that I think it most probable that it was otherwise. For it seemeth to me most likely, that as the Jews first began the use of this cycle at the time I have mentioned, that is, *anno ante Christum* 291, so also doth it, that from that very beginning they fixed it to be a cycle of eighty-four years, and no otherwise used the Calippic, but with the addition of eight years after it to make up that number. If we place the beginning of the first cycle of these eighty-four years, at the year before Christ 291, the second cycle will begin A. D. 207, the third cycle, A. D. 123, the fourth cycle, A. D. 39, and the fifth cycle, at the year after Christ 46 ; and there it will meet with the beginning of the first cycle of Prosper ; that is, the first of these eighty-four year cycles, which was used by the primitive Christians for the finding out and settling the time of their Easter. The second of these cycles, according to the same Prosper, began A. D. 130 ; the third, A. D. 214 ; the fourth, A. D. 298 ; the fifth, A. D. 382, (which was the last of these cycles mentioned by Prosper ;) the sixth, A. D. 466 ; the seventh, A. D. 550 ; the eighth, A. D. 634 ; the ninth, A. D. 718 ; and the tenth, A. D. 802 ; and about that time the use of it wholly ceased.

In the first age of the church, Christians generally followed the Jews in the settling the time of their Easter, some

beginning their observance of it at the same time the Jews did their passover, that is, on the fourteenth day of their first vernal moon, or month called Nisan,^g on what day of the week soever it happened to fall, but others not till the Sunday after. Those who were for the first way, alleged that they followed therein St. John and St. Philip the apostles; and those who followed the other way urged for it the practice of St. Peter and St. Paul; who, they said, always began this festival, not on the fourteenth day of the first vernal moon, as the Jews did their passover, but on the Sunday after. And as long as those who came out of the circumcision into the church of Christ, and observed the law of Moses with that of the Gospel, held communion with the church, this made no difference in it. But when they separated from it, then the church began to think it time to separate from them in this usage; and, after several meetings and councils held about it, they came to this resolution, that Easter should always be kept, not on the fourteenth day of the moon, as the Jews did their passover, but every where on the Sunday after: and all conformed hereto except the Asian churches; who, pretending for the other usage the example of St. John and St. Philip the apostles, and the holy martyr St. Polycarp, would not recede from it. Whereon, Victor, bishop of Rome, sent out a libel of excommunication against them for it. So early did the tyranny of that see begin: for this happened in the year of our Lord 197. But Irenæus, and most other Christians of that time condemned this as a very rash and unjustifiable act in Victor. However the controversy still went on, and the Christians of the Asian way being thenceforth called *Quartodecimani*, for their observing of the festival at the same time with the Jews *quarta decima luna*, that is, on the fourteenth day of the moon, persisted in their former practice, till at length, in the Nicene council, A. D. 325, they all gave up into the other way, and an end was put to this controversy. And from that time the first day of the week, in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ thereon, hath been among all Christians every where the first day of their Easter solemnity. But, in the interim, both parties still made use of the eighty-four years' cycle, till that also was put under another regulation by the same council of Nice. In the year of Christ 222, this eighty four years' cycle being found faulty, Hippolitus,^h bishop of Pontus in Arabia, invented a new one, by joining two Octoeterises together; but, this soon appearing more faulty than the other, Anatolius,ⁱ

^g Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 5, c. 22—24.

^h Anatolius in Prologo ad Canon. Paschalem. Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 6, c. 22. Isidorus Originum, lib. 6, c. 17

ⁱ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 7, c. 32.

bishop of Laodicea in Syria, did, in the year 276, propose another way. All that was commendable in it was, that he first introduced the use of the nineteen years' cycle for this purpose ; but he applied it so wrong, that it was in his method by no means useful to the end intended. In the year 325 sat the Nicene council, wherein as to Easter these following particulars were agreed :^k 1st. That Easter should every where be begun to be observed on the first day of the week, that is, Sunday. 2dly. That it should be on the Sunday that should follow next, immediately after the fourteenth of the moon that should happen next after the vernal equinox (which was then on the 21st of March.) And, 3dly. That it should be referred to the bishop of Alexandria, to calculate every year, on what day, according to these rules, the festival should begin.

The Alexandrians being then, of all others most skilful in astronomy, for this reason the making of this calculation was referred to the bishop of that place.^l And they having applied the nineteen years' cycle in a much better method to this purpose than Anatolius had before done, found it the best rule that could be made use of for the settling of this matter ; and accordingly went by it for the discharge of what was referred to them by the council. And therefore they having every year hereby fixed the day, the custom was for the bishop of that church to write of it to the bishop of Rome ; who having the day thus signified unto him, first caused it by his deacons to be published in his patriarchal church on the day of Epiphany preceding the festival, and then, by paschal epistles, notified it to all metropolitans, through the whole Christian world ; and they, by like epistles, to their suffragans ; and by this means the day was every where known, and every where observed, in an exact uniformity of time by Christians all the world over. But the pride of the see of Rome not bearing long their being directed in any thing from abroad, after some years observance of this order, they returned again to their old cycle of eighty-four years ; and the use of it was thereon again resumed all over the western church. But this again making the same fault as formerly, by reason of the one day, six hours, and fifty-one minutes, by which the eighty-four lunar years in this cycle, with its intercalated months, did overrun the solar years in it, Victorius, a presbyter of Limoges in Aquitain, was employed by Hilarius, (who was first Archdeacon, and afterward bishop of Rome)

^k Socrates Schol. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1, c. 9.

^l Leo Magnus Papa in Epistola 94.

^m Ambrosius in Epistola ad Episcopos Æmilianos.

to make a new cycle;ⁿ who, following the Alexandrians, first introduced into the western church the rule of fixing the time of Easter by the nineteen years cycle, called the cycle of the moon; and, having multiplied it by the twenty-eight years' cycle of the dominical letters, called the cycle of the sun, hereby made the period of five hundred and thirty-two years, called from him the Victorian period; after the expiration of which, he reckoned, that the same new moons, the same full moons, and the same dominical letters, and the same times of Easter, would all come over again in the same order of time, as in the former cycle, and so in all the following cycles for ever. And accordingly they would have done so, had the same new moons and full moons come over again at the same point of time in every cycle of the moon with the same exactness as every dominical letter did again in every cycle of the sun. But the nineteen lunar years, and seven intercalated lunar months, of which this cycle consisted, falling short of nineteen Julian years by one hour, twenty-seven minutes and forty seconds;^o hence it hath followed, that in every one of the years of these nineteen years' cycles, the new moons and full moons have happened just so much sooner each month than in the same years of the cycle immediately preceding. And hereby it hath come to pass, that after the elapsing of so many rounds of that cycle as have revolved from the time of the Nicene council, to the present year 1716, the new moons and full moons in the heavens have anticipated the new moons and full moons in the calendar of our Common Prayer-book four days, ten hours and an half; because the new moons and full moons are there stated not according to the present times, but according to the times of that council. However, a better cycle for this purpose, than the nineteen years' cycle, not being to be found, because none other can bring the course of the sun and moon to a nearer agreement, the Alexandrians for this reason pitched on it for the fixing of their Easter as the best rule they could follow for it. And Theophilus^p and Cyrillus,^q who were both

ⁿ Synodus Aurelionensis 4, can. 1. Gennadius de Viris Illustribus, c. 88. Sigebertus Gemblacensis de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis. c. 20. Isidorus Orig. lib. 6, c. 17.

^o For, whereas nineteen Julian years contain six thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine days, and eighteen hours; nineteen lunar years with their seven intercalated months contain only six thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine days, sixteen hours, thirty-two minutes, and twenty seconds.

^p Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 5, c. 22. Videas etiam Bucherium de Doctrina Temporum, Petavium, aliosque chronologos.

^q Bedæ, ibid. Bucherius Petavius aliique. Cyrillus was nephew to Theophilus, and succeeded him in the see of Alexandria. He abolished his uncle's cycle, and substituted his of ninety-five years in its stead, which

patriarchs of Alexandria and made each of them periods for the determining the times of this festival, the first of one hundred years, and the other of ninety-five years, founded all their calculations hereon. And Victorius, when he undertook to form a like period for this end, for the use of the western Christians, as the other had done for the use of the eastern, built it all upon the same foundation.^r For, fixing all the first vernal fourteen moons (which were the paschal terms) according to the cycle of the moon, and the next Sunday after, in every year, (which was the day when the festival began,) according to the cycle of the sun, he compounded out of both these cycles, by multiplying them into each other, his period of five hundred and thirty-two years, beginning it from the twenty-eighth year of our Lord, according to the vulgar era; and herein, according to both these cycles, he fixed the times of Easter in every year throughout that whole period, and so in all succeeding periods, on the same days over again in each of them for ever. This, after several years labour in it, he finished and published in the year of our Lord 457; which Dyonsius Exiguus, a Roman abbot, having, in the year of our Lord 527, corrected in some particulars, and fixed the equinox and new moons at the same points of time, in which they were at the holding of the council of Nice, the whole western church went hereby for many ages, till Gregory XIII, bishop of Rome, in the year 1582, reduced it by his corrections to that form in which it is now used under the name of the *New Style*, in foreign countries.^s And it is to be wished that this church would reform all things else that are amiss among them, as well as they have done this. However, we in England, and all the dominions belonging thereto, still retain the old form. And as we are the last to recede from this form, so were we anciently the last to receive it. For, although Dionysius published his form in the year of our Lord 527, it was not till the year 800 that it was universally received by all the churches of Britain and Ireland; and great controversies were in the interim raised among them about it, the occasion of which was as followeth.

Till the Saxons came into this island, (which was A. D. 449) the British churches having always communicated with the Roman, and received all its usages, as having been till about that time a province of the Roman empire, they agreed

was truly a cycle, for it consisted of five metonics; but the other was rather a table, in which Easter was calculated for one hundred years, than a cycle.

^r Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 5, c. 22. Bucher. in Canon Paschal. Victorii.

^s Videas de hac re duas ejas epistolas in fine operis Bucherii de Doctrina Temporum

with it in the use of the same rule for the fixing of the time of their Easter. And the Irish, who had not long before been converted by St. Patrick,^t who was sent to them from Rome, followed the same usage. But afterward, when the Saxons, having made themselves masters of all the eastern and southern coasts of this island, had thereby cut off all communication with Rome, all that correspondence, which till then the British and Irish churches had held with the Roman, thenceforth ceased, and was wholly interrupted, till the coming hither of Austin the monk, to convert the English Saxons, which was about one hundred and fifty years after. And therefore, neither the British nor the Irish knowing any thing of the reformation that had in the interim been made in this rule concerning Easter, either by Victorius or Dyonysius, went on with the observing of the said festival according to the old form of the eighty-four years' cycle, which they had received from the Romans, before the Saxons came into this land. And in this usage Austin found them on his arrival hither. And they having been long accustomed to it, could not easily be induced to alter it for the new usage of the Romanists, which Austin then proposed to them.^u And hence arose that controversy about Easter, which from that time was between the old Christians of Britain and Ireland, and the new Christians which were here converted by the Romanists, and lasted full two hundred years, before it was fully suppressed. The difference between them about this matter was in two particulars. For, 1st. Whereas the Romanists, according to the rule of Dionysius, fixed the time of Easter by the nineteen years' cycle of the moon, and the twenty-eight years' cycle of the sun, the first showing them the paschal term, and the other, what day was the next Sunday after, the Britons and Irish adhered to the use of the old cycle, that of eighty-four years for this matter.^y And, 2dly. Whereas the Romanists observed the beginning of the festival, from the fifteenth day of the first vernal moon, to the twenty-first inclusive, according as the Sunday happened within the compass of those days, the Britons and the Irish observed it from the fourteenth to the twentieth; that is, the Romanists laying it down for a principle in this case never to begin the paschal festival at the same time with the Jews, for the avoiding of it, would never begin the solemnity on the four-

^t St. Patrick was sent by Cælestin, bishop of Rome, to convert the Irish, A. D. 432. He was then sixty years old, when he first undertook the work of this apostleship, and continued in it sixty years after, and with such success, that he converted the whole island, and died at the age of one hundred and twenty.

^u Austin first landed in Kent, A. D. 597.

^x Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 2, c. 2.

^y Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 2, c. 2. 4.

teenth day of that moon, though it happened to be on a Sunday, but referred it to the next Sunday after, though in this case that Sunday did not happen till the twenty-first day of the said moon. But the Britons and Irish, if that fourteenth day happened to be on a Sunday, did then begin the festival without making any such scruple, as the Romanists did in this case, and so proceeded to observe it in the following years on the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth, according as the next Sunday after fell on any of those days of that moon. But the Romanists not beginning the festival on any Sunday till the fifteenth of the said moon, observed it the following years, on the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first of the moon, according as the next Sunday fell on any of them in any of the said years. So that, as the former never carried the beginning of this festival beyond the twentieth day of the first vernal moon, so the latter never commenced it till the fifteenth day of the same. And they were so zealously set this way, that they would not hold communion with those of the British and Irish churches that did otherwise, but, looking on them as heretics, called them by way of reproach, *quarto-decimans*, whereas the ancient *quarto-decimans* were only those who began the festival on the fourteenth day of the moon, at the same time with the Jews, on what day of the week soever it happened. But the Britons and the Irish never began it on that day, but when it happened to be on a Sunday.

On the receding of Paulinus from the archbishopric of York, after the death of Edwin king of the English Saxons beyond the Humber, (which happened in the year of our Lord 633,^z) the churches of those parts having had their bishops from the monastery of St. Columbus in the island of Hy, (which was then the chief university of the Irish for the educating and breeding up of their divines,) and Aidan,^a Finan,^b and Colman,^c who had been all three monks of that monastery, having, in succession to each other, governed those churches thirty years, they during that time had introduced into them the Irish usage for the observing of Easter; whereby the controversy being brought among the English Christians, and a schism made among them about it, for the putting of an end to it, a council was called to meet at the monastery of the Abbess Hilda, at Whitby in Yorkshire, then called Streonshale.^d And there a long disputa-

^z Bedæ Hist. Eccles. lib. 2, c. 10.

^a Bedæ Hist. lib. 3, c. 3.

^b Bedæ Hist. lib. 3, c. 17, 52.

^c Bedæ Hist. lib. 3, c. 25, 26.

^d Ibid. lib. 3, c. 25. Heddius in Vita Wilfridi, c. 10.

tion being had before Oswey king of the Northumbrians,^e (who presided in that council,) and Alfred his son, and the main stress of the arguments on both sides turning upon this, that the Irish and Britons urged the authority of St. John for their usage, and the Romanists that of St. Peter for theirs, which they said was preferable to the other, because he was the prince of the apostles, and had the keys of heaven committed to his keeping, Oswey asked those who disputed on the side of the Irish and Britons, whether they agreed, that the usage of the Romanists had been the usage of St. Peter? and, on their agreeing hereto, he asked them again, whether they held that St. Peter had the keeping of the keys of heaven? and they having answered to this also in the affirmative, he hereon declared, that he would then be for St. Peter's way, lest, when he should come to heaven's gates, St. Peter should shut them against him, and keep him out. Whereon this ridiculous controversy receiving as ridiculous a decision, all the Christians of those parts came over to the Roman way; and Colman,^f being much displeased with this deciding, or rather ridiculing of the controversy, returned, with as many of his Irish clergy as were of his mind, again to the monastery of Hy, from whence they came, and the Northumbrians had another bishop appointed over them in his stead. This happened in the year of our Lord 664.

After this the old way began to wear off both in Britain and Ireland, though but by slow degrees. Adamnanus,^g abbot of Hy, being sent on an embassy from the British Scots (that is, the Irish who had settled in North Britain) to Alfred king of the Northumbrians; and having, while he continued on that occasion in those parts, made a visit to the united monasteries of Jarrow and Wermouth near Durham, was there, by Cealfrid, then abbot of them, so thoroughly convinced of the reasonableness of the Roman way before the other, that, on his return to Hy, he endeavoured to bring all there to conform to it; but not being able to prevail with them herein, he went into Ireland, and there brought over almost all the northern parts of that island to this way.^h This happened

^e All were then called Northumbrians that lived north of the river Humber, from that river to Graham's Dyke, which did run from Dunbritten frith to the Forth. For all this country was the ancient kingdom of the Northumbrians, and was divided into two parts, Deiria and Bernicia; the former extended from the Humber to the Tyne, and the other from the Tyne to Graham's Dyke.

^f Bedæ Hist. lib. 3, c. 26.

^g Bedæ Hist. lib. 5, c. 16.

^h *Scotia* in this age was only Ireland, and the *Scoti* none other than the Irish: for Ireland only was the ancient *Scotia*, and the Irish the ancient Scots. But about the year of our Lord 500, a colony of the Irish having, under the leading of Fergus the son of Erc, settled in that part of North

about the year of our Lord 703. And he had the easier success herein, for that the southern parts of that island had some years before conformed hereto, being induced to it by an epistle from Honourous bishop of Rome, written to them about it in the year 629.ⁱ In the year 710, the same Cealfrid, above mentioned, having written to Naitan, king of the Picts, an epistle for this way, thereby brought him and all his nation with him into a conformity to it.^k This epistle is very learnedly and judiciously written, and no doubt was penned by Bede, who was then a monk under him in these two united monasteries. It is still extant in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and gives us the best view of this controversy of any thing now remaining that hath been written about it. In the year 716, Egbert,^l a pious and learned presbyter of the English nation, after having spent many years in his studies in Ireland, (which was in that age the prime seat of learning in all christendom,) coming from thence to the monastery of Hy, proposed to them anew the Roman way; and, having better success herein than Adamnanus their late abbot had in that attempt which he had before made upon them for this purpose, brought them all over to it. And after this none but the Welsh persisted in the old form; who out of the inveterate hatred they had against all of the English nation, were hard to be brought to conform to them in any thing. However, at length about the year 800, the errors of the old way by that time growing very conspicuous, by reason of the many days, which, according to the eighty-four years' cycle, the lunar account must then have overrun the solar, the Welsh of North Wales were, by the persnasion of Elbodius their bishop, prevailed with to give an ear to those reasons which were alleged for the Roman form; and, being convinced by them that it was the better of the two, came into it.^m And, not long after, the Welsh of South Wales follow-

Britain now called Argyleshire, first brought with them the name of Scots into that country, and there began the kingdom of the British Scots, from whom this embassy came. But afterward having, in process of time, conquered both the north and the south Picts, and also received from the Saxon kings of England, all the Lowlands from Graham's Dyke to the river Tweed, (which formerly belonged to those princes,) they thenceforth gave the name of Scotland to that country; and Ireland, the ancient *Scotia*, assumed the name which it now bears. This was done about the year of our Lord 1000. For archbishop Usher tells us, who fully examined the matter, that there is not any one writer, who lived within one thousand years after Christ, that mentions the name of Scotland, and means any other than Ireland by it. *Vide Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiq.* c. 16, p. 383.

ⁱ Bedæ Hist. lib. 2, c. 19; lib. 3, c. 3.

^k Bedæ, lib. 5, c. 22.

^l Bedæ, lib. 5, c. 3.

^m Humphredi Lhuid Fragmenta Britannica. Winn's History of Wales, p. 18.

ed their example, and did the same; and thenceforth the cycle of eighty-four years, which had lasted for so many ages, became wholly abolished all christendom over, and was never more brought into use.

There was indeed another controversy between the old Christians of Britain and Ireland, and the new ones of the Roman conversion, which was all along at the same time brought upon the stage with that about Easter, during the whole contest; that is, that of the Clerical Tonsure, which was always debated with it, and was every where ended at the same time when the other was.ⁿ But, my purpose being to treat only of what related to the Jewish affairs, I have only meddled with this contest, thereby to give the history of the Jewish cycle of eighty-four years; and thus far it is within my theme; but it being out of it to treat of the other, for this reason I do not here trouble the reader with it.

On the abolition of the eighty-four years' cycle, the paschal rule of Dionysius became the rule of the whole western church for several ages after; and, it being still the rule of Great Britain and Ireland, and all the dominions belonging to them, it will be useful for the English reader to know the particulars of it. They are as followeth: 1. That Easter is a festival annually observed in commemoration of Christ's resurrection. 2. That Sunday being the day on which it is weekly commemorated, that day of the week is the fittest always to be the day on which the annual commemoration of it is to be solemnized. 3. That therefore this festival be always on a Sunday. 4. That it be on the Sunday next after the Jewish passover. 5. That the Jewish passover being always slain on the fourteenth day of the first vernal moon, by them called Nisan, the Christian Easter is always to be on the next Sunday after the said fourteenth day of that moon. 6. That, to avoid all conformity with the Jews in this matter, though the fourteenth day of the said moon be on a Sunday, this festival is not to be kept on that Sunday, but on the next Sunday after. 7. That the first vernal moon is that whose fourteenth day (commonly called the fourteenth moon) is either upon the day of the vernal equinox, or else is the next fourteenth moon after it. 8. That the vernal equinox, according to the council of Nice (to the times of which this rule is calculated,) is fixed to the 21st day of March. 9. That therefore the first vernal moon, according to this rule, is that, whose fourteenth day falls upon the 21st of March, or else is the fourteenth moon after. 10. That this fourteenth day of the first vernal moon being the limit or boun-

ⁿ Bedæ Hist. lib. 3, c. 25, & lib. 5, c. 22

dary which bars and keeps Easter always beyond it, so that it can never happen before or upon that day, but always after it; for this reason it is called the paschal term. 11. That the next Sunday after the paschal term is always Easter day. 12. That therefore the earliest paschal term being the 21st of March, the 22d of March is the earliest Easter possible; and the 18th of April being the latest paschal term that can happen, the seventh day after, that is, the 25th of April, is the latest Easter possible; all other Easters are sooner or later, as the paschal terms and the next Sundays after them fall sooner or later, within the said limits. 13. That the earliest paschal term, or fourteenth day of the said first vernal moon, being, according to this rule, on the 21st of March, the fourteenth day before, that is the 8th of March, must be the earliest first day of this moon that can happen; and the latest paschal term being the 18th of April, the fourteenth day before that, that is, the 5th of April, is the latest first day of this moon that can happen. All other first days of this moon fall sooner or later between the said 8th day of March, and the 5th of April following. 14. That the cycle of the moon which points to us the golden number, always shows us, which is the first day of the paschal moon, and, consequently, which is the fourteenth day of the same, and the cycle of the sun, which points to us the dominical letter, always shows us, which is the next Sunday after. And therefore, when you know what is the golden number, and what is the dominical letter of the year, the following scheme will fully serve to tell you when Easter will fall, according to this rule, in any year for ever.

1	2	3	4	5.	March	1	2	3	4	5.	April
3	1		D		<i>Kalendæ</i>		1	15	G		<i>Kalendæ</i>
	2		E		VI	11	2	4	A		IV
11	3		F		V		3		B		III
	4		G		IV	19	4	12	C		<i>Prid. Non.</i>
19	5		A		III	8	5	1	D		<i>Nonæ</i>
8	6		B		<i>Prid. Non.</i>	16	6		E		VIII
	7		C		<i>Nonæ</i>	5	7	9	F		VII
16	8		D		VIII		8		G		VI
5	9		E		VII	13	9	17	A		V
	10		F		VI	2	10	6	B		IV
13	11		G		V		11		C		III
2	12		A		IV	10	12	14	D		<i>Prid. Id.</i>
	13		B		III		13	3	E		<i>Idus</i>
10	14		C		<i>Prid. Id.</i>	18	14		F		XVIII
	15		D		<i>Idus</i>	7	15	11	G		XVII
18	16		E		XVII		16		A		XVI
7	17		F		XVI	15	17	19	B		XV
	18		G		XV	4	18	8	C		XIV
15	19		A		XIV		19		D		XIII
4	20		B		XIII	12	20		E		XII
	21	16	C		XII <i>Nicen Equinox.</i>	1	21		F		XI
12	22	5	D		XI <i>First Easter possible.</i>		22		G		X
	23		E		X	9	23		A		IX
1	24	13	F		IX		24		B		VIII
9	25	2	G		VIII	17	25		C		VII <i>Last East. possible.</i>
	26		A		VII	6	26		D		VI
17	27	10	B		VI		27		E		V
6	28		C		V	14	28		F		IV
	29	18	D		IV	3	29		G		III
14	30	7	E		III		30		A		<i>Prid. Kalend.</i>
3	31		F		<i>Prid. Kalend.</i>						

In this scheme, the first column contains the numbers that in the calendar of our Common Prayer-book are called the *primes*, which are the golden numbers that point out to us the new moons. The second column gives the days of the month. The third contains the golden numbers, which point out to us the paschal terms, or the fourteenth day of the first vernal moon, (that is, the day on which the Jews slew their passover.) The fourth column gives the dominical letters. And the last, the old Roman calendar. Every number of the prime shows, that, in the year when that is the golden number, the new moon is according to the calculation of this form on the day of the month over against which it is placed.

And every number in the third column shows, that in the year when that is the golden number, the paschal term is on the day of the month over against which it is placed. The dominical letters tell us, when is the first Sunday after the paschal term on which Easter begins. And the Roman calendar shows us, on what day thereof each particular above mentioned happens.

And therefore, observing these particulars, when you would find out in any year on what day Easter falls in it, run down your eye in the first column from the 8th of March (which is the earliest first day that can happen of the first vernal moon,) till you come to that number in it which is the golden number of the year, and that number tells you, that the day of the month over against which it is placed is the first of that moon. And then running down your eye in the third column, till you come to the same golden number in that column, that number tells you, that the day of the month over against which it is placed, is the paschal term, that is, the fourteenth day of that moon (as by numbering from that which is the same golden number in the first column you will find.) And then running down your eye from thence in the fourth column (which is the column of the dominical letters,) till you come to the dominical letter of the year, that letter tells you, that the day of the month over against which it is placed, is the next Sunday after the said paschal term, and that Sunday is the Easter of the year. As, for example, if you would know on what day Easter falls in this present year, 1716, run down your eye in the first column, till you come to the number 7, (which is the golden number of that year;) which being placed over against the 17th of March, it tells you thereby, that this 17th of March is the first day of the first vernal moon of this year. And from thence run down your eye in the third column, till you come to the same number of 7 in that column, which being placed over against the 30th of March, it tells you thereby, that this is the fourteenth day of that moon (as you will find by numbering from the said seventeenth day, which was the first of this moon) or the paschal term of the year. And then run down your eye from thence in the fourth column, (which is the column of the dominical letters,) till you come to the letter G, (which is the dominical letter of the year,) which being placed over against the 1st of April, it tells you thereby, that this day is the first Sunday after the said paschal term, and therefore is the Sunday on which Easter is to be solemnized this year. And so, in like manner, if you would know when Easter will fall in the year 1717, 8 being the golden number of the year, and placed in the column of the primes over against the 5th

of April, it shows that to be the first day of the first vernal moon of that year. And the same manner in the third column, being placed over against the 18th of April, it shows that to be the paschal term of the year. And the letter F being the dominical letter of the year, and the next F after, in the fourth column, being placed over against the 21st of April, this shows that the 21st of April is the first Sunday after the said paschal term, and therefore is the Sunday on which Easter is to be observed in that year. And so, by the like method, may be found out, when Easter, according to this form, will fall in any year for ever: and hereby not only the rule, but also the reason of the thing, may be seen both together at the same time. And the same may be done by the calendar in the Common Prayer-book, though the third column of this scheme be there wanting. For you having there found, by the method mentioned, the first day of the first vernal moon, number down from thence to the fourteenth day after, and there you have the paschal term; and the next Sunday after (which you will know by the dominical letter of the year) is Easter Sunday.

But it is to be observed, that the 21st of March is not the true equinox, but only that which was the true equinox at the time of the Nicene council (which was held A. D. 325;) since that time the true equinox hath anticipated the Nicene equinox eleven days. For the Julian solar year which we reckon by, exceeding the true tropical solar year eleven minutes, this excess in one hundred and thirty years makes a day, and almost eleven times one hundred and thirty years having happened since the time of that council to this present year 1716, the true equinox now falls eleven days before the Nicene equinox. And so, in like manner, it hath happened to the primes, that is, the golden numbers, or the numbers of the nineteen years' cycle of the moon, in the first column of the calendar in our Common Prayer-book. For they are placed there to show, that the days of the month over against which they stand in that calendar, are the new moons in those years in which they are the golden numbers, and they truly did so at the time of the council of Nice. But in every one of the nineteen years' cycles of the golden numbers, called the cycles of the moon, the Julian solar reckoning exceeding the true lunar reckoning an hour and almost an half, this hour and an half in three hundred and four years making a day, and four times three hundred and four years and above half three hundred and four years more, having now passed since that council, this hath caused that the true new moons now happen four days and an half before the new moons marked by the primes in the said calendar of our

Common Prayer-book. And therefore, if you would have the true equinox by that calendar, you must deduct as many days from the 21st of March as there hath been the number of one hundred and thirty years since the council of Nice, and that will bring you back to the true time of the equinox in this or any other year wherein it shall be sought for. And so, in like manner, if you would have the true time of the new moon by the same calendar in every month, you must deduct as many days from the days of the month which the primes mark out for the new moons, as there are the number of three hundred and four years in the number of years which are now, from the time of the said council, elapsed, that is, four days and an half; and this will lead you back to the true time of the new moon in any month of the year wherein you shall seek to know it. As, for example, in this year 1716, the number 7 (which is the golden number of the year, as placed in the column of the primes in the month of June) points out to us the thirteenth day of the month for the new moon; deduct from it four days and an half, and that will carry you back to the 8th of June, which is the true new moon; and so likewise, in this method, you may know by the same calendar on what day the new moon shall happen in any month or year for ever. And thus far the explication of the Jewish cycle of eighty-four years: and the account of that controversy about it, which was raised in this land among our English ancestors, hath led me, I fear, into too long a digression. To return, therefore, to our history.

Nicanor, having received orders from Demetrius again to renew the war against the Jews, as hath been above mentioned, came with his forces to Jerusalem, and there thought by craft and treachery to have gotten Judas into his power.^o For, having invited him to a conference, Judas, relying on the late peace, complied with him herein, and came to the place appointed: but, finding that an ambush was there laid treacherously to take him, he fled from his presence: and after this all confidence was broken, and the war was again begun between them. The first action hereof was at Capharsalama; in which Nicanor having lost five thousand men, retreated with the rest to Jerusalem; where, being much enraged by reason of the defeat, he first vented his wrath on Razis, an eminent and honourable senator of the Jewish senate called the sanhedrim.^p For, finding that he was much honoured and beloved by the Jews, not only by reason of his steady and constant perseverance in his

An. 161.
Judas Mac-
cabæus 6.

^o 1 Maccab. vii. 27—32. Joseph, Antiq. lib. 12, c. 7.
^p Maccab. xiv. 37—46.

religion through the worst of times, but also because of the good and kind offices which he was ready on all occasions to do his people, Nicanor thought it would be an act of great displeasure and despite to the Jews, to have him cut off; and therefore sent out a party of five hundred men to take him, with intent to put him to death. But Razis, being at a castle of his which he had in the country, there defended himself against them for some time with great valour: but at length, finding he could hold out no longer, he fell upon his own sword; but, the wound not killing him, he cast himself headlong over the battlements of the turret whereon he fought; and, finding himself alive after that also, he thrust his hand into his wound, and, pulling out his bowels, cast them upon the assailants, and so died. The Jews for this reckoned him a martyr; but St. Austin, in his epistle to Dulcitius, condemns the fact as self-murder, and there gives reasons for it that cannot be answered.^q

After this, Nicanor went up into the mountain of the temple, and there demanded that Judas and his host should be delivered to him, threatening, that, unless this were done, he would, on his return, pull down the altar, and burn the temple, and, instead of it, build a temple to Bacchus in the same place;^r and at the same time spoke many other blasphemous words, both against the temple and the God of Israel that was worshipped in it; which sent all that wished well to Zion to their prayers against him, and they were heard with thorough effect. For, immediately after,^s Nicanor marching out with his forces against Judas, and coming to a battle with him, was slain in the first onset; whereon the whole army cast away their arms and fled; and all the country rising upon them as they endeavoured to escape, cut them all off to a man, there not being of his whole army, which consisted of thirty-five thousand men, as much as one left to carry the news of this defeat to Antioch. Judas and his forces, returning from the pursuit again to the field of battle, took the spoils of the slain, and, having found the body of Nicanor, they cut off his head, and also his right-hand, which he had stretched out so proudly in his threatenings against the temple, and hanged them up upon one of the towers of Jerusalem. This victory was obtained on the thirteenth of the Jewish month Adar; and, it being a day of great deliverance to Israel, they rejoiced greatly in it, and ordained, that it should ever after be observed as an anniver-

^q Epist. 61. Vide etiam eundem in libro secundo contra Gaudentium.

^r 1 Maccab. vii. 33—38. 2 Maccab. xiv. 31—36. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12, c. 17.

^s 1 Maccab. vii. 34—50. 2 Maccab. xv. 1—36. Joseph. *ibid.*

sary day of thanksgiving in commemoration of this mercy ; and they so keep it even to this present time, by the name of the day of Nicanor. And here endeth the history of the second book of the Maccabees.

Judas, having some respite after this victory, sent an embassy to the Romans ;^z for having heard of their power, prowess, and policy, he was desirous of making a league with them, hoping thereby to receive some protection and relief against the oppression of the Syrians ; and therefore, for this end, he made choice of Jason, the son of Eleazar, and Eupolemus, the son of that John,^u who, in a like embassy to Seleucus Philopater, obtained from him a grant of all those privileges for the Jews which Antiochus Epiphanes would have afterward abolished, and sent them to Rome, where they were kindly received by the senate, and a decree was made, that the Jews should be acknowledged as friends and allies of the Romans, and a league of mutual defence be thenceforth established between them.^u And a letter was written from them to Demetrius, requiring him to desist from any more vexing the Jews, and threatening him with war if he should not comply herewith.^x But, before this letter was delivered, or the ambassadors returned with the decree of the senate to Jerusalem, Judas was dead.

For Demetrius, having received an account of the defeat and death of Nicanor,^y sent Bacchides, with Alcimus, the second time into Judea, at the head of a very potent army, made up of the prime forces and flower of his militia. Judas, on the coming of this army into Judea, had no more than three thousand men with him to oppose them ; who, being terrified with the strength and number of the enemy, deserted their general, all to eight hundred men : yet with these few Judas out of an over excess of valour and confidence, dared engage the numerous army of the adversary ; but, being overborne by their numbers, was slain in the conflict ; for which all Judah and Jerusalem made great lamentation ; and Jonathan and Simon his brothers, taking up his dead body, buried him honourably at Modin, in the sepulchre of his forefathers.

t 1 Maccab. viii. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 17.

u 2 Maccab. iv. 11.

x Maccab. viii. 41, 42. Justin. lib. 36, c. 3. The words of Justin in this place are : ' A Demetrio cum defecissent Judæi, amicitia Romanorum petita, primi omnium ex Orientalibus libertatem receperunt, facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus ;' that is, ' The Jews, when they revolted from Demetrius, having sought the friendship of the Romans, were the first of the nations of the East that regained their liberty, the Romans at that time easily giving to others of that which was not their own.'

y 1 Maccab. ix. 1—22. Joseph. lib. 12, c. 19.

The apostates, and others who were ill affected to the true interest and peace of their country, took the advantage of this loss to lift up their heads again, and act according to their evil inclinations in ail parts of the land, and hereby created great disturbances in it.² And, moreover, a very grievous famine happened at the same time, and the prevailing faction having gotten most of the provisions of the land into their power, this caused great revoltings among the people, that so thereby they might come at bread. And by this means Alcimus and his party greatly increasing in strength, got the whole land into their power; and thereon the government being in all places put into the hands of wicked men, great inquisition and search was made for the friends and adherents of the Maccabæans; and such of them as could be taken, being brought to Bacchides, were put to death with all manner of cruelty and indignity: by reason whereof there was sore affliction and great distress in Israel, such as had not been from the days of the prophets that returned from the Babylonish captivity to that time, not excepting even the persecuting times of Antiochus Epiphanes. Whereon, for the remedy of this great evil and misery, all that wished well to Zion flocked to Jonathan, and made him their captain;^a and he thereon taking the government upon him, rose up in the place of Judas his brother, and got forces together to resist the enemy; which Bacchides hearing of, endeavoured to have gotten him into his power, that he might put him to death; whereon Jonathan, and Simon his brother, with those that were with him, fled into the wilderness of Tekoa, and there encamped near the river of Jordan, where being surrounded with a morass on the one side, and the river on the other, they could not be easily come at. But, that they might the better secure their goods and baggage from all the events of war, they sent all their carriages, under the conduct of John, the brother of Jonathan and Simon, to their friends the Nabatheans, to be deposited with them, till they should be in a better condition again to receive them.^b But, while John was on his way thither, the Jambrians, a tribe of the Arabs then living at Medaba, formerly a city of the Moabites, issued out from thence upon him, and, having slain him, and those that were with him, took all that they had, and carried it away for a prey.

Not long after, Jonathan and Simon understanding that a great marriage was to be solemnized at Medaba between one of the chief men of the Jambrians and a daughter of one of

z 1 Maccab. ix. 23—27. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 1

a 1 Maccab. ix. 28—33. Joseph. *ibid.*

b 1 Maccab. ix. 35, 38. Joseph. *ibid.*

the prime nobles of Canaan, and, having gotten notice of the day, when the bride was to be conducted home to her bridegroom, waylaid them in the mountains ; from whence having a full sight of the bride's being carried on with great pomp and attendance, and the bridegroom's marching out with like pomp to meet and receive her, as soon as they perceived both companies were joined together, they rose up against them from the place where they lay in ambush, and slew them all, excepting only some few that escaped by flying to the mountains, and took all their spoils, and, having thus revenged the death of their brother, returned again to their former camp.^c Of which Bacchides having received intelligence, marched thither against them, and, having made himself master of the pass that led to their encampment, assaulted them in it on the sabbath-day,^d expecting then to find no resistance from them, because of the religious veneration which, he understood, they had for that day. But Jonathan, reminding his people of the determination that was made in this case in the time of Mattathias his father, exhorted them valiantly to resist the enemy, when thus pressed to it by necessity, notwithstanding it was the sabbath-day ; and all accordingly complied herewith, and, in defence of themselves, slew of the assailants about one thousand men ; but, finding that they must at length be overpowered by their numbers, they cast themselves into the river Jordan, and swam over to the other side, and so escaped. For Bacchides, pursuing them no farther, returned again to Jerusalem, where having given order for the fortifying of several cities and strong holds throughout Judea, in places best convenient for it, he put strong garrisons in them, that he might thereby the better keep the country in subjection, and the easier suppress all those of the contrary party that should rise up against him. And especially he took care to well repair and fortify the fortress of Mount Acra in Jerusalem, and, having furnished it with men and provisions, he took of the children of the chief men of the country, and put them into it, ordering them there to be kept as hostages for the fidelity of their fathers and friends ; and so ended the year.

In the next year after died Alcimus, the great troubler of Israel.^e For, after having, by the power of Bacchides, fully established himself in the pontificate, he set himself to make several alterations for the corrupting of the then well settled state of the Jewish religion, in order to the bringing of it to a nearer agreement with

Anno 160.
Jonathau 1.

c 1 Maccab. ix. 37—41. Joseph. *ibid.*

d 1 Maccab. ix. 43—53. Joseph. *ibid.*

e 1 Maccab. ix. 54—56.

the heathen. And whereas, round the sanctuary, there was built, by the order of the later prophets Haggai and Zechariah, a low wall or enclosure, called the *Chel*,^f to serve for the separating of the holy part of the mountain of the house from the unholy ; and the rule was, that within this no uncircumcised person was ever to enter ; Alcimus, in order to take away this distinction, and give the Gentile equal liberty with the Jew to pass into the inner courts of the temple, ordered this wall of partition to be pulled down. But, while it was doing, he was smitten by the hand of God with a palsy, and suddenly died of it.

When Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, for whose sake he came into Judea, he returned again to Antioch ; and the land was quiet from all molestations of the Syrians for two years.^g It is most likely Demetrius had by this time received the letters that were sent to him from the Romans in behalf of the Jews, and thereupon gave Bacchides orders to surcease his vexations of that people ; and that it was in obedience to those orders, that, on the death of Alcimus, he took that occasion to leave that county.

For Demetrius,^h about this time labouring all he could to get the Romans to favour him, was now more than ordinarily cautious not to give them any offence ; and therefore was the more ready to comply with any thing they should desire. It hath been before related in what manner he fled from Rome, when he was an hostage there, and how contrary to the mind of the senate, he seized Syria, and slew Antiochus Eupater, whom they had confirmed in that kingdom, and there reigned in his stead ; for which reason they being much displeased with him, had not as yet saluted him king, nor renewed the league with him which they had made with his predecessors. This Demetrius was very solicitous to have done : and, in order thereto, was at this time making use of all methods to gain their favour ; and therefore, hearing that the Romans had then three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his prime ministers, thither to treat with them about this matter ; and, on his return, finding, by the report which he made of what passed in this treaty, that the good offices of these ambassadors were absolutely necessary for the gaining of his point, he sent again to them, first into Pamphylia, and after that again to Rhodes, promising every thing they should desire, and never leaving soliciting and pressing them, till at length, by their interposition, all was granted him that he

^f See Lightfoot of the Temple, c. 17.

^g 1 Maccab. ix. 57.

^h Polyb. legat. 120, p. 952.

solicited for; and the Romans acknowledged him for king of Syria, and renewed the leagues of his predecessors with him.

Whereon, the next year after, he sent the same Menochares with others, in a solemn embassy to Rome, for the further cultivating of their friendship with him.ⁱ

Anno 159.
Jonathan 2.

They carried thither a crown of gold, of the value of ten thousand gold pieces of money, for a present to the senate, in acknowledgment of the kind and free entertainment he had received from them, while he was an hostage at Rome with them. And they also brought with them Leptines and Isocrates, to be delivered into their hands, for the death of Octavius. I have above related how this Leptines slew Octavius at Laodicea in Syria, while he was in that country, on an embassy from the Romans. Isocrates was a talkative Greek, and by profession a grammarian; he being then in Syria when this murder was committed, undertook, on all occasions, to speak in the justification of it; for which reason, being taken into custody, he grew distracted, and so continued ever after. But there was no occasion of seizing Leptines; he freely offered himself, to go to Rome, there to answer for the fact, and accordingly, without any constraint, accompanied the ambassadors thither; and although he constantly owned the fact, yet, at the same time, he as confidently assured himself, he should suffer no hurt from the Romans for it; and so it accordingly happened. As to the ambassadors, the senate received them with due respect, and kindly accepted of the present they brought, but would not meddle with the persons. The taking vengeance of these two men, they thought, was too small a satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador; and therefore they kept that matter still upon the same foot, reserving to themselves the further inquiry into it, and the demand from the whole nation of the Syrians (on whom in general they charged the guilt) of such satisfaction, as, on a full and thorough cognizance of the cause, should be judged adequate to it.

About this time Holophernes,^k the pretended elder brother of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, laying claim to that kingdom, came to Demetrius to solicit his help for the recovering of it.^k Ariarathes the father had to his wife Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, king of Syria.^l She having lived some years without children, and therefore

ⁱ Polyb. legat. 122, p. 954, 955. Appian. in Syriacis. Diodor. Siculus, legat. 25.

^k Polyb. lib. 3, p. 161. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 35, c. 1. Epit. Livii, lib. 47.

^l Diodor. Sic. lib. 31, apud Photium in Biblioth. cod. 244, p. 1160.

believing that she should never have any, to help the matter, feigned herself to be with child, and thereon pretending to be delivered first of one son, and afterward again of another by the same trick. she thus brought in two suppositious children to be heirs of the royal family; the first of which was called Ariarathes, and the other Holophernes. By which it appears, that the bringing in of false births for the inheriting of crowns is not a new thing in the world. But after, the queen proving truly to be with child, and being delivered without fraud, first of one daughter, and next of another, and in the last place of a son, she confessed the whole deceit. Whereon, that the false sons might not be heirs, to the wrong of the true, they were sent away into foreign parts, the eldest of them to Rome, and the other, which was this Holophernes, into Ionia, with sums of money sufficient there to educate and maintain them. And the true son, at first called Mithridates, thenceforth taking his father's name, was declared his true heir; and accordingly, after his death, succeeded him in the kingdom. And this is that Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, of whom we now speak, and against whom Holophernes made the claim I have mentioned. Demetrius had not long before offered him his sister Laodice in marriage; but, she having been widow to Perseus king of Macedon, an enemy to the Romans, and Demetrius himself not being yet in good grace with them, Ariarathes feared he might by this match, give them offence; and therefore rejected the offer.^m This Demetrius resented; and, while he was under these resentments, Holophernes came to him; and therefore, having easily obtained his assistance, by the strength and power thereof, he expelled Ariarathes, though assisted by Eumenes king of Pergamus, and reigned in his stead.ⁿ But, by his rapine, cruelty, and other mal-administrations, he soon made himself odious to all the people of his kingdom.^o

This assistance which Eumenes gave Ariarathes, was one of the last acts of his life; for he died soon after, having reigned at Pergamus thirty-eight years.^p By his will, he be-

^m Justin. lib. 35, c. 11. Diodor. Sic. legat. 24.

ⁿ Justin. *ibid.* Polyb. lib. 3, p. 161. Livii. Epit. lib. 47. Appian. in Syriacis.

^o Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 335, 337. Polybius, as cited by Athenæus, (lib. 10, p. 440,) tells us, 'That Holophernes, king of Cappadocia, held his kingdom but a short time, because he neglected the laws of his country, and brought in the drunken songs and the disorderly intemperance of the bacchanals.'

^p Strabo, lib. 13, p. 624. He here saith, that Eumenes reigned forty-nine years; but this is a manifest error in the copy from whence the book was printed. For, reckoning the years which are said, in the Roman history, to have elapsed from the beginning of the reign of Eumenes to the end of the Pergamenian kingdom. and deducting from them the years which At-

queathed his kingdom to Attalus his brother, who accordingly succeeded him in it.^a He had a son by Stratonice his queen, sister to Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia last mentioned; but he, being an infant at the time of his father's death, was then incapable of administering the government; and therefore Eumenes rather chose to put Attalus into the present possession of the crown, reserving to his son the next succession after him.^a And Attalus deceived not his expectation herein; for, after his brother's death he married his wife, and took care of his son, and left him his kingdom at his death, after he had reigned in it twenty years, preferring him herein to his own sons, for the sake of that trust which his brother had reposed in him, as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

Jonathan having had two years' quiet, and thereby brought his affairs to some settlement in Judea,^r the adverse faction being hereby excited with envy against him, sent to the Syrian court at Antioch, and there procured that Bacchides was again ordered into that land with a great army. The authors of this mischief proposed to seize Jonathan, and all those of his party, in one and the same night, throughout the land, as soon as the army should arrive to back them in the enterprise; and all things were accordingly laid in order to it. And therefore Bacchides, on his entering the borders of Judea, sent them letters to appoint the time for the executing of the plot in the manner as had been concerted between them. But, the design being discovered, Jonathan got his forces together, seized fifty of the conspirators, and having put them to death, thereby quelled all the rest; and so the whole mischief that was intended against him, was totally quashed and defeated.^s But, not being strong enough to stand against so great a force as Bacchides brought against him, he retired to Bethbasi, a place strongly situated in the wilderness, and having well repaired its former fortifications, and furnished it with all things necessary, he there proposed to make defence against the enemy.^t Whereon Bacchides marched thither with all his army to be-

talus his brother, and after him Attalus his son, (in whose death that kingdom ceased,) reigned, according to Strabo, in Pergamus after him, there will remain only thirty-nine years for the reign of Eumenes; in the beginning of the last of which he died, having reigned full thirty-eight years, and entered only on the beginning of the thirty-ninth.

q Strabo, *ibid.* Plutarch. in libro *περι Φιλαδέφειας*.

r 1 Maccab. ix. 58—61. Joseph. *Antiq. lib.* 13, c. 1.

s Josephus relates the matter, as if Bacchides had put those fifty men to death out of anger for the disappointment; but, according to the first book of Maccabees, it can be understood no otherwise than as I have here related it.

t 1 Maccab. ix. 62—68. Joseph. *Antiq. lib.* 13, c. 1.

siege him, and called thither to him all the Jews that were in the Syrian interest to assist him herein. On his approach Jonathan left Simon his brother with one part of his forces to defend the place, and he with the other part took the field to harass the adversary abroad; and accordingly he did cut off several of their parties as they went out to forage, smote and destroyed others that adhered to them, and sometimes made impressions upon the outskirts of those that lay at the siege, to the disturbing and disordering of the whole army. And at the same time Simon as valiantly did his part in Beth-basi, strenuously defending himself therein, making frequent sallies, and burning the engines of war provided against the place. By which success of the two brothers, Bacchides, being made weary of the war, grew very angry with those who had been the authors of bringing him into it; and, having put several of them to death, purposed to raise the siege, and depart the country; of which Jonathan having notice, took hold of the opportunity to send messages to him for an accommodation; which Bacchides gladly receiving, made peace with Jonathan and his party; and all prisoners being thereon restored on both sides, Bacchides swore that he would never more do any harm to the Jews, as long as he should live; which he accordingly made good; for, as soon as the peace was ratified and executed on both sides, he departed, and never afterward came any more into that country.^u Whereon Jonathan settled in peace at Michmash, a town lying to the north of Jerusalem at the distance of nine miles from it, and there governed Israel according to the law, cut off all that apostatized from it, and restored again justice and righteousness in the land, and reformed as far as he could, all that was amiss either in church or state.^x

Ariarathes being driven out of his kingdom of Cappadocia by Demetrius and Holophernes, in the manner as hath been above related, came to Rome for relief.^y And thither came also ambassadors from Demetrius and Holophernes, to justify what they had done against him. Who being able speakers, and making their appearance with great splendour and show of riches, as coming from princes in possession of their kingdoms, easily overbore, by the power of their oratory, and of their interest, a poor exiled prince who had no one else to speak for him, or any other interest to support him in his cause, save only the justness of it; and therefore they obtained the determination of the senate on their side against him. However, seeing Ariarathes had been formerly declared, and often owned as a friend and ally of the Ro-

u 1 Maccab. ix. 69—73. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. c. 1; 2

x Eusebius & Hieronymous.

y Polyb. legat. 126, p. 958.

Anno 157.
Jonathan 5.

mans, they would not wholly dispossess him, but ordered him and Holophernes to reign together.² But this partnership did not last long; for Holophernes having, by his many mal-administrations, utterly alienated the affections of the Cappadocians from him, they were all ready to declare against him for Ariarathes on the first occasion that should offer. On which Attalus, king of Pergamus, being fully informed, sent Ariarathes such assistance as enabled him to drive Holophernes out of the country, and again reinstate himself in the possession of the whole kingdom.³ Hereon Holophernes retreated to Antioch, carrying thither with him a treasure sufficient to support him. For, before this turn of his affairs, suspecting that which happened,^b he got together a great sum of money to the value of four hundred talents of silver, and deposited it with the Prienians, among whom he was bred, as a reserve for all events.^c This money, Ariarathes, after the recovery of his kingdom, demanded of the Prienians, as that which of right belonged to him, because raised out of the revenues of his crown. But the Prienians being of old famous for their justice, resolved to make good that character on this occasion, and therefore would not be induced by any solicitations or threats to pay him the money; but though they suffered much both from Attalus, as well as from Ariarathes, for the refusal, continued true to their trust, and restored the whole sum to Holophernes; and with this money he might have lived in plenty and ease at Antioch, could any thing less than reigning there have contented him.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Lybia and Cyrene, having by his ill and cruel management of the government, and his very wicked and vicious conduct, justly incurred the general dislike and odium of his subjects; it happened, that some of them, lying in wait for him, fell upon him, and wounded him in several places, thinking to have slain him.^d This he charged upon king Philometor his brother; and, as soon as he was recovered, he went again to Rome with his complaint against him, showing the senate the scars of his wounds, and accusing him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. And, although king Philometor was a person of so great benignity and good nature, that of all men living he was the most unlikely ever to have given the least countenance to such a fact, yet the senate,

z Appian. in Syriacis. Zonoras ex Dione. Livii Epit. lib. 47.

a Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 169. Zonoras ex Dione.

b Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 171, 173.

c Priene was a city of Ionia, situated on the north side of the river Meander, over against Myus. It was the city of Bias the philosopher, and, from the justice practised there in his time, *Justitia Priensis* became a proverb. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 636.

d Polyb. legat. 132; p. 261.

by reason of the disgust which they had conceived against him for his not submitting to their decree about Cyprus,^e yielded so easy an ear to this false accusation, that, taking it all to be true, they would not so much as hear what the Ambassadors of Philometor had to say on their side, for the refutation of this charge; but ordered them forthwith to be gone from Rome, and then sent five ambassadors to conduct Physcon to Cyprus, and put him in possession of that island, and wrote letters to their allies in those parts, to furnish him with forces for this purpose.

By which means Physcon, having gotten together an army which he thought sufficient for the compassing of his design, landed with them on the island for the pos-
Anno 155.
Jonathan 6.
 sessing of himself of it; but, being there encountered by Philometor, he was vanquished in battle, and forced into Lapitho, a city in that island; where being pursued, shut up, and besieged, he was at length taken prisoner in the place and delivered into the hands of Philometor, who, out of his great clemency, dealt with him much better than he deserved.^f For though his demerits were such as might justly have provoked from him the utmost severities, yet he remitted all; and not only pardoned him when his offences against him were such as every body else would have judged unpardonable, but also restored to him Libya and Cyrene, and added some other territories to them, to compensate for his detaining Cyprus from him; and hereby the war between the two brothers was wholly ended, and never after again revived; the Romans being ashamed, it seems, any more to oppose themselves against so generous a clemency; for there is no more mention from this time of their any further interposal in this matter.

Philometor, having thus finished the Cyprian war against his brother, left the command of that island, on his return to Alexandria, to Archias, one of the chief of his confidants. But he was deceived in the man; for he had not been long in his trust ere he agreed with Demetrius, king of Syria, for five hundred talents to betray the island to him.^g But discovery being made hereof, he hanged himself, to avoid the punishment which that treachery deserved. He had formerly

^e Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 197, gives this character of him, 'That he was a prince of so much clemency and benignity, that he did never put to death any of his nobles or as much as any one citizen of Alexandria, during his reign.' And, although his brother had many times provoked him by offences, in the highest degree, deserving of death, yet he always pardoned him, and treated him at no time otherwise than with the affection of a kind brother.

^f Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 197. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 334, 337.

^g Polyb. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 170.

with great fidelity adhered to his master, when he was driven out of his kingdom, and accompanied him to Rome, when he went thither for help in his distress.^b But though his fidelity was of proof in that case, it was not so in this other; for, being a greedy man, he could not hold out against money; and therefore sold himself for the sum I have mentioned, and perished in the bargain.

Demetrius, giving himself wholly up to luxury and ease, lived at this time a very odd and slothful life.

Anno 154.
Jonathan 7.

For, having built him a castle near Antioch, and strongly fortified it with four towers, he there shut himself up, and, casting off all care of the public, devoted himself wholly to his ease and pleasure;ⁱ the chief of which last was drinking, which he indulged to that excess, that he was usually drunk for the major part of every day he there lived.^k Whereby it came to pass, that no petitions being admitted, no grievances redressed, nor any justice duly administered, the whole buisness of the government was at a stand; which justly giving disgust to his subjects, they entered into a conspiracy for the deposing of him. And Holophernes, then living at Antioch, joined with them in it against his benefactor, hoping, on the success thereof, to ascend his throne, and there reign in his stead. Of which discovery being made, Holophernes was thereon clapped up in prison. For Demetrius thought fit not to put him to death, that he might still have him in reserve to let loose upon Ariarathes, as future occasions should require. However, notwithstanding this detection, the conspiracy still went on. For Ptolemy, being disgusted by Demetrius's late attempt upon Cyprus, and Attalus and Ariarathes being alike provoked by the wars which he had made upon them in behalf of Holophernes, they all three joined together for the encouragement of the conspirators against him, and employed Heraclides to suborn one to take on him the pretence of being son to Antiochus Epiphanes, and under that title to claim the crown of Syria. This Heraclides was, as I have before related, a great favourite of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his treasurer in the province of Babylon, while Timarchus his brother, another like favourite of that king's, was governor of it. But, on the coming of Demetrius to the crown, these two brothers being found guilty of great misdemeanors, Timarchus was put to death; but Heraclides, making his escape out of the kingdom, took up his residence at Rhodes; where, being put on work to form this plot, and

^b Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 322.

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 3.

^k Athenæus, lib. 10, p. 440.

^l Justin. lib. 35, c. 1.

^m Part 2, book 3, under the year 175, and book 4, under the year 162

having accordingly found out, in that place, a youth of very mean and obscure condition, called Balas, that was every way fit for the purpose, he dressed him up, and thoroughly instructed him for the acting of his part in it.^a

And when he had thus exactly formed him for the imposture, he first procured him to be owned by the three kings above mentioned, and then carried him to ^{Anno 153. Jonathan 8.} Rome, taking along with him Laodice, who was truly the daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, thereby to give the better colour to the fraud; and, on his arrival thither, by his craft and sedulous solicitation, gained him to be owned there also; and procured from the senate a decree in his behalf, not only to permit him to return into Syria, for the recovery of that kingdom, but likewise to have their assistance in order to it.^b For the senators, though they plainly enough discerned all to be fiction and imposture that was alleged on the behalf of Balas, yet, out of disgust to Demetrius, they struck in with it, and made this decree in favour of the impostor; by virtue whereof he raised forces, and with them sailing to Ptolemais in Palestine, seized that city; and there, by the name of Alexander the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, took upon him to be king of Syria; and great numbers, out of their disaffection to Demetrius, flocked thither to him.^c

This brought Demetrius out of his castle, to provide for his defence; in order whereto, he got all the forces together that he could, and Alexander armed as fast on his part: and the assistance of Jonathan being like to carry great weight with it to that side he should declare for, both courted his friendship.^d And first, a letter was wrote to him from Demetrius, constituting him the king's general in Judea, and authorizing him to raise forces, and provide them with arms to come to his assistance; and commanding that the hostages, which were in the fortress at Jerusalem, should be delivered to him.^e Jonathan, on the receiving of this letter, went up to Jerusalem, and caused it there to be read in the hearing of those in the fortress, and then, by virtue of it demanded the hostages; which they accordingly delivered to him. For finding him invested with such authority from the king, they were afraid, and durst not withstand him in this matter.— And therefore, all the hostages which Bacchides had taken of the Jews, and shut up in that fortress for the securing of

ⁿ That Balas was one of Rhodes, is said by Sulpitius Severus, lib. 2, c. 22. That he was an impostor, is said by all. Vide Livii epitomen, lib. 52. Appian. in Syriacis. Athenæum, lib. 5, p. 211. Polyb. Legat. 140, p. 968. Justin. lib. 35, c. 1.

^o Polyb. legat. 138, p. 966.

^p Polyb. legat. 140, p. 968.

^q 1 Maccab. x. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 3.

^r 1 Maccab. x. 2

^s 1 Maccab. x. 3—9. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 4.

the fidelity of their fathers and friends to the Syrian interest, being restored to those from whom they were taken, and the restraint put upon them hereby again removed, great numbers flocked to Jonathan, for the strengthening of him, whereby he grew to such power, that those forces which Bacchides had placed in garrisons all over the country, finding themselves not strong enough to hold out against him, left their fortresses and fled away; only Bethsura and the fortress at Jerusalem still held out.^t For the garrison soldiers, in both these two places, being most of them apostate Jews, they had nowhere else to fly; and therefore, in this desperate case, had nothing else to depend upon, but by standing out to defend themselves to the utmost. Hereon Jonathan, settling at Jerusalem, began to repair the city, and new fortify it on every side, and caused the wall round the mountain of the temple, which had been pulled down by Antiochus Eupator, to be again rebuilt.

Alexander, hearing what Demetrius had done to gain Jonathan on his side, sent also his proposals to him;^u whereby he granted to him that he should be high-priest of the Jews, and be called the king's friend;^x and he sent him a purple robe,^y and a crown of gold, as ensigns of the great dignity which he thereby invested him with, (none but princes and nobles of the first rank being allowed in those days to be clothed in purple.) Of which Demetrius having received notice, resolved to outbid Alexander, for the gaining of so valuable an ally; and therefore sent a second message to Jonathan, offering all that Alexander did, with the addition of many other extraordinary grants and privileges both to him and all his people, in case he would declare for him, and come to his assistance.^z But, it being remembered how bitter an enemy he had been to all that adhered to the true Jewish interest, and how much ruin and oppression he had brought upon that whole nation, they durst not confide in him; but looking upon all his offers to be only such as were extorted from him by the necessity of his affairs, and which he would all immediately contravene and revoke whenever his fortunes should be again restored, they resolved rather to enter into league with Alexander. And therefore Jona-

t 1 Maccab. x. 16—14. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 4.

u 1 Maccab. x. 15—20 Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 5.

x Those that were the nobles under the Macedonian kings, were called the king's friends, in like manner as with us all that are of the nobility are called the king's cousins.

y To wear a purple robe among the Macedonians, was a mark of high nobility; and it was also the same among other nations; hence *purpurati* signifies such as are noble.

z 1 Maccab. x. 21—47. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 8.

than,^a accepting of his grant of the high-priest's office, and having also for it the consent of all the people, did, on the feast of tabernacles, which soon after ensued, put on the pontifical robe, and then officiated as high-priest, after that office, from the death of Alcimus, had been now vacant seven years. And from this time the office of high-priest of the Jews became settled in the family of the Asmoneans, and continued in it for several descents, till the time of Herod, who changed it from an office of inheritance to that of arbitrary will and pleasure.^b From that time, those that were in power did put in and out the high-priests as they thought fit, till at length the office was extinguished in the destruction of the temple by the Romans. From the time of the return from the Babylonish captivity, the office of high-priest of the Jews had been in the family of Jozadak, and was transmitted down in it, by lineal descent, to Onias the third of the name, that was in that office; who, being outed of it by the fraud of Jason his brother, and he again by the like fraud of Menelaus, another of those brothers, Alcimus was next, after the death of Menelaus, put into this office by the command of the king of Syria. Josephus tells us that he was not of the pontifical family, by which he means no more than that he was not of the descendants of Jozadak, though of the family of Aaron. For that he is said to be;^c and that was enough to qualify him for the office, every descendant of Aaron being equally capable of it. Whether the Asmoneans were of that race of Jozadak or not, is not any where said. Only this is certain, that they were of the course of Joarib, which was the first class of the sons of Aaron.^e And therefore, on the failure of the former pontifical family (which had then happened on the flight of Onias, the son of Onias, into Egypt) they had the best right then to succeed. And with this right Jonathan took the office, when nominated to it by the king then reigning in Syria, and also elected thereto by the general suffrage of all the people of the land.

Both kings having with their armies taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither courage nor understanding when out of his drunken fits, in the first battle Anno 152.
Jonathan 9. had the victory: but he gained no advantage by it; for Alexander, being speedily recruited by the three kings that first set him up,^f and strongly supported by them, and

a 1 Maccab. x. 21. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 5.

b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 25, c. 3. Euseb. Demonstrationes Evangelicas, lib. 8.

c 1 Maccab. vii. 14.

d 1 Maccab. ii. 1.

e 1 Chron. xxiv. 7.

f Justin. lib. 35, c. 1.

having also the Romans and Jonathan on his side, was enabled thereby still to maintain his cause. And the Syrians continued, out of the aversion they had to Demetrius, still to make desertions from him. Whereon Demetrius, fearing where all this might end, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus (who both afterward reigned in Syria,) to Cnidus, and there committed them, with a great treasure, to the care of a friend of his which he had in that city, that so, in case the worst should happen to him in this war, they might there be secured out of the reach of any fatal stroke from it, and be reserved for such future turn of affairs as fortune should afterward offer in their favour.^h

About this time there appeared another impostor, one Andriscus of Adramyttium in Mysia, a young man of
 Anno 151. as mean condition in that place as Alexander had
 Jonathan 10. been at Rhodes;ⁱ who, thinking to play the same game for the kingdom of Macedon, that the other had for the kingdom of Syria, pretended to be son to king Perseus who last reigned in Macedon; and, taking on him the name of Philip, by virtue of this title, claimed to reign in that country; but, finding his pretence at that time to be but little regarded there, he applied himself to Demetrius at Antioch; hoping, that, since the Romans had encouraged one impostor against him, he might the easier be induced to encourage another against them. But Demetrius, seeing plainly through the falsity of this pretence, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome. This he did, either that he thought thereby to ingratiate himself with the Romans, or else rather that he would not countenance a fraud, which was the same with that which he was then suffering under. But, on this impostor's being delivered at Rome, the Romans despising and neglecting him, he made his escape thence into Macedonia, where he kindled such a war as cost the Romans the expense of a great deal of time, and also a great deal of blood and treasure, again to quench it.^k

In the interim, the two contenders for the crown of Syria, having drawn together all their forces, committed
 Anno 150. the determination of their cause to a decisive
 Jonathan 11. battle.^l In the first onset Demetrius's left wing put the opposite wing of the enemy to flight; but, pursuing them too far, a fault in war which hath lost many victories,

^h Livii Epit. lib. 52. Justin. lib. 35, c. 2.

ⁱ Epit. lib. 48, 49.

^k Epit. Livii, lib. 49, 50. L. Floras, lib. 2, c. 4. Eutropius, lib. 4. Valleius Patercul. lib. 1.

^l 1 Maccab. x. 48—50. Justin. lib. 35, c. 1. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 5. Appian in Syriacis. Polyb. lib. 3. p. 161.

and yet is still committed,) by the time they came back, the right wing in which Demetrius fought in person was overborne, and he slain in the rout. As long as he could face the enemy, he omitted nothing either of valour or conduct for the obtaining of better success; but, at length, in the retreat, his horse having plunged him into a bog, they that pursued him there shot at him with their arrows, till he died, after having reigned in Syria twelve years.

Alexander, by this victory, having made himself master of the whole Syrian empire, sent to Ptolemy king of Egypt, to desire that Cleopatra his daughter might be given him in marriage; which Ptolemy consenting to, carried her to Ptolemais, and there married her unto him.^m Jonathan being invited to the wedding, went thither, and was received with great favour by both kings, especially by Alexander;ⁿ who, to do him the greater honour, caused him to be clothed in purple, and ordered him to be enrolled among the chief of his friends, and to take place near him among the first princes of his kingdom.^o And he constituted him also general of his forces in Judea, and gave him the office of *Meridarches*^p in his palace. And, whereas many that maligned him came to Ptolemais, there to prefer libels of accusation against him, Alexander would receive none of them, but caused it to be proclaimed all over the city, that no one should presume to speak evil of him; whereon all his enemies fled from thence, and Jonathan returned with honour again into Judea.

Onias, the son of Onias, who, on his being disappointed of the high-priesthood, on the death of his uncle Menelaus, fled into Egypt, (as hath been above related) Anno 149.
Jonathan 12. there so far ingratiated himself with king Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his queen, that he gained the chief of their confidence in all their affairs;^q for he was a great soldier and a great politician; and thereby became advanced to the highest post both in the army and in the court; and having, by the strength of his interest, introduced another Jew,

^m 1 Maccab. x. 51—58. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 7.

ⁿ 1 Maccab. x. 59—66.

^o That is, of the nobles of his kingdom; for, under the Macedonians, the nobles had the style of the king's friends.

^p That is, Chief sewer, which is an office one of the electors bears in the German empire. Grotius thus explains the word in his comment on the Maccabees, 1 Maccab. x. 65; xi. 27. and 3 Maccab. p. 796. But in his comment on Matthew xix. 28, he expounds it rather to denote the governor of a tribe or province; and, if it be so taken here, and be understood to mean, that Jonathan was rather made governor of some part of the Syrian Empire than governor and orderer of the parts and dishes of the feast at the royal table, perchance this interpretation may reach the truth nearer than the other.

^q Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2.

called Dositheus, into the like favour, they two had the chief management of the government during the latter end of Philometor's reign. And Onias having this power and interest with the king, made use of it at this time to obtain from him license to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that at Jerusalem, with a grant from him and his descendants to be always high-priests in it.^r For the obtaining of the king's consent hereto, he set forth to him, that the building of such a temple for the Jews in Egypt would be for the interest of his crown; that Jerusalem being within the territories of the king of Syria, the going of the Egyptian Jews thither annually to worship might give occasion for the seducing of them to the Syrian interest; that therefore it ought to be prevented; and that the building for them such a temple in Egypt would not only most effectually do this, but also draw many other Jews thither from Judea, and other parts, for the better peopling and strengthening of his kingdom. But his greatest difficulty was to reconcile the Jews to this new invention, their constant notion having hitherto been, that Jerusalem only was the place which God had chosen for his worship, and that it was sin to sacrifice to him upon any altar elsewhere. To satisfy them as to this, he produced to them the prophecy of Isaiah, where it is said, *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called the city of destruction. In that day shall there be an altar unto the Lord, in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof unto the Lord.*^s And, having interpreted this place of holy Scripture, (which was truly meant only of the future state of the gospel in that country,) as if it respected the then present times, he prevailed with all of his nation in Egypt to understand it so too, and thus served his purpose by it. And therefore, having thus gained the king, and also the Jews that were in Egypt, to approve of his project, he immediately set about the building.^t The place which he chose for it was a plot of ground within the Nomos or prefecture of Heliopolis, at the distance of twenty-four miles from Memphis, where had formerly stood an old temple of Bubastis, (which was another name of Isis, the great goddess of the Egyptians,) but it was then wholly neglected and demolished; and therefore, having rid the ground of its ruins and rubbish, he there built upon the same spot his new Jewish temple. He made it exactly according to the pattern of that at Jerusalem, though not altogether so high nor so sumptuous; and

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 6; lib. 20, c. 8, & de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 30.

^s Isa. xix 18, 19.

^t Josephus, ibid.

there he placed an altar for burnt-offerings, an altar of incense, a show-bread table, and all other instruments and utensils necessary for the Jewish service in the same manner as in the temple at Jerusalem, save only, that he had not there a golden candlestick of seven branches in the holy place, as was in that other temple, but, instead of it, had one great lamp hung there in its place by a golden chain from the roof of the house. It is the opinion of a very learned man, that he was led to the choice of the prefecture of Heliopolis, for the erecting of the temple in it, by the same prophecy of Isaiah above recited,^u as then reading in the Hebrew text the word *Hacheres* for the word *Haheres*; as if, instead of *Air haheres yeamar leæchath*, (i. e. *One shall be called the city of destruction*, as in our English translation,) the reading then was *Air Hacheres yeamar Leæchath*, i. e. *One shall be called the city of the sun*, (i. e. Heliopolis, for that name in Greek signifieth *the city of the sun*.^x) And so much must be said for this conceit, that, in the Hebrew alphabet, the letter (*Ch*) and the letter (*H*) are so much alike, that they may, by transcribers, very easily be mistaken the one for the other, and thereby a various reading be made in that place. And it is certain, that, in the time of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the Chaldee paraphraser of the prophets, who lived not much above one hundred years after the erecting of this temple, there was no doubt whether *Cheres* or *Heres* was the true reading in that place, though there be no *Keri Cetib* at it; and therefore, in paraphrasing of that text, he took both in, and renders the place, *The city of the temple of the sun, which is to be destroyed, shall be said to be one of them*. For which interpretation no other reason can be given, but that it being then uncertain, which of the two readings was the true one, he solved the difficulty by taking in both. But the true reason why Onias built his temple in this place was, he had the government of this Nomos or prefecture under the king, and had there given unto him a large territory, whereon he built a city, which from his name he called Onion,^y and planted all that territory with Jews; and therefore he could not find a place more to the advantage and convenience either of him-

^u Joseph. Scaliger in *Animadversionibus ad Chronologica Eusebii*, sub No. 1856, p. 144.

^x This last reading Jerome follows; for he renders the place, *Civitas solis vocalitur una*, i. e. *One of them shall be called the city of the sun*.

^y When Antipater and Mithridates were marching with forces to the assistance of Julius Cæsar in his Alexandrian war, Josephus tells us (*Antiq. lib. 14, c. 14*.) that they were opposed in their passage by the Egyptian Jews, who were *οἱ τὴν Οὐνις λεγόμενῃ χώραν κατοικῶντες*, i. e. *Inhabitants of the region, called the region or territory of Onion*, i. e. of the city Onion built by Onias, and so called by his name; which region or country, the same Josephus tells us, Onias planted all over with Jews

self or his people any where else for it. And, after he had thus built his temple, he surrounded the area within which it stood with a high brick wall, and placed priests and Levites to officiate in it ; and from that time the divine service was therein daily carried on in the same manner and order as in the temple at Jerusalem, till at length, after the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, this temple also was first shut up, and afterward wholly demolished and destroyed, with the city of Onion, in which it stood, by the command of Vespasian the Roman emperor, about two hundred and twenty-four years after it had been first built.^z

In favour of this temple of Onias, the Septuagint renders the passage of Isaiah above mentioned, *Πολις Ασεδεκ κληθησεται ημιας τοις*, that is, *one of the cities shall be called Azedek*, intimating thereby, as if the original were neither *Air Haheres*, nor *Air Hacheres*, but *Air Hazedek*, i. e. *the city of righteousness* ; which is a plain corrupting of the text, to make it speak for the honour and approbation of the temple of Onias, which was there built. From whence these two inferences are plainly deducible : 1. That the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, which we call the Septuagint, was made by the Jews of Egypt, who worshipped God at the temple of Onias : and, 2dly. That this part of it which gives us the version of Isaiah (and the same may be said as to the other prophets) was made after that temple was built ; which agrees exactly with what I have above written of the original of this version ; that is, 1. That it was first made for the use of the hellenistical Jews of Alexandria. 2. That it was not made all at the same time, but by parts, at different times, as they needed it, for the use of their synagogues. 3. That they needed it for that use as soon as there was a necessity for the reading of the Scriptures, in the Greek language, in the said synagogues. 4. That this necessity began as soon as the Greek became the common language of the Jews in that place, and their own was worn out and forgot among them ; which happened about the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt. 5. That, till the time of the Maccabees, the law only having been read in their synagogues, till that time they needed none other of the Scriptures, but the law only, to have been translated for this use ; and therefore, till then, no more of them than the law was put into the Greek language. 6. That when the Jews of Jerusalem, in the time of the Maccabees, (that is, of the three brothers, Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, whose history, under the name of Maccabees, is written in the apocryphal Scriptures) had brought in the prophets also

^z Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7, c. 30.

to be read in their synagogues on the occasion I have above mentioned ; and the Jews of Alexandria, Egypt, Libya, and Cyrene, thought fit to follow their example herein ; this made it necessary for them to have the prophets also translated into Greek for this purpose ; which being most certainly not done till after the time of the Maccabees, (for sooner we cannot suppose the usage to have been propagated from Jerusalem, so far as into Egypt, and the thing there settled,) it must from hence follow, that it must not have been done till after the building of Onias's temple also, that having been built in the eleventh year of the government of Jonathan, the second of those Maccabees, as I have here placed it.

About this time, there arose a great sedition at Alexandria between the Jews and the Samaritans of that city, the former holding Jerusalem, and the other Mount Gerizim to be the place where, according to the law, God was to be worshipped ; they did run their contentions about this point so high, that at length they came to open arms.^a Whereon, for the quelling of this disturbance, a day was appointed for the hearing and determining of the dispute before king Ptolemy and his council. The point in contest was, whether, by the law of Moses, Jerusalem or Mount Gerizim was the place where God was to be worshipped by Israel ; and advocates were appointed on each side to argue and plead the cause : wherein the Samaritans failing of that proof which they pretended to, their advocates were put to death, for making the contention ; and so the whole disorder ceased.

Alexander Balas, having gotten into the possession of the crown of Syria, by the means I have mentioned, thought now that he had nothing else to do but to <sup>Anno 143,
Jonathan 1.</sup> glut himself in the enjoyment of all those vicious pleasures of luxury, idleness, and debauchery, which the plenty and power he was then invested with could afford him. And therefore, giving himself wholly up to them, and spending most of his time with lewd women, which he had in a great number got about him, he took no care at all of the government,^b but left it wholly to the administration of a favourite of his, called Ammonius, who, managing himself in it with great insolence, tyranny, and cruelty, put to death queen Laodice, sister of Demetrius, who had been wife to Perseus king of Macedon, and Antigonus, a son of his that had been left behind, when the other two were sent to Cnidus, and all others of the royal family that he could get into his power, thinking this the best means of securing

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 6.

^b Livii Epit. lib. 50. Athenæus, lib. 5. Justin. lib. 35, c. 2

to his master the possession of the crown, which, by fraud and imposture, he had usurped from them.^c Whereby he soon made both Alexander and himself very odious to all the people. Of which Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, (who had by his father been sent to Cnidus in the beginning of the late war, and was now grown up to years of puberty,) having received notice, thought this a proper time for him to recover his right; and therefore having, by the means of Lathenies his host, hired a band of Cretans, landed with them in Cilicia, and there soon growing to a great army, took possession of all that country; whereby Alexander being roused up from his sloth, was forced to leave his seraglio of concubines which he had got about him, to look after his affairs;^d and therefore, having committed the government of Antioch to Hierax,^e and Diodotus, who was also called Tryphon,^f he took the field with as many forces as he could get together;^g and hearing that Apollonius, governor of Cælo-Syria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he called in king Ptolemy, his father-in-law, to his assistance.

But the name of Apollonius often occurring in the history of these times, before we proceed further herein, it is necessary to give an account who the persons were that bore this name, that so this part of the history may be cleared from that confusion and obscurity which otherwise it must lie under. For, Apollonius being a very common name among the Syro-Macedonians as well as the Greeks, it was not always the same person whom we find mentioned by this name in the occurrences of those times. The first that we meet with of this name in the history of the Maccabees, is Apollonius the son of Thraseas, who was governor of Cælo-Syria and Phœnicia under Seleucus Philopater, when Heliodorus came to Jerusalem to rob the temple, and afterward, by his authority in that province,ⁱ supported Simon, the governor of the temple at Jerusalem, against Onias the high-priest.^h The same was also chief minister of state to the said king Seleucus. But, on the coming of his brother Antiochus Epiphanes to the crown after him, Apollonius being some way made obnoxious to him, left Syria, and retired to Miletus.^k At the same time, while he resided at Miletus, he had a son of the same name at Rome, there bred up, and residing with Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopater, who was then an hos-

c Joseph. lib. 13, c. 8. Livius, *ibid.*

d 1 Maccab. x. 67. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 6. Justin. lib. 35, c. 2.

e Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 346.

f 1 Maccab. xi. 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 9.

g Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 8.

h 2 Maccab. iii. 5.

i 2 Maccab. iv. 4.

k Polyb. legat. 114, p. 944, 945.

tage in that place.^l This Apollonius, being a prime favourite and confident of Demetrius, was, on his recovering of the crown of Syria, made governor of Cœlo-Syria and Phœnicia, the same government which his father was in under Seleucus Philopater. And this I take to be the Apollonius, who, being continued in the same government by Alexander, now revolted from him, to embrace the interest of Demetrius the son of his old master.^m Another Apollonius is spoken of as favourite and chief minister of Antiochus Epiphanes;ⁿ but he, being said to be the son of Menestheus, is sufficiently distinguished by that character from the other two above mentioned. He went ambassador from Antiochus first to Rome,^o and afterward to Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt;^p and him I take to be the same, who, in the history of the Maccabees, is said to be over the tribute,^q and who, on Antiochus's return from his last expedition into Egypt, was sent with a detachment of twenty-two thousand men, to destroy Jerusalem, and build that fortress or citadel on Mount Acra, which held the Jews there by the throat for many years after. Besides these, there are two other Apolloniuses mentioned in the history of the Maccabees; the first,^r who being governor of Samaria in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, was slain in battle by Judas Maccabæus; and the other,^s called the son of Gennæus, who being governor of some toparchy in Palestine under Antiochus Eupator, then signalized himself by being a great enemy to the Jews.

Apollonius having embraced the party of Demetrius, as I have mentioned, his first attempt was to reduce Jonathan, who held firm to the interest of Alexander, according to the league which he had made with him. And therefore, having drawn together a great army, he encamped with it at Jamnia, and from thence sent to Jonathan a proud braggadocio message, to challenge him to come to battle with him;^p whereon Jonathan, marching out of Jerusalem with ten thousand men, took Joppa, in the sight of Apollonius and his army; and after this, joining battle with him, vanquished him in the open field, and pursued his broken forces to Azotus, and, having taken that town, set it on fire, and burnt it down to the ground, with the temple of Dagon that was in it, consuming all those with it that fled thither to save themselves; so that there perished that day of the enemy's forces, what

^l Polyb. *ibid.*

^m 1 Maccab. x. 69.

^o Livius, lib. 42. c. 6.

^q 1 Maccab. i. 29. 2 Maccab. v. 24.

^r 1 Maccab. iii. 10. Joseph. *Antiq. lib.* 12, c. 7, 10.

^s 2 Maccab. xii. 2.

^t 1 Maccab. x. 69—87. Joseph. *Antiq. lib.* 13, c. 8

ⁿ 2 Maccab. iv. 21.

^p 1 Maccab. iv. 21.

by the sword, and what by fire, about eight thousand men. After this, treating other towns of the enemy in the country round after the same manner, he returned to Jerusalem with their spoils. Whereon Alexander, hearing of this victory gained in his interest, sent to Jonathan a buckle of gold, such as used only to be given those to wear who were of the royal family; and he gave him also the city of Ecron, with the territory thereto belonging, and ordered him to be put in possession of it.^u

About this time flourished Hipparchus of Nicæa in Bithynia, the most celebrated astronomer of all the ancients.^x He gave himself up to this study for thirty-four years, making, through all that time, continual observations of the positions and motions of the heavenly bodies, which are still preserved in the works of Ptolemy the astronomer. These observations he began in the year before Christ 162, and ended them, A. D. 128, soon after which year we suppose he died. The Jews call him Abarchus,^y and his name is of great renown among them, and that very deservedly: for Rabbi Samuel, Rabbi Adda, and Rabbi Hillel, the authors of that form of the year which they now use, were mostly beholden to him for the observations and calculations by which they made it.

Ptolemy Philometor, having been called to the assistance of his son-in-law, Alexander king of Syria, marched into Palestine, with a great army for this purpose;^z and all the cities, as he passed, opening their gates to him, as being ordered by Alexander so to do, he left of his soldiers in each of them to strengthen their garrisons. At Joppa Jonathan met him, and although many complaints were made against him about the devastations made by him in those parts, after his late victory over Apollonius, yet he would take no notice of any of them, but Jonathan was very kindly received by him, and marched on with him to Ptolemais.^a On Ptolemy's coming thither, discovery was made of snares that were laid for his life;^b for Ammonius, who managed all affairs under Alexander, fearing that Ptolemy came with so great a power, rather to serve his own interest, by seizing Syria to himself, than to succour Alexander, or else having received intelligence that this was really his intent, formed a design of having him cut off on his coming to Ptolemais: which Ptolemy having gotten full discovery of,

Anno 147.
Jonathan 14.

Anno 146.
Jonathan 15.

^u 1 Maccab. x. 88, 89.

^x Ptolemai magna Syntaxis, lib. 3, c. 2. Plinius, lib. 2, c. 26.

^y David Ganz, sub anno 3534.

^z 1 Maccab. xi. 1—5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 8.

^a 1 Maccab. xi. 6, 7. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 8.

^b 1 Maccab. xi. 10. Joseph. ibid.

marched forward to demand the traitor to be delivered to him; and Jonathan attended on him as far as the river Eleutherus in Syria.^c From thence Ptolemy marched to Seleucia on the Orontes, where, finding that Alexander would not deliver up Ammonius to him, he concluded him to be a party to the treason; and therefore taking his daughter from him, he gave her to Demetrius, and made a league with him, for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom.^d Hereon the Antiochians,^e who bore great hatred to Ammonius, thinking this a fit time for the executing of their resentments upon him, rose in a tumult against him, and having slain him, as he endeavoured to escape in woman's clothes, declared against Alexander, and opened their gates to Ptolemy,^e and would have made him their king;^f but he declared himself contented with his own dominions,^g instead of accepting this offer, recommended to them the restoration of Demetrius, the true heir (which is a certain proof he had no design upon Syria for himself, though this be said in the first book of the Maccabees;)^h upon which recommendation, Demetrius being received into the city, was placed on the throne of his ancestors, and all the inhabitants of Antioch declared for him. Whereon Alexander, who was then in Cilicia, coming thence with all his forces, wasted the country round Antioch with fire and sword.ⁱ This brought the two armies to a battle, in which Alexander being vanquished, fled with only five hundred horse to Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had before intrusted his children.^k But he being there slain by those he most confided in, his head was carried to Ptolemy, who was much pleased with the sight of it; but his joy did not last long; for, having received a dangerous wound in the battle, he died of it within a few days after.^l And thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, both ended their lives together, the former having reigned five, and the other thirty-five years. Demetrius succeeding in Syria, by virtue of this victory, from hence called himself Nicator, that is, the conqueror. But the succession in Egypt was not so easily determined.

This same year was rendered famous, not only by the death of these two kings, but also by the destruction of two

c Joseph. *ibid.* Epit. Livii, lib. 50.

d 1 Maccab. xi. 8—12. Joseph. *ibid.* Livii Epit. lib. 52.

e 1 Maccab. xi. 13. Joseph. *ibid.* f 1 Maccab. *ibid.* Joseph. *ibid.*

g Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 13, c. 8. h 1 Maccab. xi. 1.

i 1 Maccab. xi. 15. Joseph. lib. 13, c. 8.

k 1 Maccab. xi. 15—17. Joseph. *ibid.* Diodor. Sic. in *Excerptis Photii*, cod 244.

l 1 Maccab. xi. 18. Joseph. *ibid.* Polyb. in *Excerptis Valesii*, p. 194. Epit. Livii, lib. 52. Strabo, lib. 16, p. 751.

celebrated cities, Carthage and Corinth. The former was destroyed by Scipio Africanus, jun. after a war of three years, which was called the third Punic war.^m And the other was taken and burnt by L. Mummius the Roman consul for this year.ⁿ In the burning of this city, all their brass being melted down, and running together with other metals, this mixture made the *Æs Corinthiacum*,^o that is, the famous Corinthian brass of the ancients.

At this same year ended the famous history of Polybius, which he wrote in forty books, beginning it from the beginning of the second Punic war, and ending it at the end of the third.^p But of this great and celebrated work, now only five books remain entire: of the rest we have only fragments and abstracts. He was by birth of Magalopolis in Arcadia, and the son of Lycortas, the famous supporter of the Achæan commonwealth in his time. This commonwealth, much resembling that of the Dutch, was made out of the confederacy of several states and cities of Poloponnesus united together in one common league. Aratus^q first made it considerable, Philopœmen^r brought it to its highest perfection, and Lycortas, as long as he lived, kept it up in the same state. And Polybius his son, who was a person very eminent for all military and political knowledge, would have continued to have done the same, but that he was overborne by the Romans. For they becoming jealous, what this growing commonwealth might at length come to, resolved to suppress it, in order whereto they forced from them one thousand of their best men, and made them live in Italy, in manner of hostages, but chiefly with design, that their commonwealth, being deprived of its principal men, might sink and come to nothing through want of them.^r Of these one thousand hostages, Polybius was one of the chiefest. While he was thus confined he lived at Rome, and there made use of the leisure which that confinement afforded him to write this history. He had much of the favour and friendship of Scipio Africanus, jun. to whom, by reason of his learning and wisdom, he was very dear; and therefore, when he went into Africa in the third Punic war, he carried Polybius with him, and it

^m Livii Epit. lib. 51. L. Florus, lib. 2, c. 16. Appian. in Libycis. Valleius Patercul. lib. 1.

ⁿ Livii Epit. lib. 52. L. Florus, lib. 2, c. 16. Pausanias in Achaicis. Justin. lib. 34, c. 2.

^o Plinius, lib. 34, c. 2. L. Florus, ibid.

^p Videas Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 1, c. 19, & Casauboni Epistolam Dedicatorem Edit. suæ Polyb. premissam.

^q Plutarch. in Arato & Philopœmene.

^r Pausanias in Achaicis & Arcadicis. Plutarch. in Catone Censore & alibi.

was chiefly owing to the assistance of his counsel and advice, that Scipio ended that war with success; and in that end of it, Polybius ended his history, much grieving, that at the same time ended also the Achæan commonwealth, in the destruction of Corinth, and the subjecting thereon to the Roman yoke the rest of the cities and states of which that commonwealth did consist. He lived a long while after, for he reached the eighty-second year of his age.^s

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, on the death of king Philometor, her brother and husband, endeavoured to secure the succession for her son which she had by him.^t But he being then young, others set up for Physcon king of Cyrene, the brother of the deceased, and sent ambassadors to call him to Alexandria. This necessitating Cleopatra to provide for the defence of herself and her son, Onias and Dositheus came to her with an army of Jews for her assistance. But at that time Thermus, an ambassador from Rome, being present at Alexandria, by his interposition, matters were compromised, on the terms that Physcon should take Cleopatra to wife, and breed up her son under his tuition for the next succession, and reign in the interim. That the Egyptians were thus delivered from a civil war, and the differences then among them on this occasion all brought to a composure in this manner, Josephus tells us, was wholly owing to the assistance which Onias and Dositheus then brought to the queen. However, the perfidy of Physcon made all this turn very little to the service or content of Cleopatra. For, as soon as he had married her, and thereby got possession of the crown, he murdered her son in her arms on the very day of the nuptials, and thereby acted over again the same tragedy which Ptolemy Ceraunus had before on the marriage of his sister Arsinoë;^u and such incestuous conjunctions well deserve such a curse to attend them. This king was commonly called Physcon, by reason of his great belly;^x but the name which he affected to assume was Euergetes, that is, *the Benefactor*:^y this the Alexandrians turned into *Kakergetes*, that is, *the Malefactor*, by reason of his great wickedness; for he was the wickedest and cruelest,^z and also the most vile and despicable of all the Ptolemies

Anno 145.
Jonatban 16.

^s Lucianus in Macrobiiis.

^t Justin. lib. 38, c. 8. Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9, c. 1.

^u See above, part 2, book 1, under the year 280.

^x Valerius Maximus, lib. 9, c. 1. Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 351, 375.

^y Athenæus, lib. 12, p. 549, & lib. 4, p. 148.

^z Athenæus, *ibid.* Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 351, 347. Justin. lib. 38, c. 8.

that reigned in Egypt. He began his reign with the murder of his nephew, in the manner I have mentioned, and continued it with the same cruelty and wickedness all his reign after, putting many others to death, almost every day, some upon groundless suspicions, some for small faults, and others for none at all, as the humour took him, and some again for no other reason, but that, under the pretence of forfeiture, he might take all that they had; and those who were the forwardest to call him to the crown were many of them the first that suffered by him.

And things went not much better in Syria. Demetrius, being young and inexperienced, committed the management of his affairs to Lasthenes, by whose agency he hired those Cretan mercenaries that brought him to the crown;^a who, being a wicked and rash man, did soon run himself into those mal-administrations, that alienated from his master the affections of those who should have supported him. And Demetrius himself, being naturally of an unhappy or perverse disposition, did not mend the matter. The first false step he made was towards those soldiers which Ptolemy had placed in the maritime towns of Phœnicia and Syria, for the strengthening of their garrisons, as he passed by them toward Antioch, in his late expedition thither. These, if continued there, would have been a great strength and support to him; but, upon some suggestions, growing jealous of them, he sent orders to the other soldiers garrisoned with them, to put them all to the sword:^b which being accordingly executed, this so distressed the rest of the Egyptian army that were in Syria, and had there placed him on the throne, that they all left him, and returned again into Egypt. After this, he proceeded to make a severe inquisition after those who had been against him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death, as he could get them into his power.^c And then, thinking he had no more enemies to fear, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, reserving none other in his pay but his Cretans, and some other mercenaries;^d whereby he not only deprived himself of those veterans who served his father, and would have been his chief support in the throne, but made them also his bitterest enemies, by depriving them of the only means which they had whereby to subsist: the mischief of which he severely felt in the revolts and revolutions that after happened.

^a Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 346.

^b 1 Maccab. xi. 18. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 8.

^c Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 346, 349.

^d 1 Maccab. xi. 38. Joseph. lib. 13, c. 8.

In the interim Jonathan, finding all quiet in Judea, set himself to besiege the fortress which the heathen still held in Jerusalem, that, by expelling them thence, he might remedy those mischiefs which the Jews there suffered from them.^e And accordingly he beset the place with an army and engines of war, in order to take it : of which complaint being made to Demetrius, he came to Ptolemais, and there summoned Jonathan to him to give him an account of this matter. Whereon, ordering the siege still to go on, he went to Ptolemais, taking with him some of the priests and chief elders of the land, and also many rich and valuable presents ; by virtue of which, and his wise management, he so mollified the king, and ingratiated himself so far with him and his ministers, that he not only rejected all accusations against him, but also honoured him with many favours. For he not only confirmed him in the high-priest's office, admitted him into a chief place among his friends, and, on his request, agreed to add to Judea the three toparchies of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramatha, which formerly belonged to Samaria, and to free the whole land under his government of all manner of taxes, tolls, and tributes, whatsoever, for three hundred talents, to be paid in lieu of them, and then returned again to Antioch ; where going on in the same methods of cruelty, folly, and rashness, he daily alienated the people more and more from him, till, at length, he made them all ready for a general defection.^f

Which being observed by Diodotus, afterward called Tryphon, who formerly had served Alexander as governor of Antioch in conjunction with Hierax, he thought this a fit time for him to play a gaining game for his own interest, aiming at nothing less than, by the advantage of these disorders, to put the crown upon his own head.^g And therefore, going into Arabia to Zabdiel, who had the bringing up of Antiochus, the son of Alexander, laid before him the then state of affairs in Syria, telling him, how all the people, and especially the soldiery, were disaffected to Demetrius, and that thereby a favourable opportunity was offered for recovering to Antiochus his father's kingdom.^h And therefore he desired, that

e 1 Maccab. xi. 20—37. Joseph. Antiq. 13, c. 8.

f Justin. lib. 36, c. 1.

g 1 Maccab. 11. 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 9. Appian. in Syriacis. Epitome, Livii, lib. 52. Strabo, lib. p. 15, p. 759.

h In the Greek original, this Zabdiel is called Ελαλκκαι, from the Arabic word *Almelec*, that is, *the King*. The former was the name of his person, the other of his office ; for he was king of that part of Arabia where he lived. In some Greek copies it is Σιμαλκκαι, as in Aldus's the Alexandrian, and the Complutensian ; and, out of one of these copies the English version being made, hence therein we read *Simalcuc*. But, in what copy soever

the youth might be put into hands, that he might prosecute this advantage for him. For this scheme of treason was first to claim the crown for Antiochus ; and, when he should have gotten it, by virtue of that claim, then make away with that youth, and wear it himself ; and so it afterward accordingly happened. But Zabdiel, either seeing through the design, or else disliking the project, would not immediately yield to the proposal, which detained Tryphon there many days further to press and solicit the matter, till at length, either by the force of his importunities, or the force of his presents, he brought over Zabdiel to comply with him, and obtained from him what he desired.

In the meanwhile, Jonathan pressed hard on the siege of the fortress at Jerusalem ; but, finding no success in it, he sent an embassy to Demetrius, to desire of him the withdrawing of this garrison which he could not expel.ⁱ Demetrius, being then very much embarrassed by the tumults and seditions of the Antiochians, whom he had provoked to the utmost aversion both against him and his government, promised Jonathan, that he would do this and much more for him, provided he would send him some forces for his assistance against the present mutineers: whereon Jonathan immediately despatched away to him three thousand men. On their arrival, Demetrius, confiding in the strength of this recruit, would have disarmed the Antiochians, and therefore commanded them all to bring in their arms ; which they refusing to do, rose all in a tumult, to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and beset the palace, with intent to slay the tyrant. Hereon the Jews, coming to his assistance, fell upon them with fire and sword, burning a great part of the city, and slaying of the inhabitants about one hundred thousand persons. This brought the rest to sue for peace ; which being granted them, the tumult ceased ; and the Jews, having thus retaliated upon the Antiochians what they had formerly suffered from them in Judah and Jerusalem, especially in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned with vast spoils and great honour to their own country.

But Demetrius, still going on with his same methods of cruelty, tyranny, and oppression, put many to death for the late sedition, confiscated the goods of others, and drove great numbers into banishment. Whereon the whole kingdom being every where filled with hatred and anger against him,

Σμαλκισαι is found, it is, by the error of the transcribers, for *Ελμακισαι*: for it is certain, the latter only can be the true reading. This the Syriac and Jerome's version justify ; and the word so written signifieth something, the other nothing.

ⁱ 1 Maceab. xi. 41—52. Joseph. 13, c. 9. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 347, 348.

& Diodorus, *ibid.*

they only wanted an opportunity for their revenge for the executing of it upon him to the utmost. And notwithstanding his promises to Jonathan, and the great obligations which he owed to him for his late assistance, his conduct towards him was no better than to all the rest.^l For, thinking now he should have no more need of him, he broke the bargain he had made with him at Ptolemais, of freeing him and his people from all taxes, tolls, and tribute, for three hundred talents, to be paid him for the redemption of them, and, notwithstanding he had received the money, demanded, that all the said taxes, tolls, and tribute, should be still paid in the utmost rigour as formerly, and threatened him with war unless this were done; whereby he alienated the Jews as much from him as he had all others.^m

While things were in this state, Tryphon,ⁿ having at length obtained of Zabdiel to have Antiochus, the son of Alexander, delivered unto him, came with him into Anno 144.
Jonathan 17. Syria, and there laid claim to the kingdom for him; whereon all the soldiers whom Demetrius had disbanded, and multitudes of others whom he had by his ill conduct made his enemies, flocked to the pretender; and, having declared him king, marched under his banner against Demetrius; and, having vanquished him in battle, forced him into Seleucia, took all his elephants, and made themselves masters of Antioch, and there placed Antiochus upon the throne of the kings of Syria, giving him the name of *Theos*, or *the divine*.

And Jonathan, being provoked by the ill return Demetrius had made him for his great services to him, accepted of the invitation which he had received from the new king, of coming into his interest. For, as soon as Antiochus had gained Antioch, there was sent from him an embassy to Jonathan with letters written in his name, whereby the high-priest's office was confirmed to him, the grant of the three toparchies renewed, and a fourth added to them; and he was allowed to wear purple, and the golden buckle, and to have place among the chief of the king's friends, and many other privileges and advantages were moreover added.^o And Simon was made chief commander of all the king's forces, from the Ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt, on condition that these two brothers and the Jews would declare for him; which Jonathan readily consented to, having just reason for it, from the ill conduct of Demetrius towards him.^p Whereon a com-

^l 1 Maccab. xi. 53.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 9.

ⁿ 1 Maccab. xi. 54—56. Epitome Livii, lib. 52. Josephus, *ibid.* Appian. in Syriacis.

^o 1 Maccab. xi. 57—59. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 9.

mission was sent him to raise forces for the service of Antiochus through all Cœlo-Syria and Palestine;^q by virtue whereof, having gotten together a great army,^r he marched round the country even as far as Damascus, to secure all in those parts to the interest of Antiochus. For the diverting of Jonathan from this purpose, the forces which Demetrius had in Cœlo-Syria and Phœnicia drew together, and invaded Galilee;^s whereon Jonathan marched thither to oppose them, leaving Simon to command in Judea.^u On his first coming into Galilee, being drawn into an ambush, he had like to have been overborne by the enemy; and most of his forces falling into a panic fear, fled from him, excepting a very few of the valiantest of them.^x But these few making a resolute stand, the rest rallied, and, coming on again to the fight, won the victory. And Simon, in the interim, laying siege to Bethsura, forced it to a surrender, and thereby expelled the heathen, who had long kept a garrison there, to the great annoyance of all the country round it.^y

Jonathan, on his return into Judea, finding all things were in quiet, sent ambassadors to the Romans to renew with them the league which they made with Judas; who, being introduced into the senate, were there received with honour, and dismissed with their full satisfaction.^z On their return from Rome, their orders were to address themselves to the Lacedæmonians, and the other allies of the Jews in those parts, for the like renewing of their leagues with them; which they having accordingly done, they returned to Jerusalem, bringing back with them full success in all the negotiations on which they were sent.

The captains of Demetrius's forces, whom Jonathan had lately vanquished in Galilee, having, by new reinforcements, much increased their number and strength, came the second time against him; whereon he marched out to meet them as far as Amathis, in the utmost confines of Canaan, and there encamped against them; where, being informed by his spies, that their intent was to storm his camp the next night, he took care to be in full readiness to receive them; which the enemy finding on their approach, they were so discouraged at the disappointment, that, returning to their

p The Ladder of Tyre is a mountain so called, lying on the sea-coast between Tyre and Ptolemais.

q Josephus, *Antiq. lib. 13, c. 9.*

r 1 Maccab. xi. 60—62. Josephus, *ibid.*

s 1 Maccab. xi. 63.

t 1 Maccab. xi. 64. Josephus, *ibid.*

u 1 Maccab. & Josephus, *ibid.* x 1 Maccab. xi. 67—74.

y 1 Maccab. xi. 65, 66; xiv, 7, 33. Josephus, *ibid.*

z 1 Maccab. xii. 1—13. Josephus, *ibid.*

camp, and lighting fires in it to make it believed that they were still there, they marched off in the night, and were got so far by the time Jonathan found they were gone, that, though he immediately, on the discovery of it, pursued after them, yet it was all in vain.^a For they had passed the river Eleutherus, and were thereby got out of his reach before he could come up thither. After this he led back his army against the Arabs that were of Demetrius's party, and, having smitten them and taken their spoils, turned his course towards Damascus; and, passing over the country thereabout, made strict inquiry after all that were adversaries to the interest of Antiochus, and suppressed them every where. And, while he was thus employed beyond Jordan, Simon his brother was not idle in Judea; for marching thence into the land of the Philistines, he made all there submit to him; and, having taken Joppa, he placed a strong garrison in it.

After this, both brothers being returned to Jerusalem, they called the great council of the nation together, to consult about the repairing and new fortifying of Jerusalem, and other strong holds in Judea, so that they might be made tenable against any enemy that should come against them.^b And it being then agreed, that the walls of Jerusalem, where they were broken down or decayed, should be repaired, and where too low should be built higher, and every thing else done that was necessary thoroughly to fortify the place; all this was immediately set about, and carried on with the utmost expedition. And at the same time they built a wall or mount between the fortress and the rest of the city, that the heathen who were in garrison there, might receive no relief of provision, or of any thing else that way; which soon reduced them to great distress, and very much forwarded that necessity, whereby at last they were forced to surrender the place. Jonathan took on himself the oversight of all these works at Jerusalem; and while he was there thus employed, Simon went into the country, and did the same as to all the other fortresses and strong holds that were in the land; and thereby the whole country became well fortified against any enemy that should come to make war against it.

Tryphon, thinking his plot for the making away of Antiochus, and seizing the crown of Syria to himself, now ripe for execution in all other particulars, save only that he foresaw Jonathan would never be brought to bear so great a villany, resolved at any rate to take him out of the way; and therefore marched with a great army towards Judea, in order to get him into his power, that so he might put him to

a 1 Maccab. xii. 24—34. Josephus, Antiq. lib. 13, c. 9

b 1 Maccab. xii, 35—38. Joseph. *ibid.*

death. On his coming to Bethsan, there Jonathan met him with forty thousand men, Tryphon, seeing him at the head of so great an army, durst not openly attempt any thing against him; but endeavoured to deceive him by flattering words, and a false appearance of friendship, pretending, that he came thither only to consult with him about their common interest, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he intended wholly to resign to him; and, having deceived him by these fair pretences, he persuaded him to send away all his army, except three thousand men, two thousand of which he sent into Galilee; and, with the other one thousand, he went with Tryphon to Ptolemais, expecting, according to the oath of that traitor, to have the place delivered to him; but as soon as he and his company were got within the walls, the gates were shut upon them, and Jonathan was made a prisoner, and all his men were put to the sword. And immediately forces were sent out to cut off the two thousand also that were in Galilee; but they having notice of what had been done to Jonathan and his men at Ptolemais, encouraged each other to stand to their defence; and then, joining close together, put themselves in a posture resolutely to fight for their lives; which the enemy perceiving, durst not attack them, but permitted them quietly to march off; and they all returned safe to Jerusalem, where was great lamentation for what had happened to Jonathan.^c For hereon all the heathen round about, finding the Jews thus deprived of their captain, were making ready to destroy them; and Tryphon, drawing together all his forces for the same purpose, reckoned on this opportunity utterly to cut off and extirpate the whole nation.^d Whereon the people being in great fears,^e Simon went up to the temple, and then calling the people together to him, encouraged them to stand to their defence, and offered himself to fight for them, as his father and brothers had done before him.^f Whereon thier hearts being again raised, and their drooping spirits revived, they unanimously made choice of Simon to be their captain in the place of Jonathan; and, under his conduct and direction, immediately set themselves hard at work for the finishing of the fortifications at Jerusalem, which Jonathan had begun. And

c 1 Maccab. xii. 39—52. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 10.

d 1 Maccab. xii. 53.

e 1 Maccab. xiii. 1—11. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 11.

f The outer court of the temple which was called the court of the Gentiles, was the place where the people assembled on all occasions. It was called the court of the Gentiles, because so far as into this court the Gentiles of what nation soever might come, but were not allowed to pass the Chel into the inner court, unless they were circumcised, and made thorough proselytes to the whole Jewish law.

on Tryphon's approach to invade the land, Simon led forth a great army against him; whereon Tryphon not daring to engage him in battle, sent to him a deceitful message, telling him, that he had seized Jonathan only because he owed one hundred talents to the king; that, in case he would send the money and Jonathan's two sons to be hostages for their father's fidelity to the king, he would set him again at liberty.^g Though Simon well saw all this was fraud and deceit, yet he complied, to avoid the ill report which otherwise might have been raised against him, as if he had wilfully caused his brother's death by the refusal; and therefore sent both the money and the young men. But the false traitor, according as Simon foresaw, when he had received all that he demanded, would do nothing of what he had promised; but still detained Jonathan in chains; and, after having gotten together more forces, he came again to invade the land, with intent utterly to destroy it.^h But Simon, coasting him wherever he marched, opposed and baffled him in all his designs. At this time the heathen garrison in the fortress at Jerusalem, being much distressed by reason of the blockade laid at first by Jonathan, and now continued by Simon, pressed hard for relief; and Tryphon, having accordingly formed a design of sending relief to them, ordered out all his horse one night for the executing of it. But they had not marched far, ere there fell so great a snow, as not only made their further proceeding on this enterprize impracticable, but also forced Tryphon and all his army next day to decamp and begone, as being able no longer to bear abroad in the field the severity of the season. On his retreat from thence to his winter quarters, coming to Bascama in the land of Gilead, he there put Jonathan to death. And after that, thinking he had no one else to fear, for the obstructing of him in the ultimate execution of his designs, caused Antiochus to be secretly put to death, giving out that he died of the stone; and then, assuming the crown, declared himself king of Syria in his stead.

When Simon heard of his brother's death, and that they had buried him at Bascama, he sent and fetched his bones from thence, and buried them in the sepulchre of his father at Modin, over which he afterward

An. 144.
Simon 1.

^g 1 Maccab. xiii. 12—19. Joseph. lib. 13, c. 11.

^h 1 Maccab. xiii. 20—24.

ⁱ 1 Maccab. xiii. 31, 32. Joseph. Antig. lib. 13, c. 12. Epit. Livii, lib. 55. Justin. lib. 36, c. 1. The words of Josephus concerning the death of Antiochus are, That it was given out, *ὡς χειρὶζόμενος ἀποθανῆναι*, that is, as if he died while under the hands of the chirurgeon for cure; for so the word *χειρὶζομαι* is used in Hippocrates: and Livy telling us, that his pretended disease was the stone, it may from hence be inferred, that what was given out was, that he died under the hands of the chirurgeon cutting him for the stone.

erected a very famous monument of a great height, all built of white marble, curiously wrought and polished; near which he placed seven pyramids, two for his father and mother, four for his four brothers, and the seventh for himself, and then encompassed the whole with a stately portico, supported by marble pillars, each of an whole piece. All of which was a very excellent work; and being erected on an eminence, was seen far off at sea, and was taken notice of as a remarkable sea-mark on that coast, whereby seafaring men who sailed that way directed their course. Josephus tells us,^k that it was remaining entire in his time, and then looked on as a curious and very excellent piece of architecture; and Eusebius also speaks of it as still being in his time, which was above two hundred years after the time of Josephus.^l

Tryphon, having usurped the crown of Syria, would gladly have himself acknowledged king by the Romans, as thinking this would add great reputation both to himself and his affairs; and therefore sent a splendid embassy to them, with the present of a golden image of victory, to the value of ten thousand pieces of gold, hoping to obtain both for the sake of so valuable a gift, and the good omen of victory which the image carried with it, to be owned by them as king of Syria.^m But the Romans, cunningly eluding his expectations, received the image, and ordered to be engraven on it the name of Antiochus, whom Tryphon had lately murdered, as if he had been the donor of it.

But the ambassadors of Simon were there received with much more respect. For as soon as Jonathan was dead, and Simon admitted to be his successor, both in the high priesthood and government of the land, he sent ambassadors to notify it to the Romans and other allies. The Romans were very sorry at the death of Jonathan; but when they heard that Simon was in his place, this was well pleasing to them.ⁿ And therefore, when his ambassadors approached Rome they sent out to meet them,^o and received them with honour,^p and readily renewed all their former leagues made with his predecessors, which being written in tables of brass, were carried to Jerusalem, and there read before all the people. And the same ambassadors, on their return from Rome, went also to the Lacedemonians, and other allies of the Jews, and, in the name of Simon, renewed in like manner all former leagues

k 1 Maccab. xiii. 25—30. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 11.

l In Libello *περι των στικων Ονοματων*.

m Diodorus Siculus. legat. 31.

n 1 Maccab. xiv. 16, 17.

o 1 Maccab. xiv. 40, Gr. *απαντησαν*.

p 1 Maccab. xiv. 18, 19.

with them, and returned with authentic instruments hereof to Jerusalem.^q

Sarpedon, one of Demetrius's captains, coming into Phœnicia with an army, a battle happened between him and the forces which Tryphon had in those parts.^r This battle was fought near the walls of Ptolemais, in which Sarpedon being vanquished, he retreated into the inland country. But the Tryphonians, on their return from the pursuit, marching back to Ptolemais, on the beach of the sea, a sudden tide coming upon them, overwhelmed a great number of their men, and then going back again with as sudden an ebb, as it had come on with a flow, left the dead bodies on the strand, with a great quantity of fish mingled with them; whereon, Sarpedon's men again returning, took up the fish, and, by way of thanksgiving for them, and the destruction that had befallen the enemy, offered sacrifices to Neptune before the very gates of Ptolemais, in the same place where the battle had been before fought.

But, while Demetrius's soldiers were thus fighting for him in the field, he lay idle at Laodicea, glutting himself with all the vile pleasures of luxury and lewdness, without being made wiser by his calamities, or seeming at all to be sensible of them.^s However, Tryphon having given sufficient reason for the Jews utterly to renounce him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him about terms of peace and alliance; who having obtained from that prince a grant of confirmation of the high-priesthood and principality to Simon, and a release of all taxes, tolls, and tributes, with an oblivion of all past acts of hostility, on the condition of the Jews joining with him against Tryphon, they returned to Jerusalem with letters under the royal signature, containing the same; which being accepted of and confirmed by all the people of the Jews, by virtue hereof Simon was made sovereign prince of the Jews, and the land freed from all foreign yoke. And therefore the Jews from this time, instead of dating their instruments and contracts by the years of the Syrian kings as they had hitherto done, thenceforth dated them by the years of Simon and his successors.

Simon, having thus obtained the independent sovereignty of the land, made a progress through it to see and provide for its security, repairing the fortifications in those cities and places where they were decayed, and making new ones in those where they were wanting, and this he especially did at

q 1 Maccab. xiv. 20—23.

r Strabo, lib. 16, p. 758. Athenæus, lib. 8, p. 333.

s Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 353.

t 1 Maccab. xiii. 24—42; xiv. 38—41. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 11

Bethsura and Joppa.^u The former he made a place of arms. and put a strong garrison in it ; and the latter being the nearest maritime town to Jerusalem, though at the distance of forty miles from it, he made it the sea-port to that city, and all Judea, it being the fittest place on all that coast for the carrying on of their trade through it to all the isles and countries in the Mediterranean ; and it served them for this purpose for many ages after, as it still doth the inhabitants of that country even to this day, and it is there still known by the same name.^x

And whereas Gazara, on the death of Jonathan, had revolted, he laid siege to the place ; and, having reduced it, he cast all the heathen out of the city, and planted it wholly with Jews ; and, having well fortified it, built an house there for himself, wherein he might lodge when his affairs should call him to that place.^y

The heathen in the fortress at Jerusalem since Jonathan's building of the wall against them, which cut them off from all communication with the rest of the city, being much distressed for want of provisions and all other necessities,^z were thereby at length brought to that necessity as forced them to surrender the place and depart the land ; whereon Simon took possession of it, and thereby delivered Israel from a great grievance, that garrison having been a terrible thorn in their side ever since Antiochus Epiphanes first placed it there. And, that they might no more in like manner be annoyed from that place, Simon demolished not only the fortress, but also the hill itself on which it stood ;^a for it overtopping, and thereby commanding the mountain of the temple, if any other enemy should at any time after seize that place, they might from thence cause them the same mischief. And therefore, Simon having called the people together, and fully laid before them what they had suffered from that place, and what they might again suf-

Anno 142.
Simon 2.

^u 1 Maccab. xiii. 33 ; xiv. 7, 33.

^x 1 Maccab. xiv. 5, 34.

^y 1 Maccab. xiii. 43—48. Here in the Greek original, as well as our English version, it is Gaza, (ver. 43.) but, beyond all doubt, it is here put for Gazara by the error of transcribers ; for the taking of Gazara is spoken of among the good works of Simon, 1 Maccab. xiv. 7, 34, and also by Josephus, lib. 13, c. 11, but nothing is said in either of these histories of Simon's taking Gaza. And Gazara is often mentioned in them, as in the hands of Simon, but Gaza never (except alone in this place.) This city of Gazara is the same with the ancient Gezer, so often mentioned in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. And here, most likely, it was that Simon built him an house, 1 Maccab. xiii. 48, and that this was the house wherein John his son dwelt, when he sent him to reside at Gazara, and there command his forces in those parts. Strabo calls this city Gadaris, and placeth it near Azotus (as the author of the first book of the Maccabees doth, xiv. 34,) and saith of it, that the Jews had taken possession of it, lib. 16, p. 759.

^z 1 Maccab. xiii. 49—52.

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 11.

fer, should it, at any time after, again fall into the hands of an enemy, proposed to them the digging down of the mountain itself to the level of the mountain of the temple, that so there might not be left a possibility of any more annoying the temple from that place; which they all readily consenting to, immediately did set about the work, and carried it on with great assiduity, all taking their turns in it, till at length, after three years constant labour employed herein, they fully finished all that was intended. And, while this was doing, Simon new fortified the mountain of the temple, repairing the outer wall, and making it stronger than it was before, and provided habitations within it, both for himself and company; and there he afterward dwelt: and most likely his house stood where the castle Antonio was afterward built.^b

Simon finding his son John, afterward called Hyrcanus, to be a valiant man and very expert in all military affairs, he made him general of all the forces of Judea, and sent him to live at Gazara, that being a border which most wanted his presence;^c and Joppa being in the neighbourhood, perchance to be nigh that place, for the supervising of those works that were there carrying on by his order, for the making of it a convenient sea-port for all Judea, might be another reason why he appointed him to have his residence in that place.

Demetrius was at length roused up from his sloth, by many messages out of the east inviting him thither; for the Parthians, having now overrun in a manner all the east, and subjugated to them all the countries of Asia, from the river Indus to the Euphrates, those that were of the Macedonian race in those countries, not bearing this usurpation, nor that pride and insolence with which those new masters ruled over them, earnestly invited Demetrius by repeated embassies to come into those parts, promising him a general revolt from the Parthians, and such assistance of forces against them as should enable him absolutely to suppress those usurpers, and recover again all the provinces of the East to his empire.^d With which hopes, Demetrius, being excited to undertake this expedition, marched over the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greater part of Syria behind him; for he reckoned, that, after he should have made himself master of the east, he should have such an augmentation of power as should best enable him to suppress that rebel on his return. As soon as he came eastward, the Elymæans, the Persians, and the Bactrians, declared for him;

An. 141.
Simon 8.

^b 1 Maccab. xiii. 52.

^c Maccab. xiii. 53.

^d Justin. lib. 36, c. 1, & lib. 38, c. 9. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1, 2, 3. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 9. & c. 12. Orosius, lib. 5, c. 4.

and, by their assistance, he overthrew the Parthians in many conflicts. But at last, under a show of a treaty of peace, being drawn into a snare, he was taken prisoner, and all his army cut in pieces; and hereby the Parthian Empire became established with that greatness of power and firmness of stability, as to make it last for several ages after, to the terror of all within their reach, even to the rivalling of the Romans themselves in the strength of their arms, and the prowess and fame of their military exploits.

The king that reigned in Parthia at this time was Mithridates, the son of Priapatius, a very valiant and wise prince.^e How Arsaces first founded the kingdom of the Parthians, and how Arsaces his son after settled and established it by a treaty of peace with *Antiochus the Great*, hath been already related.^f The son and successor of the second Arsaces, was Priapatius, called also Arsaces, (that being the family name of all the kings of this race.)^g He having reigned fifteen years, left the crown, at his death, to Phrahates his eldest son; after whose death succeeded this Mithridates his brother, the Parthian king, into whose hands Demetrius fell.^g He was therefore from Arsaces, the first founder of that kingdom, the fourth in descent, and the fifth in succession of reigning, and not the sixth, as Orosius saith.^h He having subdued the Medes, the Elymæans, the Persians, and the Bactrians, extended his dominions into India, beyond the boundaries of Alexander's conquest;ⁱ and, having vanquished Demetrius, finally secured Babylonia and Mesopotamia also to his empire; so that thenceforth he had Euphrates on the west, as well as the Ganges on the east, for the limits of his empire.^k

After Mithridates had thus gotten Demetrius into his power, he carried him round the revolted provinces, and exposed him every where to their view, that they, by seeing the prince whom they confided in reduced to this ignominious and low condition, might be the easier brought to submit again to their former yoke.^l But, when this show was over, he allowed him a maintenance suitable to the state of a king, and, sending him into Hyrcania to reside, gave him Rhodaguna, one of his daughters, in marriage.^m However, he kept him still in captivity, though with as much freedom as was consistent with a captive state, and, at his death, left him in this condition to Phrahates his son, who succeeded

^e Justin. lib. 41, c. 5, 6. Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii, p. 359, 360.

^f Part 2, book 2, under the year 208.

^g Justin. lib. 41, c. 5.

^h Lib. 5, c. 4.

ⁱ Diodor. Sic. *ibid.* Orosius, lib. 5, c. 4.

^k Orosius, *ibid.* Justin. lib. 41, c. 6.

^l Justin. lib. 36, c. 1.

^m Justin. *ibid.* & lib. 38, c. 9.

him in the kingdom.ⁿ It is particularly related of Mithridates, that, having conquered several nations, he gathered from every one of them whatsoever he found best in their constitutions, and then, out of the whole collection, made a body of most wholesome laws for the government of his empire.

In a general congregation of the priests and elders, and all the people of the Jews assembled together at Jerusalem, it was agreed, by the unanimous consent of all present, that the supreme government of the nation, as well as the high-priesthood, should be conferred on Simon, and settled both upon him and his posterity after him.^p This had before been personally settled on Simon by the grant of Demetrius the Syrian king, and the same was now granted also by the whole nation of the Jews, and the settlement made, not only on the person of Simon, but upon him and his descendants for ever. And a public act or instrument in writing was made hereof, wherein it being recited, what good deeds Simon and his family had done for the people of the Jews, they, in acknowledgment hereof, constituted him their prince, as well as their high-priest, and granted both dignities to him and his posterity after him; a copy of which act they ordered to be engraved on tables of brass, and hung up in the sanctuary, and laid up the original in the sacred archives belonging to the treasury of the temple. And from that time Simon took on him the state, style, and authority of prince as well as high-priest of the Jews, and all public acts thenceforth went in his name. And after him both these dignities descended together to his posterity, and continued among them thus united together for several descents, they being at the same time sovereign pontiffs and sovereign princes of the Jewish nation. This act bore date on the eighteenth day of the month Elul (which was the sixth of their months,) in the one hundred and seventy-second year of the era of the Seleucidæ, and the third of Simon's pontificate.

At this time, the Jews tell us, Simeon Ben Shetach, and Jehudah Ben Tabbai, were the rectors and chief teachers of the divinity school at Jerusalem; the first of which, they say, was president, and the other vice-president of the sanhedrim.^q Of these several fables are told in the Talmud, which are not worth troubling the reader with.

ⁿ Justin. lib. 38, c. 9, & lib. 42, c. 1.

^o Diodorus Siculus in Excerptis Valesii, p. 361.

^p 1 Maccabees xiv. 26—49.

^q Juchasin Shalsheth Haccabala. Zemach David.

Queen Cleopatra, on her husband's captivity in Parthia, shut up herself with her children in Seleucia on the Orontes, and there many of Tryphon's soldiers revolted to her.^r For, being naturally of a brutish and cruel temper, he had artfully concealed this, under the cloak of affability and good temper, as long as he was courting the favour of the people, for the carrying on his ambitious designs. But, when he was possessed of the crown, and Demetrius made a prisoner in Parthia, he cast off all guard and restraint, which till then he had put upon his inclinations, and let himself loose to his own natural disposition, which being such as many about him could not bear, this caused many desertions from him to Cleopatra. But still her party alone was not strong enough to support her; and therefore, fearing lest the people of Seleucia would rather give her up to Tryphon than suffer a siege for her sake, she sent to Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, to join his interest with hers, offering him the crown and herself in marriage on this condition:^s for, hearing of the marriage of Demetrius with Rhodaguna in Parthia, and being greatly provoked thereby, she cast off all regard for him, and resolved to seek a new interest for her support, by disposing of herself in marriage elsewhere; and, not seeing where she could do this more to her advantage than to the next heir of the crown, she therefore sent for him, and made him her husband.^t

This Antiochus was second son to Demetrius Soter, and, on the wars which that prince had with Alexander Balas, was sent to Cnidus with his brother Demetrius, the now captive king of Syria, to be there kept out of harm's way, as hath been already related.^u He seems to have still continued in those parts after his brother's recovering the crown. For he is said to have been at Rhodes when Demetrius was taken prisoner; and therefore, no doubt, in that place it was that Cleopatra's message found him. For he having, on the receiving of it, accepted the offer, and thereon taken upon him the style and title of king of Syria, he wrote a letter to Simon, dated from the Isles of the Sea, and most likely this was from Rhodes, since he is said to have been there so lately before as at the time of the first news of his brother's captivity.^y

The substance of his letter to Simon was to complain of the unjust usurpation of Tryphon, and to let him know, that

^r Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 12.

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 12.

^t Appianus ibid.

^y 1 Maccab. xv. 1

Appian. in Syriacis.

Justin. lib. 36, c. 1.

^u Justin. ibid.

Appianus in Syriacis.

he was preparing to come into Syria, to take vengeance of that usurper, and recover his father's kingdom; and therefore, to gain him over to his interest, makes him many grants, and promiseth him many more, when he should be fully settled in the throne, as may be seen in that letter, 1 Maccab. xv. 2—9.

And accordingly, in the beginning of the next year, he landed in Syria, with an army of mercenaries whom he had hired in Greece, Lesser Asia, and the isles; An. 139-
Simon 57 and, having married Cleopatra, joined her forces to his own, and marched against Tryphon.^a Whereon most of the usurper's forces, now weary of his tyranny, went over from him to Antiochus, which augmented his army to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse.^b This being a power Tryphon could not keep the field against, he retreated to Dora, a city near Ptolemais in Phœnicia, where, being besieged by Antiochus, with all his forces, both by sea and land, and finding the place not capable of long holding out against so great a power, he made his escape by sea to Orthosia, another maritime town in Phœnicia; from whence flying to Apamia, his own native city, he was there taken and put to death. And hereby an end being put to his usurpation, Antiochus became fully possessed of his father's throne, and sat in it nine years. He being much given to hunting, and the name of Sidetes (that is, the hunter) given unto him, from Zidah, a word of that signification in the Syriac language.^c

Simon being instated in the sovereign command of Judea by the general consent of all that nation, in the manner as above related, thought it would be of great advantage to him, for his firmer establishment in it, to get himself acknowledged what they had made him by the Romans, and to have all their former leagues and alliances renewed with him, under the style and title which he then bore of high-priest and prince of the Jews. And therefore he sent another embassy to them for this purpose, with a present of a large shield of gold, weighing one thousand minæ, which, according to the lowest computation of an Attic minæ, amounted to the value of fifty thousand pounds sterling money.^d Both the present and embassy were very acceptable to the senate; and therefore they not only renewed their league and alliance with Simon and his people, in the manner he desired, but also ordered, that Lucius Cornelius Piso, one of the consuls

z 1 Maccab. xv. 2—9.

a 1 Maccab. xv. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 12.

b 1 Maccab. xv. 11—14. Joseph. *ibid.* Appian. in Syriacis.

c Plutarch. in Problem.

d 1 Maccab. xiv. 24, & xv. 25

should write letters to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, Demetrius king of Syria, and Mithridates king of Parthia, and to all the cities and states of Greece, Lesser Asia, and the isles that were in alliance with them. to let them know, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and that therefore they should not attempt any thing to their damage, or protect any traitors or fugitives of that nation against them, but should deliver up to Simon, the high-priest and prince of the Jews, all such traitors and fugitives as should flee unto them, whenever demanded by him.

The letters to the Syrian king were directed to Demetrius, though then a prisoner in Parthia, because neither Tryphon nor Antiochus Sidetes, who were then contending for the crown at the time when these letters were written, were either of them acknowledged as king by the Romans. And therefore, when these letters were brought into Syria, they were of no benefit to Simon or the Jews: for Antiochus, having no regard to them, as not being written to him, as soon as he had driven Tryphon out of the field, took the first opportunity to quarrel with Simon. For although Simon sent to Antiochus, while he was besieging Tryphon at Dora, two thousand chosen men for his assistance, with gold, and silver, and arms, and other instruments and engines of war, he would not receive any of them, but, rescinding all that he had formerly granted or promised, sent Athenobius, one of his friends, to him, to demand the restoration of Gazara, Joppa, and the fortress of Jerusalem, with several other places then held by Simon, which he claimed as belonging to the kingdom of Syria, or else five hundred talents in lieu of them, and five hundred talents more for the damages that were done by the Jews within the borders of his other dominions.^e On Athenobius's coming to Jerusalem with this message, Simon's answer was, that for Gazara and Joppa he was content to pay the king one hundred talents; but, as to all the rest, he told him, it was the inheritance of their forefathers, which they had for a time been wrongfully deprived of, and that, having now again gotten possession of it, they were resolved to keep it.^f This answer very much angering Athenobius, he without replying any thing thereto, returned in great wrath to the king, and made report to him of what Simon had said, and also of what he had seen of the pomp and grandeur in which he lived. For, being now sovereign prince of the Jews, he was served in much plate of gold and silver, had many attendants, and in all things else appeared

^e 1 Maccab. xv. 26—32.

^f 1 Maccab. xv. 32—36

in the same manner of splendour and glory as other princes did. At all which the king being very much offended, resolved on a war against him; and therefore, having made Cendebæus, one of his nobles, captain and governor of the sea-coasts of Palestine, he sent him with one part of his army to fight against Simon, and, in the mean time, he, with the other, pursued after Tryphon, till he had taken and slain him in the manner as I have mentioned.^g

Cendebæus forthwith marched with his forces into the parts near Jamnia and Joppa, and having there, according to the orders which he had received from the king, fortified Kedron, he placed a strong party of his army in it, and from thence began to make inroads upon the Jews, and to kill and plunder, and commit all manner of hostilities in their land.^h Whereon John, the son of Simon, who lived at Gazara in the neighbourhood, went from thence to Jerusalem to acquaint his father of these particulars.ⁱ By which Simon perceiving, that the intention of Antiochus was to make war upon him, got together an army of twenty thousand foot, with a proportionable number of horse. And because he himself being now broken with age, could no more bear the fatigues of war, he committed the command of them to Judas and John his sons, and sent them forth to fight the enemy. The first night after they took the field, they encamped at Modin, the original seat of their family, and from thence, the next day after, marched out against Cendebæus. This soon brought it to a battle between them; in which Cendebæus being overthrown, lost two thousand of his men, and the rest fled, part to Kedron, and part to other strong holds near the field of battle, and part to Azotus. Judas being wounded in the fight, was forced to stay behind. But John followed the pursuit till he came to Azotus, and, having there taken their fortresses and towers of defence, burned them with fire. After this, the two brothers, having driven the Syrians out of those parts, and settled all matters there in quiet, returned in triumph to Jerusalem.

Ptolemy Physcon had now reigned in Egypt seven years, during all which time we find nothing else recorded of him but his monstrous vices and his detestable cruelties, scarce any other prince having been more brutal in lusts, or more barbarous and bloody in the government of his people.^k And, besides, in all his other conduct,

An. 132.
Simon 6.

g 1 Maccab. xv. 38, 39. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13, c. 13.

h 1 Maccab. xv. 40, 41. Joseph. ibid.

i 1 Maccab. xvi. 1—10. Joseph. ibid.

k Justin. lib. 38, c. 8. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 361. Athen. lib. 4, p. 184. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9, c. 1, 2.

he appeared very despicable and foolish, usually both doing and saying very childish and ridiculous things in public as well as in private; whereby he incurred, to a great degree, the contempt, as well as the hatred and detestation of his people. And that he kept the crown upon his head, under so general an odium and aversion of his subjects, was wholly owing to Hierax his chief minister.^l He was by birth of Antioch, and the same who, in the reign of Alexander Balas, had, in joint commission with Diodotus, (afterward called Tryphon,) the government of that city committed to him. On the turn of affairs that afterward happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, and there falling into the service of Ptolemy Physcon, became the chief commander of his armies, and the chief manager of all his other affairs; and, being a very valiant and wise man, he, by taking care of well paying the soldiers, and balancing, by his good and wise ministration, the mal-administration of his master, and remedying and preventing as many of them as he was able, had hitherto the success to keep all things quiet in that kingdom.

This year, as great a monster of cruelty began his reign at Pergamus, Attalus Philometor, the son of Eumenes, who succeeded Attalus his uncle in that kingdom.^m He being a minor at the death of his father, the tuition of him, with the crown, was left to Attalus the uncle, who so faithfully discharged his trust, that he not only carefully bred up the pupil, but, on his death, which happened this year, left the crown to him, passing by the children which he had of his own.ⁿ For he looked on the crown as left him by his brother, to be no more than a *depositum* intrusted with him for his nephew; and therefore he accordingly restored it to him in the next succession, which is a procedure very rarely practised, where a crown is the thing in possession. Another instance of such a restoration is scarce any where else to be found in history; princes being usually no less solicitous to preserve their crowns to their posterity, than to themselves. But this turned to the great plague and calamity of the whole kingdom; for this Attalus Philometer, being more than half a madman, managed his government accordingly in a very wild, irrational, and pernicious manner. For he had scarce been warm in his throne, ere he stained it all over with the blood of his nearest relations, and other the best friends of his family; putting to death most of those who, with the greatest fidelity, had served his father and his uncle; pretending against some of them, that they had by evil arts

^l Diodorus Siculus, *ibid.*

^m Strabo, lib. 13, p. 624. Justin. lib. 36, c. 4.

ⁿ Plutarchus in libro *τῆς Φιλόμετας* et in *Apotheg.*

caused the death of Stratonice his mother, who deceased an old woman; and against others, that they caused, by the like evil arts, the death of Berenice, his wife, who died of an incurable disease which she happened to fall into.^o And others he put to death upon vain and groundless suspicions, cutting off with them their wives and children, and all their whole families. These executions he did by the hands of his mercenaries, whom he had hired out of the most cruel and savage of the barbarous nations, they only being fit instruments for such bloody and abominable work.^p After he had thus, in a wild and mad fury, cut off the best men in his kingdom, he withdrew from the public view, appearing no more abroad among the people, nor was he any more seen at home, entertaining himself either in banquets, or public repasts, but putting on a sordid apparel, and letting his beard grow to a great length, without trimming it, behaved himself in the same manner as those used to do who were under arraignment for some great crime, acting hereby as if he had acknowledged himself guilty of all the villany he had done.^q

And, going on after this rate into other extravagancies, he neglected all the affairs of the government, and betook himself to his garden, there digging the ground himself, and sowing it with all manner of poisonous and unwholesome herbs, as well as with those that were wholesome, he infected the wholesome with the juices of the poisonous, and then sent them as especial presents to his friends.^r And thus he wore out in the wild and cruel extravagancies the remainder of his reign; the best recommendation of which was, that it was very short; for it ended after five years' time in his death, which then happened in the manner as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

Antiochus Sidetes, after having vanquished Tryphon, and wholly broken and brought under all that were of his party, did next^s betake himself to recover to the Syrian empire, all such cities and places as had taken the advantage of the late distractions that followed upon his father's death, to revolt from it. And, having gained full success herein, he settled all things within the kingdom of Syria again, upon the same bottom on which they were before these distractions begun.

An. 137.
Simon 7.

^o Justin. lib. 36, c. 4. Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 370.

^p Diodor. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 370.

^q Justin. lib. 36, c. 4.

^r Justin. *ibid.* Plutarchus in Demetrio, where the English translator, taking upon him very unskillfully to mend the Greek original, hath put Ptolemy Philometor instead of Attalus Philometor.

^s Justin. lib. 36, c. 1

But in Egypt all things went worse and worse. For, ^{An. 136.} whether it were that Hierax was dead, or else, that ^{Simon 8.} the madness of the prince overbore all the wisdom and prudence of the chief minister, we hear nothing of him from this time, but his barbarous cruelties, and monstrous mismanagements in all his conduct.^t Most of those who were the forwardest to call him to the crown on his brother's decease, and after that to support him in it, he causelessly put to death.^u Most of those who had the favour of Philometor his brother, or had been employed in his service, he either slew, or drove into banishment; and, by his foreign mercenaries, whom he let loose to commit all manner of murders and rapines as they pleased, he oppressed and terrified the Alexandrians to so great a degree, that most of them fled into other countries to avoid his cruelty, and left their city in a manner desolate. That therefore he might not reign over empty houses without inhabitant, he, by his proclamations dispersed over the neighbouring countries, invited all strangers to come thither to repopulate the place. Whereon great multitudes flocking thither, he gave them the habitations of those that were fled; and, admitting them to all the rights, privileges, and immunities, of the former citizens, he, by this means, again replenished the city.

There being, among those that fled out of Egypt on this occasion, many grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters and professors of ingenious arts and sciences, this banishment of theirs became the means of reviving learning again in Greece, Lesser Asia, and the isles, and in all other places where they went.^x The wars which followed after the death of Alexander, among those that succeeded him, had, in a manner, extinguished learning in all those parts; and it would have gone nigh to have been utterly lost amidst the calamities of those times, but that it found a support under the patronage of the Ptolemies at Alexandria. For the first Ptolemy having there erected a museum or college, for the maintenance and encouragement of learned men, and also a great library for their use (of both which I have already spoken,) this drew most of the learned men of Greece thither. And, the second and third Ptolemy having followed herein the same steps of their predecessor, Alexandria became the place where the liberal arts and sciences, and all other parts of learning, were preserved, and flourished in those ages, when they were almost dropped

^t Athenæus tells us, that Physcon did put Hierax to death, lib. 6, p. 252 but the time of his death is not said.

^u Justin. lib. 38, c. 8. Athenæus, lib. 4, p. 164.

^x Athenæus, lib. 4, p. 164.

every where else ; and most of its inhabitants were bred up in the knowledge of some or other of them. And hereby it came to pass, that, when they were driven into foreign parts, by the cruelty and oppression of the wicked tyrant I have mentioned, being qualified to gain themselves a maintenance by teaching, each in the places where they came, the particular professions they were skilled in ; they accordingly betook themselves hereto, and erected schools for this purpose in all the countries above mentioned, through which they were dispersed ; and they being, by reason of their poverty, content to teach for a small hire, this drew great numbers of scholars to them, and by this means, all the several branches of learning became again revived in those eastern parts, in the same manner as they were in these latter ages in the western, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. For, till then, most of the learning of the West was in school-divinity, and the canon-law ; and, although the former of these was built more upon Aristotle than the holy Scriptures, yet they had nothing of Aristotle in those days, but in a translation at the third hand. The Saracens had translated the works of that philosopher into Arabic, and from thence those Christians of the Latin church, who learned philosophy from the Saracens in Spain, translated them into Latin. And this was the only text of that author, on which, during the reign of the schoolmen, all their comments on him were made. And yet upon no better a foundation are some of those decisions in divinity built, which the Romanists hold as infallible, than what they have thus borrowed from an heathen philosopher, handed to them in a translation made by the disciples of Mahomet. But, when Constantinople was taken by the king of the Turks, in the year of our Lord 1453, and the learned men who dwelt there, and in other parts of Greece, fearing the cruelty and the barbarity of the Turks, fled into Italy, they brought thither with them their books and their learning ; and there, first under the patronage of the princes of that country (especially of Lorenzo de Medicis, the first founder of the greatness of his family,) propagated both. And this gave the rise to all that learning in these western parts, which hath ever since grown and flourished in them.

At the same time that foreigners were flocking to Alexandria for the repeopling of that city,^y there came thither Publius Scipio Africanus, jun., Spurius Mummius, and L. Metellus, in an embassy from the Romans. It was the usage of that people, often to send out embassies to inspect the affairs of their allies, and to make up and compose what dif-

^y Justin. lib. 28, c. 8. Cicero in Somnio Scipionis, c. 2. Athenæus, lib. 6, p. 273, et lib. 12, p. 549. Valerius Maximus, lib. 4, c. 3, sec. 13. Diod. Sic. legat. 32.

ferences they should find among them ; and for this purpose, this famous embassy, consisting of three of the most eminent men of Rome, was at this time sent from thence. Their commission was to pass through Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece, to see and observe how the affairs of each kingdom and state in those countries stood, and to take an account how the leagues they had made with the Romans were kept and observed ; and to set all things at rights, that they should find any where amiss among them. And this trust they every where discharged so honourably and justly, and so much to the benefit and advantage of those they were sent to, in regulating their disorders, and adjusting all differences which they found among them ; that they were no sooner returned to Rome, but ambassadors followed them from all places where they had been, to thank the senate for sending such honourable persons to them, and for the great benefits they had received from them.^z The first place which they came to in the discharge of their commission being Alexandria in Egypt, they were there received by the king in great state. But they made their entrance thither with so little, that Scipio, who was then the greatest man in Rome, had no more than one friend, Panætius the philosopher, and five servants in his retinue.^a And, although they were, during their stay there, entertained with all the varieties of the most sumptuous fare, yet they would touch nothing more of it than what was useful, in the most temperate manner, for the necessary support of nature, despising all the rest, as that which corrupted the mind as well as the body, and bred vicious humours in both.^b Such was the moderation and temperance of the Romans at this time, and hereby it was that they at length advanced their state to so great an height ; and in this height would they have still continued could they still have retained the same virtues. But, when their prosperity, and the great wealth obtained thereby, became the occasion that they degenerated into luxury and corruption of manners, they drew decay and ruin as fast upon them as they had before victory and prosperity, till at length they were undone by it. So that the poet said justly of them,

—Savior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

Luxury came on more cruel than our arms,
And did revenge the vanquish'd world with its charms.
Juv. Sat. 6, ver. 29.

When the ambassadors had taken a full view of Alexandria, and the state of affairs in that city,^c they sailed up the Nile to

^z Diodorus Siculus, legat. 32.

^b Diodorus Siculus, *ibid.*

^a Athenæus, lib. 6. p. 273.

^c Diodorus Siculus, legat. 32

see Memphis and other parts of Egypt; whereby having thoroughly informed themselves of the great number of cities, and the vast multitude of inhabitants that were in that country, and also of the strength of its situation, the fertility of its soil, and the many other excellencies and advantages of it, they observed it to be a country that wanted nothing for its being made a very potent and formidable kingdom, but a prince of capacity and application sufficient to form it thereto.^d And therefore, no doubt, it was to their great satisfaction that they found the present king thoroughly destitute of every qualification that was necessary for such an undertaking. For nothing could appear more despicable, than he did to them in every interview they had with him.^e Of his cruelty, barbarity, luxury, and other vile and vicious dispositions, which he was addicted to, I have in part already spoken, and there will be occasions hereafter to give more instances of them. And the deformities of his body were no less than those of his soul. For he was of a most deformed countenance, of a short stature, and such a monstrous and prominent belly therewith, as no man was able to encompass with both his arms; so that, by reason of this load of flesh, acquired by his luxury, he was so unwieldy, that he never stepped abroad without a staff to lean on.^f And over this vile carcass he wore a garment, so thin and transparent, that there were seen through it, not only all the deformities of his body, but also those parts which it is one of the main ends of garments modestly to cover and conceal. From this deformed monster the ambassadors passed over to Cyprus, and from thence proceeded to execute their commission in all the other countries to which they were sent.

In the month of Shebat (which was in the latter end of the Jewish year, and in the beginning of the Julian.) Simon, making a progress through the cities of Judah, to take care for the well ordering of all things in them, came to Jericho, having then two of his sons, Judas and Mattathias, there in company with him, Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, who had married one of his daughters, being governor of the place under him, invited him to the castle which he had built in the neighbourhood, to partake of an entertainment he had there provided for them.^h Simon and his sons, suspecting no evil from so near a relation, accepted of the invitation, and went thither. But the perfidious wretch, having laid a design for the usurping of the government of Judea to himself, and concerted the matter with

Anno 135.
John Hyr.
canns 1.

^d Egypt, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, had in it thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine cities. Theocrit. Idyl. 17.

^e Justin. lib. 38, c. 8.

^f Athenæus, lib. 12, p. 549

^h 1 Maccab. xvi 14—22. Joseph. lib. 13, c. 14.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, for the accomplishing of it, wickedly plotted the destruction of Simon and his sons ; and therefore having hid men in the castle, where the entertainment was made, when his guests had well drunk, he brought forth these murderers upon them, and assassinated them all three, while they were sitting at his banquet, and all those that attended upon them ; and, thinking immediately hereupon to make himself master of the whole land, sent a party to Gazara, where John resided, to slay him also ; and wrote letters to the commanders of the army that had their station in those parts, to come over to him, proffering them gold and silver, and other rewards, to draw them into his designs. But John, having received notice of what had been done at Jericho, before this party could reach Gazara, he was there provided for them ; and therefore fell on them, and cut them all off, as soon as they approached the place ; and then, hastening to Jerusalem, secured that city, and the mountain of the temple, against those whom the traitor had sent to seize both. And, being hereupon declared high-priest and prince of the Jews, in the place of his father Simon, he took care every where to provide for the security of the country, and the peace of all those that dwelt in it. Whereon Ptolemy, being defeated of all those plots which he had laid for the compassing of his designs, had nothing now left to do, but to send to Antiochus to come with an army for the accomplishing of them by open force ; without which being no longer able to support himself against John in Judea, he fled to Zeno, surnamed Cotyla, who was then tyrant of Philadelphia, and there waited till Antiochus should arrive. What became of him afterward is uncertain. For, although Antiochus came at his call into Judea, and a bitter war thereon ensued, yet, after his flight to Zeno, no more mention is made of him. Although the treason might be acceptable enough to that king, because of the fair prospect that was given him by the advantage of it, again to recover Judea to his crown, yet he could not but abhor such an execrable traitor, and perchance dealt with him according to what his wickedness deserved. But here ending the history of the Maccabees, as contained in the apocryphal books of Scripture known by that name, I shall here also end this fourth book of my present work.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

TO THE FOREGOING HISTORY.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	
3967	747	12	1	1	THE beginning of the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon.
3	746	13	2	2	
9	745	14	3	3	
3970	744	15	4	4	Rezin king of Damascus, and Pekah king of Israel, make war against Ahaz, and besiege Jerusalem, but without success.
1	743	16	5	5	
6	742	1	6	6	
3	741	2	7	7	Ahaz vanquished, and Judah greatly oppressed by Rezin and Pekah.
4	740	3	8	8	Ahaz calls in Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, to his help, who slays Rezin, and leads part of Israel into captivity.
5	739	4	9	9	Ahaz revolts from God, and wholly suppresseth his worship in Judah. Pekah slain by Hoshea.
6	738	5	10	10	
7	737	6	11	11	
8	736	7	12	12	
9	735	8	13	13	
3980	734	9	14	14	
1	733	10	1	15	
2	732	11	2	16	
3	731	12	1	17	
4	730	13	2	18	Tiglath Pileser dies, and is succeeded by Salmaneser.
5	729	14	3	19	
6	728	15	4	1	
7	727	16	5	2	Ahaz dies, and is succeeded by Hezekiah. Sabacon or So, the Ethiopian, made king of Egypt.
8	726	2	1	3	Hezekiah restores the true worship of God in Judah and Jerusalem.
9	725	3	2	4	
3990	724	4	3	5	
1	723	5	4	6	Salmaneser lays siege to Samaria.
2	722	6	5	7	
3	721	7	1	8	
4	720	8	2	9	Salmaneser took Samaria, and extinguished the kingdom of Israel. Tobit led into captivity, at the end of the sixth Jewish year of the reign of Hezekiah.
					Salmaneser maketh war upon Tyre, and besiegeth it five years

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Egypt.	Events
3995	719	9	3	10	1	Sevechus succeedeth So in the kingdom of Egypt.
6	718	10	4	11	2	
7	717	11	5	12	3	
8	716	12	6	13	4	
9	715	13	7	14	5	Salmaneser dieth, and is succeeded by Sennacherib.
4000	714	14	8	1	6	Sennacherib invadeth Judea. Hezekiah's sickness.
1	713	15	9	2	7	Merodach Baladan's embassy to Hezekiah. Sennacherib invadeth Egypt.
2	712	16	10	3	8	
3	711	17	11	4	9	
4	710	18	12	5	10	Sennacherib, on his return from Egypt, invadeth Judea, and loseth all his army, it being smitten by the hand of God.
5	709	19	1	6	11	The Medes revolt from Sennacherib, and make Deioeces king.
6	708	20	2	7	12	
7	707	21	3	8	13	
8	706	22	4	9	14	Sennacherib being slain, is succeeded by Esarhaddon his son.
9	705	23	5	10	1	Tirhakah succeedeth Sevechus in the kingdom of Egypt.
4010	704	24	6	11	2	
11	703	25	7	12	3	
12	702	26	8	13	4	
13	701	27	9	14	5	
14	700	28	10	1	6	
15	699	29	11	2	7	
16	698	30	12	3	8	Hezekiah being dead, is succeeded by Manasseh his son.
17	697	31	13	4	9	
18	696	32	14	5	10	
19	695	33	15	6	11	
4020	694	34	16	7	12	
1	693	35	17	8	13	
2	692	36	18	9	14	
3	691	37	19	10	15	
4	690	38	20	11	16	
5	689	39	21	12	17	
6	688	40	22	13	18	
7	687	41	23	14	19	
8	686	42	24	15	20	
						On the death of Tirhakah, ended the reign of the Ethiopian kings : Egypt, and an interregnum of two years succeeded.

Juban Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Assyria.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
4029	685	14	4	22	1	25	Twelve princes seize the kingdom of Egypt, and govern it by a joint confederacy fifteen years.
4030	684	15	5	23	2	26	
1	683	16	6	24	3	27	
2	682	17	7	25	4	28	
3	681	18	8	26	5	29	
4	680	19	1	27	6	30	Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, is made king of Babylon.
5	679	20	2	28	7	31	
6	678	21	3	29	8	32	Esarhaddon invadeth Palestine; planteth a colony of foreigners in Samaria; takes Manasseh prisoner, and carries him in chains to Babylon.
7	677	22	4	30	9	33	
8	676	23	5	31	10	34	Manasseh is restored, and the Cutheans in Samaria are infested with lions.
9	675	24	6	32	11	35	
4040	674	25	7	33	12	36	
1	673	26	8	34	13	37	
2	672	27	9	35	14	38	
3	671	28	10	36	15	39	
4	670	29	11		1	40	Psammitichus, one of the twelve confederated princes of Egypt, having destroyed the rest, seizeth the whole kingdom to himself.
5	669	30	15		2	41	
6	668	31	13		3	42	
7	667	32	1		4	43	Esarhaddon being dead, is succeeded by Saosduchimus in the Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms.
8	666	33	2		5	44	
9	665	34	3		6	45	
4050	664	35	4		7	46	
1	663	36	5		8	47	
2	662	37	6		9	48	
3	661	38	7		10	49	
4	660	39	8		11	50	
5	659	40	9		12	51	
6	658	41	10		13	52	
7	657	42	11		14	53	Deioces is killed in battle by the king of Babylon and Assyria.
8	656	43	12		15	1	Phraortes his son succeeds him.
9	655	44	13		16	2	Holofernes invadeth Judea, and is slain by Judith.
4060	654	45	14		17	3	
1	653	46	15		18	4	
2	652	47	16		19	5	
3	651	48	17		20	6	
4	650	49	18		21	7	
5	649	50	19		22	8	
6	648	51	20		23	9	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	
4067	647	52	1	24	10	
8	646	53	2	25	11	
9	645	54	3	26	12	
4070	644	55	4	27	13	
1	643	1	5	28	14	Manasseh being dead, is succeeded by Ammon, his son.
2	642	2	6	29	15	
3	641	3	7	30	16	Ammon is murdered by his servants.
4	640	1	8	31	17	He is succeeded by Josiah his son.
5	639	2	9	32	18	
6	638	3	10	33	19	
7	637	4	11	34	20	
8	636	5	12	35	21	
9	635	6	13	36	22	Phraortes besieging Nineveh, is there slain.
4080	634	7	14	37	1	Cyaxares, his son, succeeds him.
1	633	8	15	38	2	Josiah's first reformation of religion in Judea. The Scythians invade the Upper Asia.
2	632	9	16	39	3	
3	631	10	17	40	4	
4	630	11	18	41	5	
5	629	12	19	42	6	Josiah's second reformation of religion in Judea.
6	628	13	20	43	7	Jeremiah first called to the prophetic office.
7	627	14	21	44	8	
8	626	15	22	45	9	
9	625	16	1	46	10	Nabopolassar rebels against the king of Assyria, and makes himself king of Babylon.
4090	624	17	2	47	11	
1	623	18	3	48	12	Josiah's third reformation of religion in Judea.
2	622	19	4	49	13	
3	621	20	5	50	14	
4	620	21	6	51	15	
5	619	22	7	52	16	
6	618	23	8	53	17	
7	617	24	9	54	18	Psammitichus, king of Egypt, dies.
8	616	25	10	1	19	Is succeeded by Necus, his son, called Pharaoh Necho in the Holy Scriptures.
9	615	26	11	2	20	
4100	614	27	12	3	21	
1	613	28	13	4	22	
2	612	29	14	5	23	Nineveh destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians.
3	611	30	15	6	24	
4	610	31	16	7	25	Josiah slain in battle by Necho, king of Egypt.
5	609	1	17	8	26	First Jehoahaz, and after him Jehoiakim, succeeds in his stead.
6	608	2	18	9	28	
7	607	3	19	10		

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	The Captivity of Judah.	
4108	606	41	20	11	29	1	Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem: from whence begin the seventy years captivity of the Jews.
9	605	52	21	12	30	2	Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, dies, and is succeeded by Nebuchadnezzar, his son.
4110	604	63	1	13	31	3	
11	603	74	2	14	32	4	Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Jehoiakim rebels against Nebuchadnezzar.
12	602	85	3	15	33	5	
13	601	96	4	16	34	6	
14	600	107	5	1	35	7	Darius the Median born.
15	599	118	6	2	36	8	Cyrus born. Jehoiakim slain.
16	598	19	7	3	37	9	1 Jeconiah carried into captivity, and Zedekiah made king in his stead.
17	597	210	8	4	38	10	
18	596	311	9	5	39	11	
19	595	412	10	6	40	12	4 Ezekiel called to the prophetic office. Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt.
4120	594	513	11	1	1	13	5
1	593	614	12	2	2	14	6
2	592	715	13	3	3	15	7 Zedekiah confederates with Pharaoh Hophra,
3	591	816	14	4	4	16	8 And rebels against Nebuchadnezzar.
4	590	917	15	5	5	17	9 Nebuchadnezzar besiegeth Jerusalem.
5	589	1018	16	6	6	18	10 Forceth Pharaoh Hophra to retreat, who came to relieve it.
6	588	1119	17	7	7	19	11 Takes the city, and utterly destroys it, with the temple.
7	587	20	18	8	8	20	12 Returns to Babylon, and erects the golden image in the plains of Dura.
8	586	21	19	9	9	21	13 Comes again into Palestine, and
9	585	22	20	10	10	22	14 besiegeth Tyre thirteen years.
4130	584	23	21	11	11	23	15 The remainder of the Jews and Israelites carried away by Nebuzaradan.
1	583	24	22	12	12	24	16
2	582	25	23	13	13	25	17
3	581	26	24	14	14	26	18
4	580	27	25	15	15	27	19
5	579	28	26	16	16	28	20
6	578	29	27	17	17	29	21
7	577	30	28	18	18	30	22
8	576	31	29	19	19	31	23
9	575	32	30	20	20	32	24
4140	574	33	31	21	21	33	25 The Egyptians revolt from Pharaoh Hophra.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Captivity of Judah.	Captivity of Jeconiah.	
4141	573	34. 32	22	22	34	26	Tyre taken, and Egypt invaded, by Nebuchadnezzar.
2	572	35. 33	23	23	35	27	He ravageth Egypt,
3	571	36. 34	24	24	36	28	Appoints Amasis king, and returns to Babylon.
4	570	37. 35	25	25	37	29	Pharaoh Hophra slain by Amasis.
5	569	38. 36	1	26	38	30	Nebuchadnezzar distracted.
6	568	39. 37	2	27	39	31	
7	567	40. 38	3	28	40	32	
8	566	41. 39	4	29	41	33	
9	565	42. 40	5	30	42	34	
4150	564	43. 41	6	31	43	35	
1	563	44. 42	7	32	44	36	Nebuchadnezzar restored to his senses.
2	562	45. 43	8	33	45	37	Dies in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity.
3	561	1	9	34	46		Jehoiachin released and advanced.
4	560	2	10	35	47		Evilmerodach slain by a conspiracy against him, and Astyages dies in Media.
5	559	1	11	1	48		Neriglissar succeeds in Babylon, and Cyaxares (the Darius Medus of the Scriptures) in Media. Cyrus comes to the aid of the Medes against the Babylonians.
6	558	2	12	2	49		Great preparations made by the Medes and Babylonians for war against each other.
7	557	3	13	3	50		Cyrus, being general of the Medes and Persians under Cyaxares, slays Neriglissar in battle. Laborosoarchod succeeds, and is slain.
8	556	4	14	4	51		Nabonadius (the Belshazzar of the Scripture) succeeds Laborosoarchod.
9	555	1	15	5	52		
4160	554	2	16	6	53		Daniel saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, chap. viii.
1	553	3	17	7	54		Belshazzar goes into Lesser Asia, and there hires a great army against Cyrus, of which Cræsus takes the command.
2	552	4	18	8	55		Cyrus sends a spy into Cræsus's army, by whom he hath intelligence of all there done.
3	551	5	19	9	56		Cyrus vanquisheth Cræsus at the river Halys, pursues him to Sardis, and takes the city, and Cræsus in it.
4	550	6	20	10	57		Cyrus brings all the Lesser Asia under his dominion.
5	549	7	21	11	58		
6	548	8	22	12	59		
7	547	9	23	13	60		
8	546	10	24	14	61		
9	545	11	25	15	62		
4170	544	12	26	16	63		Cyrus, having settled all affairs in the Lesser Asia, subdues Syria. Palestine, and Arabia.
1	543	13	27	17	64		

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Babylon.	Kings of Egypt.	Kings of Media.	Captivity of Judah.	High Priests of Judah.	
4172	542	14	28	18	65		Cyrus marcheth into Upper Asia, and reduceth all there under his obedience.
3	541	15	29	19	66		Cyrus returns into Syria, and lays siege to Babylon.
4	540	16	30	20	67		Takes Babylon, and slays Belshazzar.
5	539	17	31	21	68		Cyrus placeth his uncle Darius on the throne at Babylon, and makes an expedition into Syria.
6	538	1	32	22	69		Darius dies at Babylon, and Cyrus succeeds in the whole empire.
7	537	2	33		70		
				After the Captivity.			
8	536	1	34	1	1	Jeshua.	Cyrus restores the Jews, and puts an end to their captivity, after seventy years.
9	535	2	35	2	2		The Jews return to Jerusalem, and begin to rebuild the city and temple.
4180	534	3	36	3	3		The Samaritans obstruct them in it.
1	533	4	37	4	4		The Samaritans corrupt the officers of Cyrus to discourage the work.
2	532	5	38	5	5		
3	531	6	39	6	6		
4	530	7	40	7	7		Cyrus dies, being seventy years old.
		Kings of Persia.					
5	529	1	41	8	8		Cambyses, his son, succeeds in the empire.
6	528	2	42	9	9		
7	527	3	43	10	10		He invadeth Egypt.
8	526	4	44	11	11		Vanquisheth Psamminitus, who newly succeeded Amasis, his father, in the kingdom, and conquereth the whole kingdom.
9	525	5	1	12	12		
4190	524	6		13	13		Makes an expedition against the Ethiopians, and returns with loss.
1	523	7		14	14		Slays the Egyptian god Apis, and commits many outrages among them.
2	522	8		15	15		Returns into Syria, and there dies. The Magians seize the kingdom.
3	521	1		16	16		The Magians slain, and Darius Hystaspes chosen king.
4	520	2		17	17		The rebuilding of the temple resumed by the Jews.
5	519	3		18	18		The Samaritans again disturb them, till a decree was obtained for the going on with the work.
6	518	4		19	19		Which decree is brought to Jerusalem, and there executed.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4197	517	5	20	20	The Babylonians revolting from Darius, are be- sieged by him.
8	516	6	21	21	Babylon taken by Darius, after a siege of twenty months.
9	515	7	22	22	The temple rebuilt and dedicated.
4200	514	8	23	23	The Jews obtain sentence from Darius against the Samaritans about the tribute of Samaria.
1	513	9	24	24	Darius passeth the Bosphorus and the Danube; to make war against the Scythians, and returns with the loss of half his army.
2	512	10	25	25	Subdues Thrace, and returns to Susa.
3	511	11	26	26	
4	510	12	27	27	The Scythians ravage Thrace, and drive Miltiades out of the Chersonesus.
5	509	13	28	28	Darius sends Scylax with a fleet down the Indus; to discover India.
6	508	14	29	29	
7	507	15	30	30	Scylax returns by the way of the ocean and the Red Sea, and gives Darius an account of his discoveries.
8	506	16	31	31	Darius invades and conquers India.
9	505	17	32	32	
4210	504	18	33	33	
11	503	19	34	34	The Persians, under the command of Aristagoras of Miletus, make an attempt upon Naxos, and miscarry in it. Tyre restored.
12	502	20	35	35	Aristagoras and the Ionians revolt from Darius.
13	501	21	36	36	The Athenians enter into a confederacy with the Ionians against Darius.
14	500	22	37	37	They burn Sardis, which gave the first rise to the Persian war against the Greeks.
15	499	23	38	38	The Persians prevail against the Ionians. Arista- goras flees into Thrace. Hestæus Milesius re- turns into Ionia, and joins the revolters.
16	498	24	39	39	Aristagoras slain in Thrace.
17	497	25	40	40	Miletus taken, the Ionians reduced, and an end put to that war.
18	496	26	41	41	Hestæus taken by the Persians, and crucified.
19	495	27	42	42	The Persians reduce the Hellespont and Thracian Chersonesus, and force Miltiades to flee to Athens.
4220	494	28	43	43	Mardonius being sent by Darius to make war against the Greeks, miscarries in the expedition, and returns with great loss.
1	493	29	44	44	Darius sends heralds to demand earth and water of the Greeks.
2	492	30	45	45	Two other generals sent against the Greeks in the place of Mardonius. Zoroastres appears at the Persian court.
3	491	31	46	46	The Persians invade Attica, and are defeated at Marathon.
4	490	32	47	47	Darius makes great preparations to invade Greece
5	489	33	48	48	in person.
6	488	34	49	49	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4227	437	35	50	50	The Egyptians revolt from Darius.
8	436	36	51	51	Darius declares Xerxes his successor, and dies.
9	435	1	52	52	Xerxes confirms to the Jews all their privileges.
4230	434	2	53	53	Reduceth Egypt.
1	433	3	54	1	Resolves on a war with the Greeks, and makes great preparations for it.
2	432	4	55	2	Enters into a league with the Carthaginians against the Greeks.
3	431	5	56	3	Comes with a prodigious army to Sardis, and there winters.
4	430	6	57	4	Passeth the Hellespont, marcheth into Greece, loseth the battle of Salamis, and returns with disgrace to Sardis. The Carthaginians vanquished in Sicily by Gelo.
5	429	7	58	5	The Persians vanquished at Platea and Mycale on the same day.
6	428	8	59	6	Xerxes destroys the temple of Bel at Babylon.
7	427	9	60	7	Pausanias and Aristides pursue the war against the Persians.
8	426	10	61	8	Pausanias, suspected of treason by the Lacedemonians, is recalled.
9	425	11	62	9	Still carries on the treason for the betraying of Greece to Xerxes.
4240	424	12	63	10	Is tried for it, and acquitted for want of full evidence.
1	423	13	64	11	Full discovery being made of his treason, he is put to death for it.
2	422	14	65	12	Themistocles being accused by the Lacedemonians of the same treason, is acquitted of it at Athens.
3	421	15	66	13	Themistocles being banished Athens for ten years, is again accused of the same treason by the Lacedemonians, before the states of Greece, and thereby forced to fly into Persia.
4	420	16	67	14	Cimon, general of the Athenians, gains two victories over the Persians, near the river Eurymedon, on the same day, the first by sea, and the second by land.
5	419	17	68	15	He makes many other conquests for the Athenians on the Hellespont, and elsewhere.
6	418	18	69	16	Xerxes, discouraged by so many defeats, gives over the Grecian war.
7	417	19	70	17	
8	416	20	71	18	
9	415	21	72	19	Xerxes slain by the treason of Artabanus.
4250	414	1	73	20	Artaxerxes (the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther) succeeds, and slays Artabanus.
1	413	2	74	21	Conquers his brother Hystaspes, and thereby becomes thoroughly settled in the throne.
2	412	3	75	22	Hereon he makes a great feast for all his nobles, and divorceth Vashti his queen.
3	411	4	76	23	A collection of virgins made for the king, of which Esther was one.
4	410	5	77	24	Esther pleaseth the king, and becomes his concubine. The Egyptians revolt, and make Inarus their king.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah	
4255	459	6	78	25	Achemenides, brother of the king, being sent against the Egyptians, is vanquished and slain, and the remainder of his army besieged in Memphis.
	6 458	7	79	26	Ezra sent to be governor of Judea. Esther is made queen.
	7 457	8	80	27	Ezra separated the Jews from their strange wives. Mordecai discovers the treason of Bigtham and Teresh.
	8 456	9	81	28	Artabazus and Megabyzus raise the siege of Memphis, defeat Inarus, and besiege him and his Athenian auxiliaries in the island of Prosopitis.
9 455		10	82	29	
4260	454	11	83	30	They force Prosopitis, take Inarus prisoner, drive the Athenians out of Egypt, and again reduce all that country under the Persian king.
	1 453	12	84	1	Haman plotteth the destruction of the Jews.
	2 452	13	85	2	Haman's plot defeated in his own destruction, and the feast of Purim instituted in remembrance of it.
	3 451	14	86	3	
	4 450	15	87	4	Cimon sent by the Athenians to Cyprus with a great fleet;
	5 449	16	88	5	Where he beats the Persians both by sea and land, and then dies at Citium. Artaxerxes makes peace with the Athenians.
	6 448	17	89	6	Inarus crucified, and Megabyzus rebels.
	7 447	18	90	7	Defeats the first army sent against him.
	8 446	19	91	8	Defeats the second army sent against him, and is reconciled to the king.
	9 445	20	92	9	Nehemiah sent governor to Judea, and rebuilds the walls of Jerusalem. Megabyzus banished to Cyrtæ on the Red Sea.
4270	444	21	93	10	Nehemiah repeoples Jerusalem, and proceeds to reform church and state in Judah. Ezra publisheth his edition of the Hebrew Scriptures.
	1 443	22	94	11	
	2 442	23	95	12	
	3 441	24	96	13	
	4 440	25	97	14	Megabyzus returns to the Persian court.
	5 439	26	98	15	
	6 438	27	99	16	
	7 437	28	100	17	
	8 436	29	101	18	
	9 435	30	102	19	
4280	434	31	103	20	
	1 433	32	104	21	Nehemiah goes from Jerusalem to the Persian court.
	2 432	33	105	22	Metu began his cycle.
	3 431	34	106	23	The Peloponnesian war began. A great plague broke out in the East.
	4 430	35	107	24	It came to Athens, and grievously afflicted that city.
	5 429	36	108	25	About this time flourished Malachi the prophet.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4286	428	37	109	26	Nehemiah comes again to Jerusalem with a new commission. Plato the philosopher born.
7	427	38	110	27	Nehemiah goes on farther to reform the Jewish church and state.
8	426	39	111	28	The plague again broke out at Athens, which
9	425	40	112	29	produced a law there for polygamy.
4290	424	41	113	30	Artaxerxes dying, Xerxes his son succeeds. He is slain by Sogdianus, and Sogdianus by Ochus, who with the crown assumes the name of Darius.
1	423	Darius Nothus. 1	114	31	Darius (commonly called Darius Nothus,) begins his reign.
2	422	2	115	32	Vanquisheth Arsites, his brother. and puts him to death.
3	421	3	116	33	
4	420	4	117	34	
5	419	5	118	35	
6	418	6	119	36	
7	417	7	120	37	
8	416	8	121	38	
9	415	9	122	39	
4300	414	10	123	40	Pisusthnes rebels against Darius in Lesser Asia, and is vanquished, and put to death by Tissaphernes, one of Darius' lieutenants.
1	413	11	124	1	The Egyptians revolt from Darius, and make Amyrteus their king.
2	412	12	125	2	Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus governors of Lesser Asia for Darius.
3	411	13	126	3	
4	410	14	127	4	
5	409	15	128	5	The last act of reformation by Nehemiah, forty-nine years after it had been begun by Ezra, where end the first seven weeks of Daniel's prophecy.
6	408	16	129	6	The temple on Mount Gerizim begun to be built by Manasseh.
7	407	17	130	7	Cyrus, the younger son of Darius, sent to govern in Lesser Asia.
8	406	18	131	8	
9	405	19	132	9	Cyrus recalled to the Persian court. Darius dies, and Artaxerxes Mnemon succeeds him.
4310	404	Artaxerxes Mnemon. 1	133	10	Athens taken, and the Peloponnesian war ended. Cyrus sent back again to his government in Lesser Asia.
11	403	2	134	11	He designeth war against his brother, and
12	402	3	135	12	lists forces for this purpose.
13	401	4	136	13	He marcheth towards Babylon, is vanquished in battle, and slain.
14	400	5	137	14	Thimbros sent by the Lacedemonians into Lesser Asia to make war against the Persians. Xenophon brings home the Greeks that followed Cyrus, and joins him.
15	399	6	138	15	Dercyllidas succeeds Thimbros. Socrates put to death by the Athenians.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.	
4316	393	7	139	16	4	Dercyllidas vigorously carries on the war against the Persians.
17	397	8	140	17	5	
18	396	9	141	18	6	Agésilæus passeth into Asia, to carry on the war there against the Persians.
19	395	10	142	19	1	Vanquisheth Tissaphernes, who is thereon put to death by Artaxerxes.
4320	394	11	143	20	2	Agésilæus called home to defend his country against a confederacy of the Greeks against them. Conon wins the victory of Cnidus.
1	393	12	144	21	3	Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens, and again restores that city.
2	392	13	145	22	4	The Lacedæmonians renew the war in Asia against the Persians, but without success.
3	391	14	146	23	5	Artaxerxes makes great preparations for war against Cyprus.
4	390	15	147	24	6	
5	389	16	148	25	1	
6	388	17	149	26	2	The Athenians send Chabrias to the assistance of Euagoras, king of Cyprus, who reduceth the whole island to him.
7	387	18	150	27	3	The peace of Antalcidas made between the Lacedæmonians and the Persians.
8	386	19	151	28	4	The Persians invade Cyprus with three hundred thousand men,
9	385	20	152	29	5	And make an absolute conquest of that island.
4330	384	21	153	30	6	Artaxerxes invades the Cadusians with ill success. Aristotle born.
1	383	22	154	31	7	
2	382	23	155	32	8	
3	381	24	156	33	9	
4	380	25	157	34	10	
5	379	26	158	35	11	
6	378	27	159	36	12	
7	377	28	160	37	13	Artaxerxes resolves on a war to reduce Egypt.
8	376	29	161	38	1	Pharnabazus appointed general for this war.
9	375	30	162	39	1	He makes great preparations for it.
4340	374	31	163	40	2	Invades Egypt, and is forced to return with ill success.
1	373	32	164	1	3	
2	372	33	165	2	4	
3	371	34	166	3	5	The Lacedæmonians beaten at Leuctra by the Thebans.
4	370	35	167	4	6	
5	369	36	168	5	7	
6	368	37	169	6	8	
7	367	38	170	7	9	

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	Kings of Egypt.		
4348	366	39	171	8	10	Johanan, high-priest of the Jews, kills his brother Jeshua in the temple, for which the Persian governor lays a mulct upon the Jews for seven years.	
	9	365	40	172	9	11	
4350	364	41	173	10	12		
1	363	42	174	11	Tachus.	1	The battle of Mantinea between the Lacedæmonians and the Thebans, in which the former lose the victory, and the latter their general Epaminondas.
	2	362	43	175	12	2	Agésilæus goes into Egypt with an army, to assist Tachus.
	3	361	44	176	13	1	He deserts Tachus, and makes Nectanebus king.
	4	360	45	177	14	2	He vanquisheth the enemies of Nectanebus.
	5	359	46	178	15	3	And fully settles him in the kingdom of Egypt. Artaxerxes dies.
	6	358	1	179	16	4	Agésilæus returns homeward, and dies in the way on the coast of Africa. Great revolts in the Persian empire on the succession of Ochus.
	7	357	2	180	17	6	
	8	356	3	181	18	5	Alexander the Great born at Pella in Macedonia.
	9	355	4	182	19	7	
4360	354	5	183	20	8		
1	353	6	184	21	9		
2	352	7	185	22	10		
3	351	8	186	23	11		The Cyprians and Phœnicians revolting from Ochus, are again reduced. Sidon taken and destroyed by Ochus.
	4	350	9	187	24	12	Ochus invades Egypt, expels Nectanebus, and reduceth the whole country.
	5	349	10	188	25		Mentor made governor of Lesser Asia. Memnon his brother enters into the Persian service.
	6	348	11	189	26		Plato the philosopher dies.
	7	347	12	190	27		
	8	346	13	191	28		
	9	345	14	192	29		
4370	344	15	193	30			
1	343	16	194	31			
2	342	17	195	32			
3	341	18	196	1	Jadna.		
4	340	19	197	2			
5	339	20	198	3			
6	338	21	199	4			Bagoas the eunuch poisoneth Ochus, and maketh Arogus or Arsēs king in his stead.
	7	337	1	200	5		Philip, king of Macedon, after the victory of Cheronea, made general of Greece against the Persians.
	8	336	2	201	6		Bagoas poisons Arogus, and Pausanias slays Philip, king of Macedon. Darius succeeds the former, and Alexander the latter.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	Kings of Persia.	After the Captivity.	High Priests of Judah.	
4379	335	Darius.	1	202	7 Darius puts Bagoas to death. Alexander destroys Thebes, and is appointed general of the Grecians against the Persians in the place of his father.
4380	334		2	203	8 Alexander passeth into Asia, and wins the battle of Granicus.
1	333		3	204	9 He reduceth all Lesser Asia, and wins the battle of Issus.
2	332		4	205	10 He destroys Tyre and Gaza, and conquers Egypt.
3	331	Alexander.	1	206	11 He passeth the Euphrates and the Tigris, wins the battle of Arbela, and takes Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, and the provinces belonging to them.
4	330		2	207	12 Darius slain by Bessus. Alexander subdues the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, Arians, and several other nations. Puts Philotas and Parmenio to death.
5	329		3	208	13 He subdues the Bactrians and Sogdians, and puts Bessus to death.
6	328		4	209	14 He marries Roxana, passeth into India, and conquers all to the river Indus.
7	327		5	210	15 He passeth the Indus, vanquisheth Porus, and subdueth all as far as the river Hyphasis.
8	326		6	211	16 He puts his army on board his fleet, and saileth down the Indus, conquering several nations in his way.
9	325		7	212	17 Having passed down to the mouth of the Indus, he sends Nearchus with his fleet through the ocean to Babylon, and marcheth thitherward with his army by land.
4390	324		8	213	18 Conquers the Cosseans, and enters Babylon.
1	323	Philipus.	1	214	19 He there dies. Aridæus, his brother, made nominal king, and the commanders of the army divide the provinces of the empire among themselves.
2	322		2	215	20 Perdiccas and Eumenes make war against Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy.
3	321		3	216	1 Eumenes vanquisheth Craterus, and slays him in battle. Perdiccas is slain by his own soldiers in Egypt. Aristotle dies.
4	320		4	217	2 Antigonus being sent against Eumenes, vanquisheth him in battle. Ptolemy seizeth Judea, Phœnicia, and Cœlo-Syria, and taketh Jerusalem.
5	319		5	218	3 Antipater being dead, Cassander seizeth Macedonia, and Antigonus all Lesser Asia, and shuts up Eumenes in the castle of Nora.
6	318		6	219	4 Eumenes, being got out of Nora, passeth into Cilicia, and having there gotten together an army, marcheth into Syria, and from thence into Mesopotamia.

<i>Julian Period.</i>	<i>Years before Christ.</i>	<i>Kings of Persia.</i>	<i>After the Captivity</i>	<i>High Priests of Judah.</i>	
4397	317	7	220	5	Eumenes marcheth to Susa, and is there joined by the governors of the eastern provinces. Aridæus slain by Olympias.
8	316	1	221	6	Antigonus marcheth into the East against Eumenes.
9	315	2	222	7	Eumenes betrayed into the hands of Antigonus by his own soldiers, and put to death. Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus confederate against Antigonus.
4400	314	3	223	8	Antigonus dispossesseth Ptolemy of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judea.
1	313	4	224	9	Antigonus leaveth Demetrius his son, with part of his army, in Phœnicia, and marcheth with the other against Cassander.
					Kings of <i>Syria,</i> <i>The Era</i> <i>of Seleucus.</i>
2	312	5		10	1 Ptolemy seizeth Cyprus, beats Demetrius at Gaza, and again recovers Syria and Phœnicia, and loseth them all again by the defeat of Cilles his lieutenant.
3	311	6		11	2 Demetrius marcheth to Babylon, against Seleucus, and returns without success.
4	310	7		12	3 Cassander slays Alexander Ægus, with Roxana his mother. Epicurus first teacheth his impious philosophy.
5	309			13	4 Ptolemy takes several cities from Antigonus in Lesser Asia.
6	308			14	5 He takes the isle of Andros, and Corinth, Sicyon, and several other cities on the continent of Greece.
7	307			15	6 Ophellas slain by Agathocles. Ptolemy recovers Libya and Cyrene.
8	306			16	7 Demetrius gains a great victory over Ptolemy at Cyprus, and dispossesseth him of that whole island. Antigonus hereon takes the title of king.
9	305			17	8 Antigonus invadeth Egypt, and is repulsed with loss.

Julian Period.	Years before Christ.	High Priests of Judah.	The Era of Seleucus.	Kings of Syria.	Kings of Egypt.	
4410	304	18	9	9	1	Demetrius besiegeth Rhodes without success.
11	303	19	10	10	2	Seleucus having made himself master of all the provinces of Alexander's empire beyond the Euphrates, invadeth India, and maketh peace with Sandrocottus.
12	302	20	11	11	3	Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus confederate against Antigonus.
13	301	21	12	12	4	They vanquish and slay him at Ipsus in Phrygia.
14	300	1	13	13	5	After this victory, Ptolemy had Judea, Phœnicia, and Cœlo-Syria, and Seleucus Upper Syria, where he builds Antioch.
15	299	2	14	14	6	Demetrius gives his daughter, Stratonice, in marriage to Seleucus, and seizeth Cilicia.
16	298	3	15	15	7	Cassander dies in Macedonia.
17	297	4	16	16	8	Pyrrhus marries Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, Ptolemy's best beloved wife, and by his assistance recovers his kingdom of Epirus.
18	296	5	17	17	9	Samaria wasted by Demetrius's soldiers from Tyre.
19	295	6	18	18	10	Ptolemy recovers Cyprus from Demetrius.
4420	294	7	19	19	11	Demetrius made king of Macedon, and there reigns seven years.
1	293	8	20	20	12	Seleucus builds Seleucia on the Tigris.
2	292	9	21	21	13	Simon the Just, high priest of the Jews, dies, and is succeeded by Eleazar, his brother.

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